



ANALECTĀ

V. S. SUKTHANKAR MEMORIAL EDITION

Edited
on behalf of the Committee
by

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CURATOR, BHANDARKAR ORIENTAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE, POONA.

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ANALECTA

BY

THE LATE

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General Editor, Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata,

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21st January 1945

. S. SUKTHANKAR MEMORIAL EDITION COMMITTEE

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PREFACE

THE First Volume of the Sukthankar Memorial Edition, containing Dr. SUKTHANKAR'S *Critical Studies in the Mahābhārata*, was published by me on behalf of the Memorial Edition Committee on 21st January, 1944, the First Anniversary of Dr. SUKTHANKAR'S demise. On the occasion of this Anniversary the Committee was fortunate enough to have as President Dr. Baba Sahib (M. R.) JAYAKAR, M.A., LL.D. and Shri K. M. MUNSHI, B.A., LL.B. as lecturer. These two great friends of the departed savant paid glowing tributes to the sacred memory of Dr. SUKTHANKAR and his epoch making work on the *Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata*. A full account of the Anniversary function has been published in the *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VI (pp. 225-234) for the information of Dr. SUKTHANKAR'S friends all over the world. I have to convey the best thanks of the Committee to Dr. JAYAKAR and Shri MUNSHI for making this function a grand success.

In his Presidential remarks Dr. JAYAKAR expressed his appreciation of the work of the organizers of the Memorial Edition, and observed that there should be no *hiatus* between the publication of the First Volume of the Edition and that of the Second Volume promised by the Memorial Edition Committee. In accordance with this observation of an eminent friend of the departed scholar coupled with an additional personal donation of Rs. 200/- for the Second Volume announced by Dr. Baba Sahib JAYAKAR I lost no time in commencing my work of collecting funds for this volume. The published Volume of the Edition, copies of which were distributed to donors and subscribers immediately after the Anniversary, proved my great friend and ally in my arduous work. This Volume was hailed with delight by scholars in India and outside and before any reviews of the Volume appeared in Oriental journals it put me in touch with an eminent friend of Dr. SUKTHANKAR, I mean Sir C. R. REDDY, K.T., D.Litt., the Vice-Chancellor of the Andhra University, who informed me that he was a contemporary of Dr. SUKTHANKAR at Cambridge as early as 1906 and that he desired to have a copy of the Sukthankar Memorial Edition as a souvenir of his life-long friendship with the eminent Orientalist. On getting the First Volume of the Edition, Sir C. R. REDDY wrote to me as follows on 11th March, 1944:

"I have gone through the First Volume which you sent and I am wonder struck at the deep scholarship, penetrating judgment and elegant style of SUKTHANKAR. When I looked at the photos of SUK

THANKAR included as illustrations I missed his dear old Cambridge face with its fine wealth of curly hair, which he subsequently seems to have mislaid ! I have a photograph* of his, taken in 1906 or a while before, with his autograph. If required I can send it to you for making a block."

The sentiments of deep devotion to his old friend Dr SUKTHANKAR evinced by Sir C R REDDY in his letter referred to above emboldened me in my appeal to him to use his good offices in collecting some funds for the Second Volume of the SUKTHANKAR Memorial Edition. My confidence in this genuine old friend of Dr SUKTHANKAR was more than justified as I found to my agreeable surprise that with Sir REDDY words meant acts. On 12th May 1944 Sir REDDY forwarded to me a copy of the appeal sent by him to his personal friends for funds to complete the work of the Memorial Edition. The eminent friends of Sir REDDY were prompt and generous in their response to his appeal as will be seen from the following donations received and kindly forwarded to me by Sir REDDY between 3rd June and 30th August 1944 —

Rs 500—Raja Saheb of Bobbili, K C I E , D L I T T

Rs 500—Hon'ble the Maharaja of Parlakimidi Prime Minister, Cuttack (Orissa)

Rs 500—Raja Saheb of Munagala Saifabad (Hyderabad)

Rs 250—Hon'ble Rajah Sir Annamalai Chettiar, K C I E L L D , Raja of Chettinad Madras

Rs 250—Sir C P Ramaswami Aiyer, K C S I , K C I E , Dewan of Travancore Trivandrum

Rs 100—Hon'ble Sir Manohar Lal Kt Finance Minister, Govt of Punjab Lahore

Rs. 25—Sir Alladi Krishna Swami Iyer, K T Madras

Rs 2 125

I cannot adequately express the sense of gratitude both of the Memorial Committee and myself to these distinguished donors for their generosity and unstinted response so promptly given to Sir REDDY's personal appeal to them. How true are the words of the Dhammapadam?—

The scent of flowers, incense and jasmine cannot travel against

* Through the courtesy and kind favour of Sir REDDY this rare Cambridge photograph of Dr SUKTHANKAR has been reproduced in the present volume. On behalf of the Memorial Edition Committee I have to convey to Sir REDDY their best thanks for bringing this photograph to their notice as also for permitting its reproduction which has greatly enriched the Edition.

the wind, but the fragrance of good deeds travels in all directions. Sweeter than the scent of incense and jasmine is the fragrance of good deeds."

I am personally indebted to Sir REDDY for his continuous active interest in this work to such an extent that I must ever remain grateful to his obligations at a time when his help came to me almost by a Providential arrangement. It was the clarion-call to duty from Mahārṣi Vyāsa with which SUKTHANKAR closed his Introduction to the Āraṇyakaparvan of the Great Epic and to which he made a prophetic and pointed reference in the following parting words :

"Across the reverberating corridors of Time we his (Vyāsa's) descendants can still hear dimly his clarion-call to Duty."

That this "luminous message of Mahārṣi Vyāsa" as SUKTHANKAR put it, was heard by Sir REDDY himself will be clear from the following extracts from his personal appeal to his friends issued on 9th May, 1944 :

— "Dr. V. S. SUKTHANKAR, whose early death was the most serious loss to Sanskrit and Oriental Learning generally that India has sustained since the death of Dr. R. G. BHANDARKAR, was a contemporary of mine at Cambridge. Even in those early years he had quite a reputation for original thinking. By far the greatest undertaking of modern India is the *Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata*. The Editorship of such an undertaking required colossal scholarship, vast patience and a critical acumen of the highest type. Dr. SUKTHANKAR who had studied Sanskrit both in Cambridge and in Berlin was appointed Editor. How well he has done the work is proved by the remarkable reception given to it by Sanskritists of all the Universities of the world. It may be remarked that under him the American Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Yale was editing one of the Parvans. Dr. SUKTHANKAR died before the *Critical Edition*, as it is called, of all the Eighteen Parvans could be published. But by the publication of 5 or 6 Parvans he had set the standard and the model for all future work. It will be recalled that this *Critical Edition* has been under preparation for over 25 years. Imagination staggers at the volume of labour, comparative study and critical work involved.

Dr. SUKTHANKAR embodied some of the results of his studies in Sanskrit Mahābhārata in a series of astoundingly profound and brilliant Prefaces, Essays and Lectures. These are now under publication and the First Volume has been published. *I have read this First Volume and my advice to every Hindu is that he must regard the study of it as an indispensable part of his culture*"

As a colleague of Dr. SUKTHANKAR for seventeen years prior to his lamented demise I fully endorse the foregoing estimate of Dr. SUKTHANKAR'S scholarly work in the field of Indology, the beginnings of which were noticed early by his Cambridge contemporaries like Sir C. R. REDDY, Dr. M. R. 'AYAKAR and others but which found a con-

genial soil and a bracing atmosphere at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute and put forth its richest blossom and fruit in the shape of his *Critical Studies in the Mahābhārata* and the published volumes of the Critical Edition of the Great Epic

The *tabula gratulatoria* appearing in this Second Volume of the Memorial Edition includes the names of all donors and subscribers whose generosity has been responsible for the publication of this volume. I convey to these friends the best thanks of the Memorial Edition Committee. In particular I have to convey the special thanks of the Committee to the following contributors whose timely help as indicated below has enabled the Committee to complete the Memorial Edition in spite of all difficulties —

Rs 300—The Government of Bombay purchased 20 copies of the First Volume of the Edition

Rs 200—Right Hon'ble Dr M R JAYAKAR, Bombay (This is an additional donation for the present volume in addition to Rs 100/- received for the First Volume)

Rs 200—The University of Bombay (in addition to Rs 150/- received for the First Volume)

Rs 100—Shri Hari Narayan PUROHIT, B.A., Vidyabhushan, Jaipur (in addition to his subscription for the Edition)

Rs 50—Raja Saheb of Aundh (in addition to Rs 100/- received for the First Volume)

I hope I shall not be exceeding the bounds of official decorum if I record here the best thanks of the Memorial Edition Committee to Mr S N MOOS C.I.E., M.A., I.E.S., the Director of Public Instruction and Prof R P PATWARDHAN, M.A., I.E.S., the Deputy Director of Public Instruction who recommended to Government the purchase of 20 copies of the First Volume of the Edition. Similarly I must not fail to convey my personal thanks to our Vice-Chairman, Diwan Bahadur K M JHAVERI and other friends at the University of Bombay, whose good offices have been responsible in securing from the University an additional donation of Rs 200/- for the present volume. To my octogenarian friend Shri Hari Narayan PUROHITJI of Jaipur, whose close contact with me during the last ten years has enlivened my interest in the history of Jaipur and Rajputana, I am deeply obliged for his voluntary gift of Rs 100/- on his receiving the First Volume. While sending me his blessings for the completion of the Edition Panditji wrote "The present edition of Vol I is so valuable a production that even crores of rupees would not be equal to its value." In my preface to the First Volume I observed that "the

valuable and scholarly contents of the present volume speak for themselves and will continue to speak with greater resonance as years pass by. Judging by the correspondence from scholars received by me since the publication of the First Volume I have reason to believe that my observation has been fully vindicated.

I am personally indebted to the Raja Saheb of Aundh the Chairman of the Memorial Edition Committee and Dewan Bahadur K M JHAVERI the Vice Chairman for their continued help and guidance in my work on the present volume. They were kind enough to attend the function arranged by me on 21st January 1944 and encourage me in my efforts to push on the work projected by the Memorial Edition Committee by sending me token donations for the Second Volume in addition to the donations sent by them for the First Volume. The blessings of these two grand old friends of Dr SUKTHANKAR I mean the Raja Saheb now running his 77th year and the Dewan Bahadur now in his 76th year have been responsible for bringing the work of the Memorial Edition to a successful conclusion and while conveying to them my humble thanks for these blessings I wish them happy long lives and increasing prosperity to continue their disinterested services to the sacred cause of Indology in the widest sense of the term with which Dr SUKTHANKAR had completely identified himself to the last moment of his conscious life.

As regards the writings of Dr SUKTHANKAR included in the present volume I tender my most grateful thanks —

(1) To Mr B T ANKLESARIA M A the Hon Secretary of the K R Cama Institute for securing the permission of his Institute to include Dr SUKTHANKAR'S two papers in the Memorial Edition one of which viz *Arjunamitra* has been published in the First Volume while the other on *An Excursion on the Periphery of Indological Research* has been included in the present Volume. I shall not forget the kindness of this sincere friend of Dr SUKTHANKAR in sending me free copies of these papers. It is unfortunate that this learned friend of ours should pass away* before Dr SUKTHANKAR'S second paper is reprinted in this Volume†. May his soul rest in peace!

(2) To Rao Bahadur K N DIKSHIT M A Director-General of Archaeology in India for permission to include in the Memorial Edition Dr SUKTHANKAR'S papers in the *Epigraphia Indica*.

(3) To the authorities of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society for permission to include in the Memorial Edition Dr SUKTHANKAR'S papers originally published in the Society's Journal.

* Mr ANKLESARIA passed away in November 1944.

(4) To Dr R N SARDESAI, L C P S, Proprietor, Oriental Book Agency, Poona, for permission to reproduce Dr. SUKTHANKAR's English Translation of the *Vāsavadattā* in the Memorial Edition

(5) To the Editors of the *Oriental Literary Digest*, Poona, for permission to include in the Memorial Edition some reviews of books by Dr SUKTHANKAR

(6) To the Editors of the *Annals* (B O R Institute), Dr. R N DANDEKAR and Prof K V. ABHYANKAR for permission to reproduce in the Memorial Edition Dr. SUKTHANKAR's papers originally published in this journal

(7) To the Editors of the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* for permission to reproduce Dr. SUKTHANKAR's Studies in Bhāsa in the present Volume

(8) To the Editor of the *Journal of the Mythic Society*, Bangalore, for permission to include Dr SUKTHANKAR's papers originally published in their Journal

(9) To Dr. N P CHAKRAVARTI, Deputy Director-General of Archaeology in India for sending me a complete list of Dr SUKTHANKAR's contributions to *Epigraphia Indica* and other publications of the Archaeological Department along with extracts from Dr. SUKTHANKAR's application at the time of his joining the Archaeological Department In forwarding the extracts Dr CHAKRAVARTI wrote to me on 12 6 1943 "Professor LUDERS always thought very highly of his pupil Sukthankar Even when I met him as late as 1922 he told me that Dr SUKTHANKAR was still the best pupil he had, from India"

It was not possible for me owing to the present war to seek permission of the publishers of Dr SUKTHANKAR's thesis on "*Die Grammatik Śākatāyana's*" and the Editors of the *Z D M G* who published Dr SUKTHANKAR's paper entitled "*Miscellaneous Notes on Mammata's Kāvya-prakāśa*" I offer to these publishers the apologies of the Memorial Edition Committee for including these writings of Dr SUKTHANKAR without their formal permission owing to circumstances beyond the control of the Committee I beg also to be excused for any infringement of the rights of any publishers that I may have overlooked in bringing out the Memorial Edition in haste solely with the object of commemorating Dr SUKTHANKAR's services to Indology and thus redeeming at least partially the debt I owe to his inspiring scholarly contact of seventeen years at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona

As in the case of the First Volume of the Memorial Edition the entire editing of the present volume has been carried out by my most

esteemed friends Dr S M KATRE and Prof D D KOSAMBI. They have tried their best in editing this volume as neatly and accurately as possible in spite of the diversity of material which required lynx-eyed proof correcting coupled with an expert knowledge of printing and typography not to say a close knowledge of German in which Dr SUKTHANKAR'S thesis appears in the present volume. The task of editing this thesis has been considerably lightened by the willing and disinterested co-operation of our friend Dr V V GOKHALE who as a friend and admirer of Dr SUKTHANKAR'S work joined the Memorial Edition Committee in the very first week of our enterprise and offered his ungrudging co-operation in the execution of the Committee's project. I have therefore to thank most cordially all these three friends for their harmonious co-operation which has crowned the Committee's efforts with success. Dr SUKTHANKAR and Dr KATRE were Mathematicians in their early careers though later they took to Indology. Prof KOSAMBI though at present a renowned Mathematician is leaning towards Indology and let me hope that Indology is benefited before long by his rigid mathematical training and scientific outlook on life and literature.

In the preliminary appeal issued by me on behalf of the Memorial Edition Committee reference was made to the intention of the Committee to include in the present Edition a literary biography of Dr SUKTHANKAR on the strength of materials gathered by me from the numerous friends and admirers of the great Savant. A few of these friends* have forwarded to me some letters of Dr SUKTHANKAR received by them but they are hardly sufficient for a comprehensive literary biography of Dr SUKTHANKAR contemplated by the Committee. Under these circumstances it was thought advisable to include in the Edition Dr KATRE'S elaborate monograph on Vishnu Sitaram SUKTHANKAR and his Contribution to Indology which was published last year in the *Sukthankar Memorial Volume of the Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute* Poona. This monograph prepared as it is with meticulous care by my learned friend Dr KATRE now takes the place of the contemplated literary biography and has accordingly been included

* Among friends who were kind enough to send me some correspondence from Dr SUKTHANKAR received by them I may mention Rev. H. HERAS of St. Xavier's College, Bombay, Dr S. K. DE of Deccan, Dr RUBEN of Ankara (Turkey), Mr Y. R. GUPTA of Poona and Dr A. N. UPADHYE of Kolhapur. Some other friends had promised to send some letters of Dr SUKTHANKAR but they have not still been received. I have however to convey the best thanks of the Committee to the above mentioned friends for the material sent by them. If additional material is received by the Committee it may still be possible to use it for some memoir on Dr SUKTHANKAR as a man and scholar with a view to supplement Dr KATRE'S monograph published in the present volume.

ed in the present Volume with the kind permission of the authorities of the above institute. I have to convey the best thanks of the Committee to these authorities for this permission. I have also to thank Dr. KATRE for his devoted labour of love in the preparation of this monograph which is based on the published writings of Dr. SUKTHANKAR and as such contains a literary biography of this great Orientalist as revealed by his own writings. Dr. KATRE's close personal contact with Dr. SUKTHANKAR during a decade preceding the latter's demise and his thorough understanding of Dr. SUKTHANKAR's critical philological method have enabled him successfully to trace the growth and expansion of his monumental scholarship which gave a stately stature to Indian critical scholarship by his masterly editing of the *Mahābhārata*.

In concluding this preface to the Second Volume of the Memorial Edition I cannot adequately express my sense of gratitude to our friend Mr. M. N. KULKARNI, who has done yeomen service to Indology by shouldering the heavy responsibilities of publishing many works on Indology on behalf of his Karnatak Publishing House in the best possible form and character. The name of Mr. KULKARNI and his Karnatak Publishing House and Karnatak Printing Press have now become proverbial as a guarantee for good printing and publishing of every work undertaken by them and the Sukthankar Memorial Edition has enjoyed the fullest benefit of this guarantee. In spite of every conceivable difficulty consequent upon war conditions such as scarcity of paper and labour, inconveniences and delays created by the recent paper control order and similar handicaps, Mr. KULKARNI has stood by me and fulfilled his guarantee to the letter in completing the work of this Edition most promptly, efficiently and zealously like my esteemed friends Dr. KATRE and Prof. KOSAMBI. But for the loyal co-operation of these sincere friends it would have been impossible for me to undertake the work of the Memorial Edition and complete it within two years.

In presenting this Second Volume to the public on the Second Anniversary of Dr. SUKTHANKAR's demise the Memorial Edition Committee has completed one of its projected tasks. The second task of the Committee which remains to be completed is the investment of the proceeds of the Edition for instituting a special medal, fellowship or lectureship in connection with Epic Studies. The execution of this task depends on the quick realization of the sale-proceeds of the entire edition. It is hoped, therefore, that friends and admirers of Dr. SUKTHANKAR all over the world will readily come forward to purchase the completed Memorial Edition and thus help the Committee to commemorate Dr. SUKTHANKAR's signal services to the Great Epic of

India, the *Mahābhārata*, the richest heritage of the Aryan race and the national *saga* of India.

Finally I convey my most grateful thanks to all my colleagues on the Memorial Edition Committee with whose initial blessings, good wishes and sincere co-operation I started my work on the Memorial Edition and with which alone I have been able to carry it to a successful conclusion without a *hiatus*. I fully endorse the hope expressed by one of my colleagues, Dr. N. P. CHAKRAVARTI in the following memorable words :

"So long as the Bhandarkar Research Institute will be in existence and his colleagues and pupils will be there, the same spirit with which the *Mahābhārata* work was started, I am sure, will prevail."

Though Dr. SUKTHANKAR has done his part of the *Mahābhārata* work nobly the responsibility of completing it wholly lies not only on the shoulders of his colleagues and pupils at the Bhandarkar Institute but on those of all his countrymen and the Memorial Edition completed to-day stands as a permanent reminder to his countrymen to revere "this deathless traditional book of divine inspiration unapproachable and far removed from possibilities of human constitution."

P. K. GODE,

*Hon Secretary and Managing Editor,
Dr. V. S. Sukthankar Memorial Edition Committee*

Poona 4,
21st January, 1945 }

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FINLEITUNG

I

Die vorliegende Arbeit gibt ein Specimen der grammatischen Sūtras Śākaṭāyana's nebst dem Kommentar Cintāmaṇi. Den ersten ausführlichen Bericht¹ über diesen Grammatiker gab Georg BÜHLER, *Orient und Occident*, 2 (1864), 691 ff. Er hielt den unter dem Namen des Śākaṭāyana überlieferten Traktat für das Werk des alten von Pāṇini erwähnten Śakatayana und glaubte, dass die Grammatik Pāṇini's nur "eine verbesserte, vervollständigte und theilweis umgearbeitete Auflage der Grammatik" Śākaṭāyana's sei (a a O S 703), wobei er sich hauptsächlich darauf stützte, dass sich zwei von Pāṇini seinem Śākaṭāyana zugeschriebene Regeln auch in den ihm vorliegenden Blättern des Śabdānusasana fanden. Diese Ansicht spricht er wieder in einer kleinen Mitteilung aus, die kurz darauf in derselben Zeitschrift erschien *Or und Occ* 3 (1864), 181 ff. Sie hat sich jedoch nicht bestätigt. In dem Aufsatz 'On the Grammar of Sakatayana', *Indian Antiquary*, 16 (1887), 24 ff. wies Franz KIELHORN darauf hin, dass unser Grammatiker nicht nur im vollen Besitz alles dessen sei, was Pāṇini Kāṭyayana und Patañjali gelehrt haben² sondern dass er auch die Lehren, die zum erstenmal bei Candra aufkommen, berücksichtigt habe. Dieselbe Abhandlung enthält ferner eine Übersicht des Inhalts der Grammatik und ein Verzeichnis einer Anzahl von grammatischen Werken wie Kommentare, *prakriyas* usw., die sich an das Werk eng anschliessen³. Einige Jahre später (1893) gab Gustav OPTERT die grammatischen Sūtras Śākaṭāyana's mit dem *Prakriyasamgraha* von Abhayacandra [6] *siddhantasūri*⁴ unter dem Titel Śākaṭāyana's Grammar, Vol. 1,

¹ Noch frühere Notizen bei WILSON *Mackenzie Collection* 1 160 und GOLDSTÜCKER *Pāṇini his place in Sanskrit literature* (1861) S 163.

² BURNELL hatte übrigens auch schon erkannt, dass die Śākaṭāyana Grammatik junger als die Grammatik Pāṇini's sein müsse, meinte aber, dass das uns vorliegende Werk eine Neuauflage der Grammatik des alten Śākaṭāyana sei. Cf. *On the Andhra School of Sanskrit Grammarians* (1875) S 97 ff.

³ Diesen sind noch folgende hinzuzufügen: *Maṇḍrakasika* (Kom. zum *Cintāmaṇi*) von Ajatasena *Amoghavṛtti* (ein ausführlicher Kom. etwa wie die *Kasika*) Nyasa (Kom. zu der *Amoghavṛtti*) von Prabhacandra endlich noch eine *Tikā* von Bhāvasenatṛividyadeva. Diese Liste habe ich aus der Bombayer Ausgabe entnommen. Mir waren die Werke unzugänglich.

⁴ Zum zweitenmal abgedruckt von den Jaina Gelehrten Paṇḍit Jyēṣṭharā mamukundaśarmā und Paṇḍitlāla unter dem Titel *śrīmadabhayacandrasūtrīyaṇi tāptakriyasamgrahasahitaṇi śākaṭāyanaṇi vyakaraṇam* (Bombay, 1907). Trotz der zahlreichen kleinen Druckfehler empfiehlt sich diese Ausgabe durch die gelegentlichen Auszüge aus dem *Cintāmaṇi* und die Erläuterungen, die in den Fussnoten enthalten sind. Die letzteren sind nur eine wesentliche Hilfe zum Verständnis der Grammatik gewesen.

heraus Der zweite Band sollte die Amoghavṛtti einen ausführlichen Kommentar zu allen Regeln Śakatāyana's enthalten ist aber nicht erschienen. In der kurzen Einleitung zu dem erschienenen Band vertritt OPPERT die irrtümliche, von KIELHORN endgültig zurückgewiesene Ansicht über das Alter unsers Grammatikers und übergeht stillschweigend den oben erwähnten im *Indian Antiquary* erschienenen Aufsatz KIELHORNS Dies veranlasste KIELHORN nochmals auf die Śakatāyana Grammatik zurückzukommen In einem Aufsätze in den *Nachrichten von der königl. Gesellsch. der Wiss. in Göttingen* (phil. hist. Kl. 1895) vergleicht KIELHORN eine fortlaufende Reihe von Regeln der Śakatāyana-Grammatik (2 4 128 289) mit den Regeln Pāṇini's und den Lehren seiner Nachfolger und gibt das Resultat dieser Vergleichung Diese Untersuchung stellte in bezug auf unsere Grammatik folgendes fest Sie enthält Regeln 1 die dasselbe lehren wie die Regeln Pāṇini's, 2 für die bei Pāṇini Äquivalente nur dann sich finden wenn wir seine Regeln so erweitern beschränken oder anderweitig ändern wie dies in den einzelnen Fällen von den Verfassern der Vārttikas oder des Mahabhāṣhya vorgeschrieben wird (a a O S 10) und solche die erst von Katyayana und Patañjali vorgetragen worden sind 3 für die man entsprechendes nur in den Gaṇas zu Pāṇini's Regeln oder in der Kaśika nachweisen kann 4 die erst bei Candra aufkommen und 5 endlich auch solche die weder bei Pāṇini und seinen Erklärern noch bei Candra nachweisbar sind Wichtig war der Nachweis KIELHORNS dass die Verfasser der Kaśika auf eine Regel Śakatāyana's keinen Bezug nehmen in der Śakatāyana allein das richtige gelehrt hat und wo sie [d. i. die Verfasser] einem sprachlichen Faktum gegenüber stehen das durch keine Regel Pāṇini's oder dessen Interpreten seine Erklärung findet (a a O S 13) Die ganzliche Abhängigkeit Hemacandra's von Śakatāyana hat KIELHORN schon in dem Aufsatz im *Indian Antiquary* (Bd 16) behauptet und nachgewiesen Weitere Belege dafür wird man in meinen Erläuterungen finden Damit ist die relative Chronologie der Grammatiker von Pāṇini bis Hemacandra einwandfrei festgelegt

II

Ich wende mich jetzt zu den Ergebnissen meiner Untersuchung des 1. *pada* des 1. *adhyaya* Die einleitenden Strophen in dem [7] Kommentar geben wichtige Aufschlüsse sowohl über Śakatāyana als über den Kommentar und dessen Verfasser die z. T. schon von verschiedenen Gelehrten mitgeteilt worden sind⁵ Ich füge eine wortliche Übersetzung bei da sie ein dem Kommentar bezugliches wichtiges Faktum zu Tage bringen wird das von anderen übersehen zu sein scheint Die Übersetzung lautet

⁵ Den Text der einleitenden Strophen gab zum erstenmal BUHLER in *Or. und Occ.* 2 691 f. OPPERT und der Herausgeber der Bombayer Ausgabe haben einige von diesen Strophen wieder abgedruckt Eine Auswahl gibt WEBER in *Handschriftenverzeichnis der Königl. Bibl. zu Berlin* (1886) S. 205 Vgl. weiter BURNELL *op. cit.* (passim) *Ind. Ant.* 16 24 ff.

1. Es möge das allwissende Licht der Erkenntnis, (nämlich) der das Weltall erleuchtende, alle Wünsche gewährende Cintāmaṇi Euch unvergängliches Glück bringen

2 Verehrung der Sonne, (nämlich der Offenbarung des) Brahman als Wort, die die Welt fördert, (indem sie) die Erleuchtung der von der Macht der Finsternis überwaltigten Erde bewirkt

3 Heil Śākatāyana, das Oberhaupt der grossen Gemeinde der Mönche, der die Kaiserwürde (im Reiche) aller Erkenntnis erlangt hat,

4 der allein den Ozean der Worte mit dem Mandara(berg seines) Geistes quirlte und den ganzen Nektar der Grammatik nebst der Śrī des Ruhmes herauszog

5 von dem eine Grammatik erfunden⁶ ist, die geringen Umfang hat, leicht zu erlernen, vollständig, allen Nutzen bringend und die beste ist (und daher) der Lehre der Arhats gleicht (die dieselben Vorzüge besitzt),

6 in dessen Grammatik ausserhalb der Regeln (*sūtra*) kein Desideratum (*īsti*) aufzustellen ist, kein Nachtrag (*vaktavya*) zu machen, kein Zusatz (*upasaṃkhyāna*) hinzuzufügen ist,—

7 indem Yaśovarman dessen (d. i. Śākatāyana's) sehr umfangreichen Kommentar zusammengezogen hat, wird er diesen kürzeren, (dennoch) in allen Bestandteilen vollständigen Kommentar⁷ vortragen.

8 Dieser Versuch, (das Lehrbuch) zusammenzufassen dient dazu, denjenigen, die sich vor umfangreichen Texten scheuen (und) deren Verstandeskraft noch unentwickelt ist, Tugenden wie Gehorsam gegen kanonische Werke und andere beizubringen

9 Die Zahl der *Śloka*s des Cintāmaṇi, des Kommentars des *śabdānuśāsana*, der den Sinn treu wiedergibt, ist als 6000 festgestellt.

[8] 10 Die von den Grammatikern Indra, Candra usw. gelehrten grammatischen Regeln stehen alle hier. Was nicht hier steht, steht nirgends.

11 Man wisse, dass die *ganas* und die Wurzeln in den *gana* und *dhātupāṭha*, alles was das Genus betrifft in dem *linganusāsana*, die mit *un* und anderen (Suffixen) gebildeten (Nominalstämme) in den *unādi* (*-sūtras*), das übrige alles in diesem Kommentar zu finden sind

12 Sicherlich werden infolge des Studiums dieses Kommentars sogar Kinder und Frauen innerhalb eines Jahres die ganze Sprache beherrschen.

⁶ Für die Bedeutung von *upakrama* neutr. am Ende eines Tatpuruṣa vgl. P 2 4 21, *uparīṇopakramam tadadīśīkhyasāyām*

⁷ D. h. ein Kommentar, der die *anuvṛtti* *udakātana*, *pratyudakātara* die *-apāśāda* usw. und etwa die in Betracht kommenden *paribhāṣas* angibt.

Aus den Worten Yakṣavarman's geht deutlich hervor, dass der Verfasser des umfangreichen Kommentars, dessen kurze Fassung der *Cintāmaṇi* darstellt, Śākaṭāyana selbst ist. Denn das *tasya* in Vers 9 muss das Korrelat der in den vorangehenden Strophen befindlichen Relativa sein. Sonst würde überhaupt den relativen Sätzen ein entsprechender unabhängiger Satz fehlen.

Diese Tatsache, welche BÜHLER und KIELHORN⁸ übersehen zu haben scheinen, macht den *Cintāmaṇi* um so wertvoller. Der Umstand, dass Śākaṭāyana seine eigenen Sūtras kommentiert hat, bietet nichts aussergewöhnliches. Hat doch Hemacandra zwei Kommentare zu seiner Grammatik verfasst. Es ist auch sehr wahrscheinlich, dass Candra ebenfalls seine Sūtras kommentiert hat⁹. Also hat Śākaṭāyana einen Kommentar zu seiner Grammatik verfasst. Daraus erklärt sich aber die Kürze der Sūtras. Sie ist entstanden nicht sowohl aus einem „krankhaften“¹⁰ Streben die Sūtras möglichst kurz auszudrücken, als vielmehr daraus, dass zwischen der Zeit Pāṇini's und Śākaṭāyana's das Schwergewicht in dieser Literaturgattung verschoben war. Nun bildet der Kommentar einen integrierenden Teil des Werkes. Die Sūtraperiode war längst zu Ende. Der Sūtrastil geht dann in den Bhāṣyastil über.¹¹ Und unsere grammatischen Sūtras sind schwache Reflexe einer eigentlichen Sūtraliteratur, sind nur Stichworte, blossе Hilfsmittel zum Memorieren, die bis zum heutigen Tage eine grosse Rolle im Unterrichtsverfahren der Inder spielen. Denn nicht nur sind die späteren Sūtras an und für sich vollkommen unverständlich; sie sind sogar in sich nicht vollständig.¹² Es ist wohl bekannt, dass in der [9] Candra-Grammatik einige von den unentbehrlichsten *Paribhāṣās* fehlen und dass sie in der Regel keine Definitionen der Termini gibt. Die *paribhāṣā*: *yathāsaṃkhyam anudeśah samānām* (P. 1. 3. 10) ist in der Śākaṭāyana-Grammatik nur im Kommentar erwähnt. Das Sūtra Śākaṭāyana's *Śīdanīdal* (S. 1. 1. 49) das dem Sūtra Pāṇini's *anekālśit sarvasya* (1. 1. 55) entspricht, heisst an und für sich gar nichts. Die Beispiele kann man nach Belieben vermehren.

Dennoch hat Śākaṭāyana die technische Seite seiner Grammatik keineswegs vernachlässigt. Er hat aufs gewissenhafteste versucht sein Werk von Fehlern des *mukta* und *durukta* frei zu machen. Man vergleiche den Gebrauch des Wortes *bhāvya* in 1. 1. 4, *āśraya* in 50, das Sūtra 65, die Formulierung des Sūtra 51, usw., wie dies eben in den einzelnen Fällen in den Vārtikas

⁸ KIELHORN, *Ind. Ant.* Bd. 16: In the introductory verses ..., the author states that he has compiled his work from a more extensive commentary (S. 25).

⁹ Cf. LIEBICH, *Candra-Vyākaraṇa*, Abh. f. d. Kunde des Morgenlandes hrg. von d. D. M. G. Bd. 11, No. 4, Vorwort S. VIII.

¹⁰ So KIELHORN, *Nachrichten von der Kgl. Gesellsch. der Wiss. in Göttingen* (phil.-hist. Kl. 1895), S. 10.

¹¹ Cf. Hermann JACOB, Über die Echtheit des Kautīliya, *Sitzungsber. d. königl. preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.* für 1912, S. 842.

¹² Nur insofern bilden die Sūtras eine Einheit, als Stichworte auch von anderen benutzt und zum Gegenstand der Kommentierung gemacht worden.

bezw dem Mahābhāṣya vorgeschrieben wird. Vor allem zeigt sich dies in dem Sutra *ṣuciṅat* (1 1 52). Dies ist eine von den sehr schwierigen *paribhāṣas* P 1 1 56 ff. die zur Erklärung, Berichtigung und Erweiterung über 75 *tattikas* hervorgerufen haben. Der Einschluss von *enad* ist notwendig zur Bildung der Form *enad* acc. neutr. das dem Sutra Śakaṭayana's zugrunde liegende *tattika* wird aber von Kāṭyayana nicht unter seinen Bemerkungen zu den Sutras P 1 1 56-59 wo es logisch hingehört, vorgetragen sondern an einer ganz entlegenen Stelle.

Da Śakaṭayana offenbar ein Jaina war versteht es sich von selbst dass er den vedischen Dialekt gar nicht hat berücksichtigen wollen. Demzufolge hat er nicht nur alle Akzentregeln bei Pāṇini weggelassen sondern auch z. B. Regeln über die Bildung zahlreicher vedischer Infinitiva, Absolutiva usw. usw. Doch ist er nicht ganz konsequent verfahren und auf Schritt und Tritt begegnen uns Regeln über Worte und Bildungselemente die nur für die vedische Literatur gelten oder jedenfalls im klassischen Sanskrit nie zur Anwendung kommen. Man vergleiche z. B. *accharad* (1 1 30) *upajantaje*¹³ (33), *iśīadryac adadryac amumuyac amudryac*¹⁴ (1 2 45 und 2 2 65) usw. Lehrreich ist die Regel 1 1 104 die die Substitution von *ū* für *u* lehrt weil diese Substitution ihre Stelle eigentlich nur im *Padapaṭha* hat.¹⁵ Die Aufnahme dieser Regel bei Śakaṭayana ist daraus zu erklären dass Pāṇini diese Substitution für die nicht vedische Sprache (*anarṣe*) lehrt. Und was nicht vedisch ist konnte mit gutem Gewissen nicht ausgeschlossen werden. Man darf also behaupten dass Śakaṭayana ausser den Akzentregeln nur die Regeln Pāṇini's auslasst die ausdrücklich mit dem Vermerk *chandasī* usw. gelehrt werden.

[10] Wie schon oben erwähnt, begnügt Śakaṭayana sich nicht damit die Lehren seiner Vorgänger zusammenzufassen und sie systematisch anzuordnen sondern er geht über sie hinaus und trägt—freilich nur sehr selten—auch neue Lehren vor. Ich konstatiere folgende Neuerungen im 1 *pada* des 1 *adhyaya*. Der Auslaut der Partikeln *ca* usw. (ausser *a*) darf nicht in der Pause nasalisiert werden (Sutra 68) zulässig sind im Kompositum die Formen *sukhaṭa*, *ṭṭaṇa* usw. (89), *gavakṣa* kann nur Fenster bedeuten sonst muss man *goakṣa* oder *go kṣa* sagen (95-98) die auf einem *anusvara* bezw. *visarjanīya* folgenden *Tenues* können verdoppelt werden¹⁶ (115) nach einem *pluta* Vokal am Ende eines *pada* kann *ch* verdoppelt werden (125) vor *ṭra* dürfen *ḍ* und *n* bezw. *n* die Gleitlaute *t* bezw. *j* nicht angefügt werden (146-147) *saskarṭ* als eine Nebenform von *samskarṭ* (152) über den *sandhi* in Fällen wie *yajus + ṭṭakam* *sarpas + kalakam* usw. (172).

¹³ In der Literatur sind sie nicht belegt.

¹⁴ Belegt ist nur *viśvadyac* im Rgveda.

¹⁵ Ähnlich ist die Ausschliessung von *eti* in 1 1 99 zu beurteilen.

¹⁶ Die Verdoppelung ist in südindischen Handschriften sehr verbreitet. Nach WACKERNAGEL (*Altind. Gram.* 1 42 § 98 a) auch inschriftlich hinter *anusvara*.

Hiermit ist die Wichtigkeit der Grammatik Śākaṭāyana's für die Geschichte der Entwicklung der indischen Grammatik seit Patañjali an die Hand gegeben. Auf die Rolle, die sie für das Verständnis der Grammatik Hemacandra's spielt, hat schon KIELHORN hingewiesen. Ich erwähne nur, dass all die obengenannten Neuerungen ausser der Zulässigkeit der Formen *sukhaṭa*, *praṇa* usw., sich bei Hemacandra wiederfinden. Der Ansatz des Wortes *saskarṭṭ* von Hemacandra, das auf Missverständnis einer *ṣṣ* Patañjali's seitens Śākaṭāyana beruht, zeigt, dass Hemacandra seinem Vorgänger auch in Fehlern folgt. Doch zeigen die Sūtras Hemacandra's 1. 1. 25, 26, 2. 3. 14 und andere, die Lehren des Mahābhāṣya erneuern, auf welche Śākaṭāyana nicht Bezug nimmt, dass der grosse Jaina-Kompilator gelegentlich auch die älteren Quellen benutzt hat.

III

Zur Herausgabe dieses Specimens der Śākaṭāyana Grammatik nebst dem Kommentar Cīntāmaṇi habe ich die folgenden Manuskripte benutzt¹⁷

B = London, India Office Buhler MSS 138, 141, 142, 143. AUFRECHT, *Cat. Cat.* 1, 638, BUHLER, Two lists of Sanskrit Manuscripts, *ZDMG* 42, 544. Ein ganz junges Papiermanuskript in Devanagari Schrift, nämlich die von BUHLER veranlasste "Umschrift eines alten Hala Karnaṭa Ms. pt. der Madras-E. T. H. [11] library im alphabetischen Cataloge mit no 1083 bezeichnet"¹⁸—schön und deutlich geschrieben und im grossen ganzen fehlerfrei. Leider ist es unvollständig, da es in der Mitte des 42. Sūtra des 3 Pada des 1 Adhyāya abbricht¹⁹. Im 2 Pada hat der Schreiber mehrere Lucken—häufig von beträchtlicher Ausdehnung—gelassen.

P = London, India Office, Mackenzie Coll XII 8. WILSON'S *Catal* Vol 1, S 160 No XXXIV—Vorzugliches Manuskript, sorgfältig geschrieben

¹⁷ Ausserdem habe ich noch die von dem Herausgeber der Bombayer Ausgabe des *Prakriyāsaṅgraha* in den Anmerkungen gelegentlich zitierten Auszüge aus dem Cīntāmaṇi benutzt und verglichen. Die Göttinger HSS der Śākaṭāyana Grammatik enthalten nur den Text der Sūtras, ein alphabetisches Verzeichnis der Sūtras und eine moderne Abschrift des *Prakriyāsaṅgraha*. Die sind hier weiter nicht berücksichtigt worden.

¹⁸ BÜHLER Über die Grammatik des Śākaṭāyana *Or Occ* 2 691

¹⁹ Dass das Berliner Manuskript des Cīntāmaṇi (Ms. or fol 872, WEBER, Verzeichniss Bd 2 [1886] S 205) eine Abschrift des MS. B ist, ergibt sich aus folgenden Erwägungen. Es reicht gleichfalls bis zu 1. 3. 42. Die Mehrzahl seiner Fehler sind in B schon vorhanden, andere lassen sich durch die typographischen Eigentümlichkeiten von B erklären, um nur zwei von den letzteren herauszugreifen. B zeigt Formen von *ta* und *tra* die *na* resp *pra* sehr ähnlich sind. Häufig gibt das Berliner MS. tatsächlich jene Buchstaben mit diesen wieder, so z. B. gleich das erste Wort des Kom. *naṭra* für *tatra*. In einem Falle findet sich dasselbe Zeichen *ṣṣ* für *jho* in beiden MSS.

und fast fehlerfrei. Es ist eine kürzere Rezension des Kom, indem die *udāharāṇas* und die *pratyudāharāṇas* und was sonst einen vollständigen Kom²⁰ zugehört ausgelassen wird. Es enthält mit einer Ausnahme nur eine Paraphrase der Sūtras mit Angabe der Wörter die durch *anuvṛtti* fortgelten. Est ist gut erhalten abgesehen davon dass der obere Rand von einigen 50 Blättern am Anfang beschädigt ist, wodurch aber in der Regel nur der Anfang der ersten bzw. der letzten Zeile gelitten hat.

H = London Indian Office, BURNELL Sanskrit Manuscript No 40²¹ die von BURNELL veranlasste Umschrift in Telugu eines MS Hala Karnaṭa Schrift²². Es ist vollständig aber voller Fehler. Die ersten Seiten sind von anderer Hand korrigiert worden. In dem Verzeichnis der *variae lectiones* (p 46 ff.) sind die Verbesserungen vorausgesetzt.

Die drei Handschriften obschon sie der Hauptsache nach von einander wenig abweichen sind unabhängig von einander. Bei der Feststellung des Textes bin ich hauptsächlich B gefolgt. Ich habe es für unzweckmässig gehalten, jeden Fehler von H zu verzeichnen da die Anzahl von solchen ungemäss gross ist die abweichenden Lesarten von P aber sind vollständig angegeben. Häufig verwechselt H postkonsonantisches *o* mit *a* *dh* mit *d* *v* mit *ḍ*. Hingegen schreibt B häufig *t* für *k* *v* für *p* und stets *lu* für das konsonantische *l*. Betreffs der Verdoppelung von Konsonanten verhalten sich die MSS ausserst inkonsequent. Das *avagraha* Zeichen wird in B regelmässig ausgelassen in P aber in der Regel eingesetzt. B gibt [12] das Zeichen (3) für die Plutierung durch *nu* wieder was sich aus grosser Ähnlichkeit der Zeichen in Hala Karnaṭaka erklärt.

Man wird in meinem Specimen sehr oft die *sandhi* Regeln verletzt finden. Bei der Entscheidung bin ich in der Regel dem Manuskript B gefolgt, doch habe ich mich stets durch die Deutlichkeit leiten lassen. Nach dem Vorgang KIELHORNS und zwar aus dem MBhaṣ Vol 1 Einleitung S 9 f angegebenen Grunde, habe ich die Verdoppelung von *n* *n* und *n* zwischen Vokalen durchgängig unterlassen.

VERZEICHNIS

der von mir benutzten Textausgaben

Pāṇini's Grammatik herausgegeben übersetzt erläutert usw. von Otto BOHTLINGK, Leipzig 1887

Vyakarana-Mahābhāṣya of Patanjali edited by F KIELHORN Vol 1 2 3 Bombay 1892—1902

Mahābhāṣya by Patanjali Muni with M M Kaiyaṭopādhyaya's Pradīpa and M M Nagoj'bhāṭṭas uddyota [Bhāṭṭa] edited by Pandit Devī Datta PARAJULL Chawkhamba Sanskrit Series Benares 1908

²⁰ Ich verweise auf die einleitenden Strophen 7 10 und 11

²¹ Nach der handschriftlichen Angabe BURNELLS auf dem Titelblatt des MS

Kāśikā, edited by Paṇḍit Bāla ŚĀSTRĪ Second Edition, Benares 1898.

Paribhāṣenduśekhara of Nāgojibhaṭṭa edited and explained by KJELHORN. Part. 1, The Sanskrit Text and various readings, Bombay 1868 Part. 2, Translation and Notes, Bombay 1874

Siddhāntakaumudī with the *Tattvabodhinī* Commentary of Jnanendra Sarasvati and the *Subodhinī* Commentary of Jayakṛṣṇa edited by Vāsudev Lakṣman Śhāstrī PAṆŚĪKAR. Fourth Edition. Nimayasāgar Press, Bombay 1908

Laghukaumudī ed by James R. BALLANTYNE. Fourth edition, Benares 1891.

Cāndra Vjākarana herausgegeben von Bruno LIEBICH [= Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, XI Bd. No 4], Leipzig 1902.

Śākaṭāyana-Vjākarana mit dem *Prakriyāsamgraha* von Abhayacandra Sūri, Bombay 1907. [Es wird hier nach dieser und nicht nach der Oppert'schen Ausgabe zitiert.]

Siddhahem[sic !]-*Śabdānuśāna* by Kalikāla Sarvajña-Śrī-Hemacandrācāryavarya .. Benares 1905.

Nur die folgenden Abkürzungen bedürfen besonderer Erwähnung :

P. = Pāṇini ; Cj = Candra ; S. = Śākaṭāyana ; H. = Hemacandra ;
Vā. = Vārttika ; Bh. = Mahābhāṣya.

Text der Sūtras nebst dem Kommentar

|| *śrīvītarāgāya namaḥ* ||

śrīyaṃ kṛiyād vaḥ sarvajñajñānaḥyotir anaśvarīm |
 viśvaṃ prakāśayaṃś cintāmaṇis̄ cintarthasādhanaḥ || 1 ||
 namaḥ tamaḥprabhāvabhūbhūtabhūdyotahetave |
 lokopakāriṇe śabdabrahmaṇe dvādaśātmane || 2 ||
 svasti śrīsakalajñānasāmrūjyapadam āptavān |
 mahāśramanasamghādhipatir yaḥ śakaṭayanaḥ || 3 ||
 ekaḥ sabdāmbudhiṃ buddhumandareṇa pramathya yaḥ |
 sayasāśrī samuddadhre viśvaṃ vyākaraṇāmṛtam || 4 ||
 svalpaganthanāṃ sukhopāyaṃ sampūṃṇaṃ yadupakramam |
 sabdanuśāsanaṃ sārvaṃ arhacchāsanavat param || 5 ||
 iṣṭir neṣṭā na vaktavyaṃ vaktavyaṃ sūtrataḥ pṛthak |
 samkhyātāṃ nopasamkhyanam yasya śabdānuśāsane || 6 ||
 tasyātmahatūṃ vṛttūṃ samhṛtyeṇaṃ laghīyasī |
 sampūṃmalakṣaṇa vṛttir vakṣyate yakṣavarmaṇā || 7 ||
 granthavistarabhīrūpāṃ sukumāradhuyam ayam |
 śūśrūṣādiguṇaṃ kartūṃ śāstre samharapodyamah || 8 ||
 śabdānuśāsanaśyānvarthayāś cintāmaner idam |
 vṛttir granthapramāṇaṃ tu śaṭsahasraṃ nūrūpitam || 9 ||
 indracandradibhiḥ śābdair yad uktaṃ sabdalakṣaṇam |
 tad ihāsti samastaṃ ca yan nehāsti na tat kvacit || 10 ||
 gaṇadhātupāthayor gaṇadhātūḥ
 līṅānuśāsane līṅagatam |
 auṇādukān auṇādaḥ śeṣaṃ
 nīśeṣam atra vṛttau vidyāt || 11 ||
 [14] balābalajano 'py asyā vṛttir abhyāsavṛttitāḥ |
 samastaṃ vānmayam vetti varṣeṇaikena nūscayāt || 12 ||

tatra sūtrasyādāv ayaṃ mangalaślokaḥ |
 namaḥ śrīvardhamānāya prabuddhāśeṣavastave |
 yena śabdārthasambandhāḥ sārṇena sunūrūpitāḥ ||

śabdārthasambandha vācakavācyayogyataḥ | athava agamaprayojanopāyo-
 peyabhāvāḥ te yena sarvasattvāhiteṇa tattvataḥ prajñāpitāḥ tasmai śrimate
 mahāvīrāya sakṣātkṛtasakaladravyaya namaḥ | namaskaromy adhyāhāraḥ |
 iti vighnapraśamanārtham arhaddevatānamaskāraṃ paramamaṅgalam āra

bhya bhagavān ācāryah śakaṭāyanah śabdānuśāsanaṃ śāstram idaṃ prāra-
bhate ||

dharmārthakāmamokṣeṣu tattvārthāvagatir yataḥ |
śabdārthajñānapūrvetī vedyam vyākaraṇaṃ budhaiḥ ||
a t u n | ṛ k | e o n | a i a u c | k a y a v a r a l a ñ |
ñ a m a n a n a m | j a b a g a d a d a ś | j h a b h a g h a d h a
d h a ś | k h a p h a c h a t h a t h a t | e a t a t a v | k a p a y |
s a ś a s a m a h × k a z p a r | h a l || 13 ||

iti varṇasamāmnayah | kramānubandhopādānah pratyāhārayan śāstrasya
lāghavārthaḥ | sāmānyāsrayanād dīrghapluṭānūnāsikagrahaṇaṃ |
hrasvadiṛghapluṭahalo hy ekadvitryardhamātrikāḥ |
nāsikāṃ anuyātaś ca varṇah syād anunāsikah ||
uccair udātto nīcāḥ syad anudāttaḥ svaras tathā |
vyamśraḥ svarito jñeyah pratyekaṃ vibudhair iha ||

ṛ ity enena |varṇasyāpi grahaṇam bhavati | dūrād āmantryasya gurur vaiko
lanṛt [2 3 27] iti |grahaṇāt | tathā ca | ṛty akah [1 1 75] iti |kāre 'pi sid
dham | hakārasya dvir upadeso aśādaḥ valādaḥ¹ | ca grahaṇārthaḥ | hakārā-
diśv akārādaya uccāranarthāḥ ||

sūlmetet || 1 ||

saṃjñāsūtram etat | itā sahoccaryamāṇo varṇah samudāyo vā ātmanah
prabhṛty ā tasmad ito vyavasthūtānāṃ saṃjñā bhavaty ātmanā saha | aṇ |
ak | ac | hal | sup | suṭ | tin | ptasu* ||

saṃjñānyamanīṣedhādhiḥkāranityāpavādaḥ |
atidesavikalpāv iti gatayah śabdānuśāsane sūtrāṇām ||

{15} utā svah || 2 ||

ukāreṇetā sahopadiyamāno varṇah svasya varṇasya saṃjñā bhavaty
ātmanā saha | ku | cu | tu | tu | pu ||

teyān || 3 ||

takareṇetā sahopadiyamāno varṇa iyaṇ | yāvanmātra upāttas tāvanmātra
evāsau veditavyah | at | it | ut ||

bhāvyo 'g || 4 ||

bhāvyo vidheyah pratyayavikārāgamarūpaḥ agakārako varṇa iyaṇ eva
veditavyah | bhikṣuh | asyaḥ | aṣṭabhuḥ | lavitā || ag iti kim || amum |
amū*, ||

aprayogit || 5 ||

ihopadiyamāno varṇah samudāyo vā yo laukike śabdaprayoge na
dīśyate sa itersamjñā bhavati | edhu | edhate | aṇuḥ | aṇ | tuveprī | vepathuh |
ḥukṛt | kṛtrman ||

si ah sthānāsyaṅkye || 6 ||

sthānam kaṇṭhādi | āsyam mukham | oṣṭhāt prabhṛti prāk kākakāt |
tatra bhavam sprṣṭatādi prayatnapañcakam āsyam | kaṇṭoṣṭhamūrdhaja
hvādantorastālunāsikā varṇānām sthānāny āsyam sprṣṭeṣatsprṣṭavivṛtasam
vṛṣeṣadvivṛtam | tayoṛ abhede vamo varṇasya sva nāma veditavyaḥ
akuḥavisarjanīyajiḥvāmūlīyāḥ kaṇṭhyāḥ | kur jihvāmūle | havisarjanīyāv
urasyau | jihvāmūlyo jihvyāḥ | sarvamukhasthānam avarṇam ity eke |
icauṣyaśās tūlavyāḥ | eai kaṇṭhatūlavyāv ekeṣām | uoauṣpādhmānīyā
oṣṭhyāḥ | oau kaṇṭhoṣṭhyāv ekeṣām | vo dantoṣṭhyāḥ | sṛk vāsthānam ekeṣām |
ṛṭuraśmūrdhanyāḥ | repho dantamūla ekeṣām | ṛtulasā dantyāḥ | nāsikyo
'nusvaraḥ | kaṇṭhanāsikya ekeṣām || āsyam || sprṣṭam karaṇam sparśānam |
i-atsprṣṭam antassthānām | vivṛtam ūṣmaṇām svarānām ca | eo vivṛtatatau |
tabhyām aiau | tābhyām avarṇaḥ | iṣadvivṛtam ūṣmaṇam | samvṛtam
akarasya | ā a ā ity akaraḥ udatto 'nudāttaḥ svaritas cānunāsiko 'nanunā
sikaś ceti ṣaṭ | evaṃ dīrghapluṭāv iti dvadaśāvarṇabhedāḥ parasparasya sve
'bhavanti | evaṃ iṣvādīnām tv [16] aṣṭādaśa bhedaḥ | jvarṇasyānukaraṇād
anyatra dīrgho nāstīti dvadaśa bhedaḥ | ecam hrasvabhāvād dvadaśa bhedaḥ |
yavalānām anunāsiko 'nanunāsikaś ceti dvau bhedau | vargyāḥ pañca pañca |
rephoṣmaṇām sve na santi ||

āsannaḥ || 7 ||

iḥāsannānāsannaprasange sthānaguṇapramāṇādibhir yathāsvam āsanna
eva vidhīr upātto veditavyaḥ || tatra sthānena || dīrghaḥ [1 1 77] | lokāg
ram | munindrah || guṇena || kte 'niṣajāḥ kur gghṛti [4 1 171] | pakāḥ |
tyāgaḥ | cakārasyaḡhoṣasyalpapraṇasya tādrśa eva kakaro bhavati | jakar
asya ḡhoṣavato lpapraṇasya tādrśa eva kakāro bhavati || pramānena || do
mo 'syādaso mād guś cāṣṇy asan [1 2 44] | amuṣmai | amūbhyam |
mātrikasya mātrikaḥ | dvimatrasya dvimatraḥ |¹ arthena || manistry ekar
thayoh stryanyato 'nūḥ [2 2. 41] | vataṇḍyayuvatiḥ | daradavṇḍarikā |
vataṇḍīśabdasya apatyārthasya tadartho vataṇḍyabhavaḥ | daracchabdasya
dāradah ||

sambandhinām sambandhe || 8 ||

sambandhusabdanām yat kāryam ucyate tat sambandhe saty eva bhavati
nānyatra | śvasurad yaḥ [2 4 94] śvasuryaḥ | samṇāyām śvaśurad in⁴
eva | svāśuriḥ ||

ghaḍḍatī samkhyā || 9 ||

ghaṭḍatīpratyayāntam⁵ samkhyāvad bhavati | ekadikā samkhyā
tatkāryam pratipadyata ity arthaḥ | yāvatkam | yavaddha | yavatkṛtvāḥ |
yatidha | yatikṛtvāḥ⁶ ||

bahuganaṃ bhede || 10 ||

bahugana ity etau śabdau bhede vartamānau saṃkhyāvad bhavataḥ |
bhedo nānātvam ekatvapratyogī | bahukaḥ | bahudha | bahukṛtvah⁶ |
gaṇakah | gaṇadhā | gaṇakṛtvah⁶ || Bheda itī kim || vaipulye saṃghe ca
mā bhūt ||

kasamāse 'dhyardhak || 11 ||

adhyardhasabdaḥ kapratyaye vidhātavye samase ca saṃkhyāvad bhavati |
adhyardhakam | adhyardhaśūrpam kṛite || pratyayasya dvigob⁷ sluk ||

[17] *ardhapūrvapado ḍat || 12 ||*

ardhapūrvapado ḍatpratyayāntaḥ śabdaḥ kasamāsayoh saṃkhyāvad
bhavati | ḍad itī saṃkhyāpūrane ḍat [3 3 76] ity ārabhya ā dvitreṣ⁸
tīyatas takāreṇa pratyāhārah | ardhapāñcamakam | ardhapāñcamasūrpam ||

pautrādi vṛddham || 13 ||

paramaprakṛter apatyavataḥ yat pautrādy apatyam tad vṛddhasaṃjñam
bhavati | gargasyāpatyam pautrādi gargyaḥ | vātsyah⁹ | anantarāpatyam
gārgḥ | vatsir¹⁰ ity eva bhavati ||

prapautrādy astri vaṃśyājyāyobhṛātroh satī yuvā || 14 ||

prapautraḥ pautrapatyam paramaprakṛteṣ caturthaḥ | vaṃśe bhavo
vaṃśyaḥ pitrādīr ātmanah kāraṇam | jyāyān bhrātā vayo'dhika ekapitṛka
ekamatṛko vā | paramaprakṛteḥ prapautrādy apatyam strivarjitaṃ vaṃśye
satī jīvati putrādi jyāyasi ca bhrātari kaniyān bhrāta yuvasaṃjñā bhavati |
gārgyāyanaḥ | vātsyāyanah¹¹ || paramaprakṛtur gargaḥ | tasyānantarāpatyam
gārgḥ¹⁰ | tadanantarāpatyam vṛddho gargyaḥ⁹ tṛtīyaḥ syāt | caturtho
gārgyāyano yuvā || prapautraditī kim || pautro gārgyaḥ || astritī kim || strī
gārgī¹² ||

satī sapinḍe 'dhivayassthane vā || 15 ||

yayoh pūrvah saptamaḥ puruṣa ekas tāv anyonyasya sapinḍau | vayo
yauvanādi | sthānam pitā putra ityādi | paramaprakṛteḥ prapautrādy
apatyam strīvarjitaṃ vayassthānābhyaṃ dvābhyaṃ apy adhike sapinḍe
jīvati satī sa jīva eva yuvasaṃjñam vā bhavati | pitṛvyē pitṛvyasya pitari
pitāmahe putre vā vayo dhike jīvati gārgyasyāpatyam jīvaḥ gārgyaḥ gārgyā
yano¹¹ vā | vātsyah vātsyāyano¹¹ vā || sad ityadi kim || anyatra gārgyaḥ⁹ |
strī gārgī¹² ||

yutavṛddham kutsārce || 16 ||

yuvā ca vṛddham cāpatyam yathākramam kutsāyām arcāyām ca vīcaye
yuvasaṃjñam vā bhavati | gargasyāpatyam yuvā kutsito gārgyaḥ | gārgyā-

¹ 3 3 64
¹⁰ 2 4 21

⁸ 3 3 86
¹¹ 2 4 33

⁹ 2 4 18, 38.
¹² 1 3 15

yaṇo¹³ vā || jālmaḥ gurumān bhūtvā svatantra ucyate | anyatra gārgyāyaṇa
eva || gargasyāpatyaṃ vṛddham arcitaṃ gārgyayaṇaḥ | gargo vā | anyatra
gārgya eva ||

[18] *nāma duḥ* || 17 ||

yan nāmadhyeṇaṃ saṃvyavahārāya haṭhān niyujyate devadattādi tad
dusaṃjñāṃ vā bhavati | devadattiyāḥ¹⁴ | daivadattāḥ ||

tyadādih || 18 ||

tyadādayaḥ śabdā nityam dusaṃjñā bhavanti | tyadiyam¹⁴ | tadiyam |
kumiyam | tādayaniḥ¹⁵ | yadāyaniḥ || tyadadiḥ sarvādyantargaṇaḥ ||

gasyākṣv adir adate || 19 ||

ya¹⁴ya śabdasyacām madhye ādir ac ākāra au va sa dusaṃjñā bhavati |
āmraguptāyaniḥ¹⁵ | āmbaśhyah¹⁶ | sauviryah¹⁶ | aitukayaniyah¹⁶ | aupaga¹⁷
yah¹⁸ ||

desa etam chadau || 20 ||

desa eva vartamanasya yasya śabdasyacām adir en bhavati sa chādu
pratyaye vidhatavye dusaṃjñā bhavati | saipurikī | saipurika | skaunagarikī |
skaunagarikā | seputaṃ skonagaram ca bahikagramau || evakaro niyamār
thaḥ | tena dese nyarthatra ca vartamānasya na bhavati || chādav iti kim ||
phuṇādu na bhavati ||

pragdeśe || 21 ||

prāgdeśe vartamanasya yasya śabdasyacām adir en sa chadau pratyaye
dusaṃjñā bhavati | saravati nāma nadī | tadapekṣa pragudagvyavastha |
eṇipacaniyah¹⁴ | gonardiyaḥ | ekacakrakaḥ | niyamanivṛttiyartham vaca
nam ||

kriyartho dhatuḥ || 22 ||

kriyapravṛttih pūrvāparibhūta śādhyamānarūpa | sa artho bhūdheyam
yasya sa śabdo dhātusaṃjñā bhavati | bhū | bhavati | edhī | edhate gopāya |
gopayati | papacya | papacyate | putrakāmya¹⁷ | putrakamyati || śiṣṭapra
yoganusāritva lakṣanasya ānapayatyadinivṛttih ||

dadha ght ab || 23 ||

dadharupopalakṣito yo dhātuḥ so bakaranubandho ghusaṃjñā bhavati |
dārūpas catvārah | dhārupau dvau || daḥ | pranudata | den | [19] praṇi
dayate | dūdañ | praṇidatati | do | praṇidyati | dheṭ | praṇidhayati | dūdhāñ |
pranidadhati¹⁸ || ab iti kim || dab | dataṃ barhiḥ | daib | avadataṃ mu
kham ||

prāḍir nāpratyaye || 24 ||.

prāḍiḥ svarādyantargaṇaḥ | sa na dhātuh | dhātor avayavo na bhavati |
taṁ vyudasya tataḥ para eva dhātusaṁjño veditavyaḥ | apratyaye | na cet
tataḥ paraḥ pratyayo bhavati | abhyamanāyata¹⁰ | abhimimanāyīṣate | abhi-
manāyya²⁰ | prāsādiyat | prāsādiyīṣati | prāsādiyya || apratyaya iti kim ||
autsukāyata²¹ | utsukāyīṣate | utsukāyitvā²² || asaṁgrāmayatāsūra ity atra
saṁgrāma ity etāvān yuddhārtho dhātur nātra saṁ prāḍiḥ ||

tasyāgatārthādhiparyarcāsvatyatikramāty upasargah prāk ca || 25 ||

tasya dhātoḥ sambandhī tadarthadyotī prāḍir upasargasamjño bhavati
prāk ca tato dhātor bhavati | yau gatārthāḥ adhipari iti yau cārcāviṣayau
suatī iti yaś cātukramaviṣayaḥ ati iti tān etān varjayitvā | pralambhaḥ²³ |
pariṇamati²⁴ | abhiṣīcatī²⁵ || upasargatvena mādi || tasyeti kim || vṛkṣaṁ
vṛkṣaṁ abhi sicyate || agatetyādi kim || adhyāgacchati | āgacchaty adhi |
paryāgacchati | āgacchati pari | adhyāgamanikaḥ | paryānītam | upari
bhāvasya sarvatobhāvasya ca prakaraṇādeḥ pratipattau gatārthatvam | apra-
tipattau adhyāgacchati paryāgacchatīti prāktvam eva || arcāsvati || su sik-
taṁ bhavatī | atī stutaṁ bhavatī | atra dhātvarthaḥ praśasyate | anyatra
suṣiktaṁ bhavateḥ kutsyate || atikramāti || atī siktam eva bhavatī | atī
stutvā | yadarthaṁ kriyā tasmin kārye niṣpanne 'pi kriyāpravṛttir atikra-
maḥ | anyatra atīśayya || prāk cety adhikārah prāg avyayasamjñāyāḥ ||

dācavyūryādyanukaraṇam ca ti || 26 ||

dājanam vyantam ūrītyevamādy anukaraṇam upasargasamjñam ca
dhātoḥ sambandhī tisamjñam bhavati || dāc || paṭapaṭīkṛtya²⁶ | sapatṭrā-
kṛtya || evi || śuklīkṛtya²⁷ | ghaṭīkṛtya || ūryādi || ūrīkṛtya | ūrarīkṛtya²⁸ ||
anukaraṇam || khūkṛtya | phaṭīkṛtya²⁹ || upasargah || prakṛtya pariḥkṛtya³⁰ |
cāślesidharmyād ūryādīnāṁ kṛbhvastibhir eva yoge tisamjñā || ūryādayo
kanapāṭhe draṣṭavyāḥ ||

[20] *kāṅkālāmado'nlohsadasat sthityādibhūcānupadeśāpari-*

grahādarakṣepe || 27 ||

sthityādau bhūcā anupadeśa aparigraha-śidara-kṣepa ity eteṣu cārtheṣu
yathāśeṣkhyam kīrīkā-alam adas-antar-sat asat ity ete śabdā dhātos tisamjñā
bhavanti || sthitiḥ maryādā vrtur vā | śid-śabdād yatnādī grhyate | tatra
kāṅkākṛtya³¹ || bhūcā māṇḍanam | tatra alamkṛtya³² || svayam parāmarśo
'nupadeśah | tatra adahkṛtya³³ || parigrahaḥ svīkārāḥ | tadabdhive antar-
hatya³⁴ || śidarah pṛṣṭya sambhramah | tatra satkṛtya³⁵ || kṣepah pambha-
vah | tatra asakṛtya³⁶ || sthityādāv iti kim || kāṅkālām kṛtvā | karṣm ity
arthaḥ | alam kṛtvā | mā kārīty arthaḥ | adah kṛtvā gataḥ | ayaṁ parasyo-

¹⁰ 4 2. 131

²⁰ 4 4. 144

²¹ 4 2. 219

²² 2 2. 171

²³ 4 2. 207.

²⁴ 2. 2. 171.

²⁵ 3 3. 113.

²⁶ 4 2. 238.

padeśah | antar hatvā mūṣikāṃ śyeno gataḥ | pariṅhyety arthah | sat kṛtvā |
vidyamānam ity arthah | asat kṛtvā | avidyamānam ity arthah ||

kanemanaḥ śraddhocchede || 28 ||

kaṇe-manas ity etau śabdau śraddhāyā abhilāśasyocchede dhātos tisaṃ
jñau bhavataḥ || kaṇchatya²⁶ | manohatya | śraddhām ucchidyety arthah |
anyatra taṇḍulasya kaṇe hatvā mano hatvā gataḥ ||

astampuro 'vyayam || 29 ||

astam puras ity etāv avyayau dhātos tisaṃjñau bhavataḥ | astamgatya |
puraskṛtya²⁷ | astam iti nāśe vartate || anavyaye | astam kṛtvā kṣiptam ity
arthah | purah kṛtvā nagarīr ity arthah ||

gatyarthaśado 'cchah || 30 ||

accha ity etad avyayam abhisabdārthe dṛḍhārthe ca vartate | tad gat
yarthasya vadeś ca dhātoḥ sambandhi tisaṃjñam bhavati | acchagatya²⁸ |
acchavrajya | acchodya || avyayam iti kim || accham udakam gatvā ||

tiro 'ntardhau || 31 ||

tras ity etad antardhau vyavadhāne vartamānam dhātoḥ sambandhi
tisaṃjñam bhavati | tirobhūya²⁹ | tirodhāya | anyatra tiro bhūtvā sthitaḥ |
tiryag bhūtvety arthah ||

kṛṇo iā || 32 ||

tras ity etad antardhau vartamānam kṛṇo dhātoḥ sambandhi tisaṃ
jñam va bhavati | traskṛtya³⁰ | trahkṛtya | trah kṛtvā || anyatra trah kṛtvā ||

[21] *manasyurasupāje'nvājemadhyepademivacane* || 33 ||

manasi urasi upāje anvaje-madhye-pade-nivacane ity etany avyayāni
kṛṇo dhātoḥ sambandhūni tisaṃjñāni va bhavanti | urasi manasi anasya
dhānaviśaye | atyadhānam upaśleṣa āścaryam ca | manasikṛtya³¹ | manasi
kṛtvā | urasikṛtya | urasi kṛtvā | upajekṛtya | upāje kṛtvā | anvajekṛtya | anvaje
kṛtvā | madhyekṛtya | madhye kṛtvā | padekṛtya | pade kṛtvā | nivacane
kṛtya | nivacane kṛtvā ||

svāmye 'dhik || 34 ||

adhīr ity ayam upasargah svamubhavaśiśaye kṛṇo dhātoḥ sambandhī
tisaṃjñau bhavati vā | devadattam grame 'dhikṛtya³² | adhi kṛtvā | svāminam
kṛtvety arthah | anyatra acity adhikṛtya³³ || pradīr³⁰ upasarga³¹ iti vartate |
tenopasargasamjñāni vikalpyata³⁴ ity kṛtvādhūti prakṛtyānyamah ||

sākṣādādy acvī || 35 ||

sākṣādityādi śabdārūpam acvī vyartham acvyantam kṛṇah sambandhi

tiṣaṃjñāṃ vā bhavati | śākṣātkṛtya²⁹ | śākṣāt kṛtvā | mithyātkṛtya | mithvā
kṛtvā || acvīti kim || lavaṇīkṛtya | uṣṇīkṛtya²⁹ ||

nityaṃ hastepānau stīkṛtau || 36 ||

haste-pāṇāv ity etāv avyayau ātmīyīkaraṇe kṛñāḥ sambhandhinau
tiṣaṃjñāu nityaṃ bhavataḥ | hastekṛtya | pānaukṛtya²⁹ | anyatra haste kṛtvā
kīrṣāpanaṃ gataḥ ||

jīvikopaniṣad iva || 37 ||

jīvikā upaniṣad ity etau śabdau ivārthe gamyamāne kṛñāḥ sambandhi
nau tiṣaṃjñāu nityaṃ bhavataḥ | jīvikām iva kṛtvā jīvikātkṛtya²⁹ | jīvikā-
karoti³⁷ | upaniṣatkṛtya | upaniṣatkaroti | anyatra jīvikām kṛtvā | upaniṣadaṃ
kṛtvā ||

prādhvaṃ bandhe || 38 ||

prādhvam ity etad makārāntam avyayam ānukūlye vartate | tadanu-
kūlye bandhahetuke vartamānaṃ kṛñāḥ sambandhi tiṣaṃjñāṃ bhavati | prā-
dhvaṃkṛtya²⁹ anyatra pragatam adhvanaṃ prādhvaṃ kṛtvā śakaṣaṃ
gataḥ ||

[22] *tasvanāmādhantasyāmklvāṃtumtisunptasvābhasi arādīny
avyayam* || 39 ||

tas vat nām ity etadantani dhanvarjitatasyantani ām kṛtvā am tum ityeta-
dantāni tiṣaṃjñāni sunptasupratirūpāni svaradini ca śabdarūpāny avyaya
saṃjñāni bhavanti || tas || ekadīṣitaḥ pīlumūlato³³ vidyotate || vat || munivād
vṛttam || nām || uccastamam || adhantasi || rāmataḥ³⁴ | rāvaṇataḥ | sarvataḥ |
sarvatra³⁵ | bahusah | tasu vyāśraye tas { 3 4 4 } ity ārabhya śaser³⁶ ikāreṇa
pratyaharaḥ || adhan iti kim || pathidvaidhāni | saṃśayatraidhāni³⁷ || am ||
dayamcakre | vidamkaroti³⁸ || ktvā || kṛtvā | hṛtvā || am || pūrvaṃbhojaṃ |
kanyādarsaṃ³⁹ varayati || tum || kartum | hartum || ti || adahkṛtya |
avyayan na sū || sunābhah || ratrau | velayam | asti | syāt || ptasvabhah |
yatha | tathā | katham | kutaḥ | ptasu iti ptaspratyayād⁴⁰ arabhya ā katham
ūthamot { 3 4 3 } ukāreṇa pratyahārah || svarādīḥ | svas tuṣṭhatī | antaḥ
tuṣṭhatī | upa karoti ||

sadṣaṃ triṣu lugeṣu sarvāsu ca vibhaktiṣu |

vacaneṣu ca sarveṣu yan na vyeti tad avyayam ||

tasādigrahaṇaṃ kim || ekah | dvau | bahavaḥ | apaḥ | varṣaḥ || svarādayo
gaṇapāṭhe draṣṭavyāḥ ||

ghy asakhyadvandīopatidut || 40 ||

īkarāntam ukārāntam ca śabdarūpaṃ ghyasamjñāṃ bhavati sakhyasabdaṃ
dvandvānavayavaṃ ca patiśabdaṃ varjayitvā | munmā | sādhunā | muni

³² 2 2 1

³⁵ 3 4 17

³⁸ 1 4 83

³³ 3 1 179 180

³⁶ 3 4 64

³⁹ 4 4 150

³⁴ 3 4 4

³⁷ 3 4 31

⁴⁰ 3 4 12.

utau | sād huguptau⁴¹ || aśakhyadvandvapatuḥ kim || sakhya | sakhye |
 patya | patye || advandvagrahaṇam kim || patisutau | patiśakhyau ||
 patisakhuśabdayor ayam pratīśedhaḥ | na samudayasya | teneha bhavaty
 eva | atisakher āgacchati | bahupateḥ svam ||

pratyayah kṛto śaṣṭhyah || 41 ||

iha yah kṛto vihitah sa pratyayasamjño veditavyah | aśaṣṭhyah | śaṣṭhy
 antarthah śaṣṭhu | na cet sa śaṣṭhyantarthasya vihitō bhavati | āgamo
 vikaro vety arthah | nu | rūjñu | su au jas⁴² | vṛkṣah vṛkṣau vṛkṣah ||

[23] yady ayat taddhitah || 42 ||

1) yuddhe [2 1 135] ity arabhya gupaudhubvicchīpanpaner ayah [4 1
 1] ity āyapratyayat prag yat pratyayasamjñam tat taddhitasamjñam
 bhavati | keśakeśi⁴³ aupagavah⁴⁴ ||

ghyady atn kṛt || 43 ||

ghyanadi⁴⁵ pratyayasamjñam tinvarjitam kṛtsamjñam bhavati | ghana
 ghatyah godayo vrajati || atn iti kim || praniṁste ||

paraḥ || 44 ||

yah pratyayah sa prakṛteḥ para eva bhavati | vṛkṣah | vṛkṣau | vṛkṣah ||

mud aco ntyat || 45 ||

makaranubandhako yasya vidhiyate tasyācam antyāt paro bhavati |
 vandate | vanani⁴⁶ ||

spardhe || 46 ||

dvayor vidhyor anyatra savakaśayos tulyabalayor ekatra vinipataḥ
 spardhas tatra yah sutrapathe paraḥ sa vidhūr bhavati | utvam⁴⁷ | ko
 hasati | ko dhavati | luk⁴⁸ | eṣa karoti | sa saratīti ubhayapraptau paratval
 luk | eṣa hasati | sa dhavati ||

param syat purvaparayor nityam syat paranityayoh |
 nityat tathantarangam syāt tato py anavakasakam ||

śaṣṭhyah sthane nte lah || 47 ||

śaṣṭhyantarthasya vidhiyamano vidhūs tasya yo ntyo 1 tasya sthane
 prasango bhavati veditavyam | napo co hrsvah [1 2 1] gramani kulam |
 enani kulam ||

tasmad adeḥ || 48 ||

tasmad śaṣṭhyah pañcamivīṣṭasya śaṣṭhyantarthasya parasya vidhū

⁴¹ 2 1 119

⁴² 2 3 82

⁴³ 1 1 157

⁴⁴ 1 3 97

⁴⁵ 4 3 60

⁴⁶ 1 1 158

⁴⁷ 2 1 135

⁴⁸ 1 2 11

yamūno vidhis tasyāder alah sthāne bhavati | dvyantarupasargād id apo
'nūt [2 2 138] | dvīpam | antarīpam ||

[24] śīdanīdal || 49 ||

śic cānīdal cādeśah śaṣṭhyantūrtḥasya tasyaiva sthāne bhavati nūder
antasya vālah || śit || jaśśasah śūh [1 2 18] vanāni | dhanāni || aṇīdal ||
sam āmah [1 2 176] | sarveṣām | viśveṣām || nīdalparyudāsah kim || jarāyā
nas⁴⁹ | jarasā | jarase | jho 'ntah [1 4 88] iti yah sa nirdīśyamānasyādeśah ||

sthānīvānalāśraye || 50 ||

yasya sthāne yo vidhīyate sa sthūnī | itara ādeśah | sthūnīva bhavaty
ādeśah | sthānikaryam pratīpadyata ity arthah | analāśraye | na cet tat
kāryam sthānyalāśrayam bhavati | yuvā | rājā⁵⁰ | suval lope 'pī ny ak
[1 2 134] iti dīrghah padatvadī ca | kasmā | kasmāt | kṛpāt sarvādīvat
smāyādī⁵¹ || analāśraya iti kim || sah | panthāh⁵² | atra sthānivattvābhīvāt
halah paratvalakṣanā sor lug na bhavati⁵³ || āśrayagrahanam kim ||
pradīvyā | prasīvyā | valader id na bhavati⁵⁴ ||

pare'cah prāco 'kvīdīrghayadvīśadasklugvidhau || 51 ||

ajādeśah paranīmittakas tatah pūrvavidhau kartavye sthānīvad bhavati |
kvīvidhūn dīrghasya vidhūn yakārasya vidhūn dvītvasya vidhūn ā etasmad
arabhya domo 'syādaso mād yuṣ cāśiny asan [1 2 44] ity asadadhīkarad
yo vidhūh samyogasyadiskor lug [1 2 91] iti lugvarjitas tam ca varjayitva |
kathayati | avadhut || atrallugupāntīyavidhau kartavye sthānīvad bhavati ||
pādīkah⁵⁵ || atra padbhāve kvīvidhyadīpratiśedhah kim || devayater dyūh |
lavam ācaṣṭe lavayater lauh | atra ṇīlugallopau kvīvidhāv ūci na sthānīvat ||
sāmam sāmam | asāmī | śaṃsāmam samśāmam asaṃśāmī | atra nyantat
ṇīyanṇyantat ca khamuñīhau ṇīlugallucāu dīrghavidhau || saurī balaka |
brahmaṇakanāḍūtīh | atra allug yavidhau || daddhy atra | maddhy apanaya |
atra yañ dhakarasya dvītvavidhau || nayanam | lavanam⁵⁶ | vāyākaranah |
sauvasah⁵⁷ | yāni santi | tanī santi⁵⁸ | abhī santi | viśanti | apayanti |
viyanti⁵⁹ | atramañyalluco 'yādāv āsadavidhau || sklūgvidhūpratiśedhah⁶⁰ |
kim || sukusmayateh sūkūh | kaṣṭham takṣayātī kaṣṭhatak | atra samyoga
syādiskor luk [1 2 91] iti luci sthānīvadbhāvat padasya [1 2 92] iti luk ||
kaṣṭhataḍ ity anyante || asklug iti prāyiko yaṃ nīśedhas tena madhuścutam
ācakṣāno [25] madhug ity atra ṇīlopasyāethanīvattvāt dnas tat so 'ścah
[1 1 146] iti paryudāsasāmāthyāt śākārasyāpi samyogasyadiskor lug iti
luk | śāḍika ity āṣaḍ ity ato jaś ||

⁴⁹ 1 2 37

⁵² 1 2 213 109-111

⁵³ 3 2 39

⁵⁴ 1. 1 73

⁵⁰ 1 2 96, 134 120.

⁵¹ 1 2 120

⁵² 1 1 71

⁵³ 1 1 77

⁵⁴ 1 2 217, 166

⁵⁵ 4 2 134

⁵⁶ 2 3 87, 1 1 71

⁵⁷ 1 2, 91

slucigenat || 52 ||

parasya pratyayasya śluci samjatayam ślughhutaparanimittakam purva
karyam ik-enad ity etavad eva bhavati | veveddhi | śośaviti | janighuti |
enat paśya | enacchritakah⁶¹ || sthanuvanaśraye [I 1 50] iti siddhe nīya
martham vacanam | tenanyam na bhavanti | tat | gargaḥ ||

tīd adih || 53 ||

tīd yasya vidhūyate sa tasyadiḥ prathamavayavo bhavati | dnas tat co
ścaḥ [I 1 146] | guḍaliṭṭ saye || valader it⁶² | vadita | vaditum ||

kīd antah || 54 ||

kīd yasya vidhūyate sa tasyanto vasanavayavo bhavati || naḥ śi jak
[I 1 147] bhavanc churah || hrasvasya tak⁶³ | agnucit || yogavibhaga
uttararthaḥ ||

viśeṣanam || 55 ||

viśeṣanam viśeṣasya samudayasyanto ntavayavo bhavati || napa co
hrasvati [I 2 1] kilalapam | gramam kulam || yvr ity ac⁶⁴ | jayah |
stavaḥ | tarah ||

prak pañcamī || 56 ||

pañcamyantartha viśeṣanam asamanadhikaranam viśeṣyat prak purvam
bhavati || padad vakyasya vasnasau yugvibhakteḥ [I 2 191] dharmo yo
vardhatam | dharmo no vardhatam | iha na bhavati || yuṣmakam dharmo
vardhatam ||

na saptamy aghyadīṣu || 57 ||

iha saptaminirdīṣtam viśeṣanam viśeṣyat purvam na bhavati ghyana
vidher⁶⁵ anyatra || eco cy ayavayav [I 1 71] munaye | sadhavoghaḥ
anena paśasyayadi na bhavati || aghyadīṣv iti kim || smarasi vatsyamah
kalingeṣu⁶⁶ | ma bhut⁶⁷ ||

tasyadīḥ || 58 ||

tasya saptamyantasya viśeṣanam tasyadīḥ avayavo veditavyaḥ || jara
ya as indrasya ci [I 2 37] jaraśah | jaraśam || iha na bhavati || jaraśu tapyate
nena || saptamity asya strītvam na paramīṣyate ||

[26] pratyayanyakṣyat prakṛtyadeḥ || 59 ||

śyad iti gurupottamasyanarṣe patye nūnah syan [I 3 2] ity arabhya a
yunaś tīt [I 3 76] iti titaś takareṇa pratyaharah | pratyayo nyan upasar
janam ca śyat viśeṣanam prakṛtyadeḥ samudayasyeti veditavyam nonadhi
kaśya || pratyayah || matrbhoginaḥ | kharapayanah || suñ padam [I 1 62]
iti padasamjñā unasya na bhavati | tena abhinne [I 2 56] iti naḥ || rajñah

⁶¹ 2 1 33⁶² 4 2 134⁶³ 4 1 42⁶⁴ 4 4 14⁶⁵ 4 4 1 ff⁶⁶ 4 3 209⁶⁷ 4 4 137

puruṣaḥ rājapuruṣaḥ | śaṣṭhy ayatnāt [2 1 43] iti samāsaḥ | adhikasya
 samudāyasya na bhavati | vṛddhasya rājñāḥ puruṣaḥ || putram icchatu
 putrakāmyati | supaḥ kartuḥ kāmyaḥ [4 1 17] | adhikān na bhavati |
 mahāntaṃ putram icchatu || nyakṣyat || atikāriṣagandhyābandhuḥ | atikau
 mudagandhyābandhuḥ || bandhau śyasye [2 2 115] na bhavati⁶⁹ | anupasar
 jinas tu śyad adhikasyāpi bhavati || paramakāriṣagandhībandhuḥ | parama
 kauṃmudagandhībandhuḥ ||

kṛt satikāraśyāpi || 60 ||

kṛtpratyayaḥ satīśamjñikasyāpi śakāraśyāpi satikāraśyāpi prakṛt-
 yādeḥ samudāyasya viśeṣaṇaṃ bhavati | apīśabdāt kevalasyāpi | udakevi r
 ṇam | avataptēnakulasthitam | devadāttanakhanirbhinnam | bhasmanihutam |
 śāṃkūtinam | vyāvakrośi ||

tinā vākyam || 61 ||

iha śākṣat pāraṃparyeṇa va tināntasya viśeṣaṇaṃ prayujyamānam
 aprayujyamānam va tena tināntena prayujyamānaprayujyamānena vā
 sāha vakyasamjñāṃ bhavati | dharmo vo rakṣatu⁶⁹ | dharmo no rakṣatu |
 sadhu vo rakṣatu | sādhu no rakṣatu | śālināṃ ta odanaṃ dadāti | śālināṃ
 ma odanaṃ dadati | kaṭaṃ kurūḥ gramam ca gaccha | yavān lunihīḥ sak-
 tūṃś ca pība | devadattena vo datavyam | devadattena no datavyam || śākan
 kṣatve 'pi tināntabhede vakyabhedārthaṃ vacanam | odanaṃ paca tava
 bhaviṣyati | mama bhaviṣyati | paca tava bhaviṣyati | mama bhaviṣyati |
 'odanaṃ tava bhaviṣyati | mama bhaviṣyati | arthat prakaraṇād vavagatāv
 aprāyogaḥ ||

sun padam || 62 ||

sun⁷⁰ iti prathamāikavacanād ārabhya a mahino⁷¹ nakāreṇa pratyah
 arah | sunantaṃ śabdarūpam padasamjñāṃ bhavati | dharmah | karma |
 pacataḥ | apacan | brūmahe | vah ||

{27} *naṃ kye* || 63 ||

nakarantaṃ śabdarupam kye pratyaye parataḥ padasamjñāṃ bhavati |
 kya iti kyac pkyan kyaś kyanāṃ⁷² viśeṣakaraṇa anubandhān utsṛjya saman
 yena grahaṇam | rājīyati⁷² | rajayate | carṃyati | uṣmāyate⁷³ || kya iti
 kim || sāmānyah || sun ity eva | manyā ||

sīdaly adhātōḥ || 64 ||

sīti valādaḥ ca pratyaye pare pūrvaṃ padasamjñāṃ bhavati | adhātōḥ |
 na cet sa pratyayo dhator vihitō bhavati || sīti || 'bhavadīyah | urāyuh ||
 vah || payobhyām | payahsu | rajatā | vaktvam || adhator iti kim || yajvā |
 vacmu ||

⁶⁹ 1 3 2 ⁶⁹ 1 2 191 ⁷⁰ 1 3 97, 100 127, 135 152, 165 171
 1 1 4 2 ⁷² 4 1 18, 22, 27, 35 ⁷³ 4 1 36.

na vṛtīyantaḥ || 65 ||

padarthabhīdhanam vṛtīḥ | tadvacī śabdasaṃudāyaḥ samasādīḥ | tas
yantaḥ śabdaḥ padasaṃjñā na bhavati | paramagīrau | paramadivau |
śvalīhau | goduhau | bahudaṇḍīnau || antagrahanam kim || rajavak ||

staṃ matvarthe || 66 ||

sakarantaṃ takarantaṃ ca śabdarupam matvarthīye pratyaye¹⁷⁵ pare
padasaṃjñam na bhavati | yaśasvi | yaśasvan | viduṣman | marutvan ||

manurnabho ngiro vati || 67 ||

manus nabhas-angīras ity etanī vati pratyaye pare padasaṃjñānā na
bhavanti | manur iva manuṣvat | nabhasvat | angīrasvat ||

vṛtame gīdānācady an vāmunasikah || 68 ||

viratur viramaḥ | virame vartamanasyaṅo gīdānācādivarjitasya tada
"anno"⁷⁴ nūnasika adeśo va bhavati | samā | sama | khatvā | khatva |
dadhi⁷⁵ | dadhi | madhū | madhu || virama iti kim || dadhi karoti || agida
nācāditi kim || muni | sadhu⁷⁶ | kim u || anangrahanam kim || paṭali
putrad ā | paṭali-putrad ā ||

car jaśah || 69 ||

virāme vartamanasya jaśah sthane tadasannaś⁷⁴ caradeso va bhavati |
triṣṭup | triṣṭub⁷⁶ | vak | vag | śat | śad | tat | tad || virama iti kim || vāg
atra⁷⁶ ||

[28] na || 70 ||

ita urdhvam yad vakṣyate tad virame vartamanasya na bhavaty adhi
kṛtaṃ veditavyam a pādapaṇsamapteh | te ahuh | bhavan lunati ||

eco cy ayavayau || 71 ||

ecaḥ sthāne aci pare ay av-ay-āv ity ete kramapādeśa bhavanti | naya
nam | lavanam | rayau | navau ||

yai evad ikah || 72 ||

ecaḥ sthane avamat⁷⁷ paro ya iḡ adīṣas⁷⁷ tasya sthane aci pare yana
deśa eva bhavati nanyah | agama3h agnibhuta3y⁷⁷ atragaccha | agama3h
paṭa3y⁷⁷ atragaccha || evakaro dirghabadhanarthah⁷⁸ | anyatha hi purve
pavāda anantaran vidhun badhante nottaran iti hrasvasyaiva⁷⁹ badhā syat |

asve || 73 ||

ikah sthane asve aci paratas tadasanno yanadeso bhavati | dirgha
pavadaḥ⁷⁸ | dadhy⁸⁰ aśana | madhy⁸⁰ apanaya | pitrarthah | lakṛtub

4 1 1 7 75 1 2 22 1 4
78 1 1 77 79 1 1 74

8 1 2 75 77 2 3 30
80 1 2 7

dadhy |takāya dīyatām ity āha || asva iti kim || dadhūdam | madhūṣṭrah ||
iko yañbhir vyavadhānam ity eke | teṣām ikah pañcamī⁸¹ || dadhy atra |
madhuv atra | tūryan | bhūvādayah ||

hrasvo tādape || 74 ||

ikah sthāne asve aci pare hrasvādeṣo bhavati vā yañāpavādayah⁸² | na
cet tāv igacav ekatra pade⁸³ bhavataḥ | nadi⁸⁴ eṣā | nady⁸⁵ eṣā | dadhi⁸⁶
atra | dadhy⁸⁷ atra | madhu⁸⁸ atra | madhv atra | ati eti | aty eti | anu
eti | anv eti || hrasvasyāpi hrasvaḥ | parjanyaval lakṣānapravṛttih || apada
iti kim || nadyau⁸⁹ | vadhvau | nadyudakam | vadhvānanam ||

ṛty akah || 75 ||

akah sthāne ṛti ṛkāre |kāre⁹⁰ cāci pare hrasvadeṣo vā bhavati | maha
rṣih | maharṣih⁹¹ | dhulīṛtah | dhūlyīṛtah⁹² | vadhuṇnam | vadhūṇnam⁹³ |
kartṛṣyah | kartṛsyah⁹⁴ || iti || tava |kārah | tavalkārah⁹⁵ || takarah kim ||
kanyā |kārah | kanyarkārah⁹⁶ ||

[29] *īś coḥ sācah* || 76 ||

uh |varṇasya |varṇasya cākah sthāne ṛti ṛkāre |kāre cāci pare parenācā
sahitasya |ṛ ity acsamudayo 'jvyāñjanasamudāyo varṇāntaraṇ vā |ṣatsprṣṭa
karanam ādeṣo bhavati vā | piṭṛṣabhaḥ | piṭṛṣabhaḥ | piṭṛṣbhaḥ || iti ||
piṭṛ|kārah | piṭṛ|kārah | piṭṛkārah || |varṇasya || piṭ|ṛtaka ity āha | piṭ|ṛtaka
ity aha | piṭṛtaka ity aha || iti |varṇasya || piṭ|ṛtaka ity āha | piṭ|ṛtaka ity
āha | piṭṛtaka ity āha | |varṇa|varṇayor ekatvapratyūñjanād |ity adese |ṛpūḍa
dīdarśanaḥ |latvam || cakāro vety⁹⁷ asyānukarṣaṇartham | tenottaratra nanu-
vartate || sāca ity adhukārah padante 'ty enaḥ |I 1 94) iti yāvāt ||

dirghah || 77 ||

akah sthāne aci pare parenācā sahitasya tadasanno nityaṃ dirgha adeṣo
bhavati | dandāgram | sagata | munīndrah | nadiyam | madhūdakam |
vadhūdaram | piṭṛṣabhaḥ || |varṇasyanukarṣanād anyatra dirgho nāstuti |var
ṇasya |kāra eva dirghah ||

sasy ak || 78 ||

akah sasy aci parenācā sahitasya yathāsaṃkhyam ag dirgho bhavati |
tāh⁹⁸ | śilāḥ | buddih | dhenūh | nadiḥ | vadhūh matīh paśya ||

nantaḥ puṃsah || 79 ||

akah puṃlingasaṃbandhuni śasy aci pare parenācā sahitasya yathasaṃ
khyam dirgho nakarānta ādeṣo bhavati | jūnān⁹⁹ | munīn | sādhun | piṭṛn ||

⁸¹ I 1 48.

⁸² I 1 73

⁸³ I. 1 62 f

⁸⁴ I 2 120

⁸⁵ Cf. Cātām xii den Pratyāhārasutras.

⁸⁶ I 1 82

⁸⁷ I 1 77

⁸⁸ I 1 74

⁸⁹ I 2 216

⁹⁰ I 2 92, 95, 49

ḍhralucy anah || 80 ||

ḍhakārasya rephasya ca luci⁹¹ pūrvasyāṇo dīrgho bhavati | liḍham |
gūḍham | punā rātrau | agnī rathena⁹² | paṭū rājā || ḍhraluksāhacaryād iha
na bhavati || eṣa karoti | sa dadāti⁹³ ||

sahivaho 'syauh || 81 ||

sahivahor avarṇasya ḍhralucy okāro bhavati | soḍhā | voḍhā | soḍhum |
voḍhum || asyety adhikaras tathānigedhy eny en [I 1 93] iti yāvat ||

[30] *iky enar* || 82 ||

asya sāca iti vartate | avarṇasya sthāne iki pare pareṇācā sahitasya
yathāsaṃkhyam en ar ity eta ādeśa bhavanti | devendrah | māleyam | gan
dhodakam | maloḍhā | paramarṣiḥ maharṣiḥ | tavaḥkarah | salkara⁹⁴ ityadi |

ejūcy ac || 83 ||

avarṇasya sthāne eci ūjadeśe ca pare sācas tadāsanna aṇ ādeśo bhavati |
tavaṣa | khaṭvaiṣā tavaindrī tavaudanah | tavaupagavaḥ || ūci || dhautah |
dhautavān ||

prasyoḍhoḍhyuhaiṣaye || 84 ||

prasabdasya yad avarṇam tasya sthane ūḍha ūḍhi ūha eṣa eṣya ity eteṣu
sāca āsanna aṇjadeśo bhavati | prauḍhaḥ | prauḍhiḥ | prauhaḥ | praiṣah |
praiṣyah ||

svairasvairyakṣauhiṇyām || 85 ||

svaira svairin akṣauhiṇi ity eteṣv avarṇasya sāca ejadeso bhavati | svasya
irah | svairah | svayam īritum silam asyeti | svam | akṣāṇam uho syam
astīti | akṣauhiṇi sena ||

omanu parah || 86 ||

avarṇasya sthane omśabde ānadese ca sācaḥ paro jadeśo bhavati |
tavomkārah | kom ity avocat || anu || a rṣyat | arsyat⁹⁵ | adya ars
yat | adyarsyāt | khaṭvarsyat | ā ih | ehi⁹⁶ | upa ehi | upehi | parehi | a
ūḍhā | oḍha⁹⁷ | adyoḍhā | khaṭvoḍhā ||

eve 'niyoge || 87 ||

avarṇasya evaśabde sācaḥ paro jadeśo bhavati | na cet sa evaśabdo
niyogaviṣaye 'vadhāraṇe vartate | niyogah | idam eva kartavyam iti | iheva
dṛsyate | adyeva tīṣṭhati | tattvānvākhyanam etat || aniyoga iti kim ||
atraiva⁹⁸ tvam tīṣṭheti niyujyate ||

⁹¹ I 1 131

⁹² I 2 72 1 131

⁹³ I 1 158, 46

⁹⁴ Cf Cintam. zu I 1 76.

⁹⁵ I 1 82

⁹⁶ I 1 83

vausṭhatau samāse || 88 ||

avamaṣya oṣṭhaśabde oṭuśabde ca pare sācaḥ paro 'jādeśo bhavati vā |
tau cen nimittanimitṭināv ekatra samāse bhavataḥ | bimboṣṭhī | bimbau
ṣṭhu⁹⁷ | sthūlotuḥ | sthūlautuḥ || samāsa iti kim || rājaputrausṭham paśya |
devadattautuviṣṭmbhitam paśya ||

[31] *ār tṛtyāyā tte || 89 ||*

tṛtīyāntasambandhino 'varṇasya sthāne rtaśabde pare sāca ārādeśo bha
vati samase | sukhartah | dukkhartah || tṛty ar upasargasya [1 1 91] iti
punar āgrahanād hrasvo⁹⁷ na bādhyate | dukkhartah | sukhartah⁹⁷ || tṛtī
yāyā iti kim || paramartah⁹⁸ || samāsa iti kim || dukkhenartah⁹⁸ ||

pradaśārnavaśanākambalavatsatarasyarne || 90 ||

pra daśa ṛṇa vaśana kambala vatsatara ity eteṣām avamaṣya ṛṇāśabde
pare sāca ār bhavati samāse | pragatam ṛṇam prārṇam | daśanām ṛṇam
daśarnam | daśa ṛṇani yasyam sā daśāṇa nadī daśāṇo janapadaḥ | ṛṇāpa
nayanāya ṛṇam ṛṇārṇam | ṛṇasya ṛṇam ṛṇārṇam | vaśanam eva ṛṇam vaśanār
ṇam || evam kambalaṇam | vatsataraṇam || hrasvo na bādhyata iti praṇ
ṇam⁹⁷ ityādi bhavati ||

tṛty ar upasargasya || 91 ||

upasargasya yad avamaṇṇ tasya sthāne ṛkāradau dhatau pare sāca ār
bhavati | sarvāpavadaḥ | prardhnoti | prārcchati || punar āgrahaṇam hra-
vabādhanārtham⁹⁷ ||

supi tā || 92 ||

upasargasya yad avamaṇṇ tasya sthāne supi subantavayave ṛkāradau
dhatau pare sāca ār bhavati va | pakṣe yathā prāptam | upārṣabhīyati |
upārṣabhīyati⁹⁸ | upārṣabhīyati⁹⁷ || upalkāriyati⁹⁹ | upalkāriyati | upalkāri
yati ||

tathānmedhy eny en || 93 ||

upasargasya yad avamaṇṇ tasya sthāne m gatau edhi vṛddhau ity etā
bhyām anyasmīnn enādau dhatau pare sāca enādeśo bhavati | tathā subdhā
tau tu vā | prelayati | preṣayati | upokhati | prokhati || subdhītau || upe-
lakīyati | upailakīyati¹⁰⁰ | upodanīyati | upaudanīyati || anmedhy iti kim ||
uparū¹⁰⁰ | praidhate ||

padānte 'ty enah || 94 ||

padante 'ya en tasya akāre pare sāca en bhavati | te 'tra | paṭo 'tra ||
padanta iti kim || nayanam¹ | lavanam || takaraḥ kim || paṭav āssva¹ ||

⁹⁷ 1 1 75

¹⁰⁰ 1 1 83

⁹⁸ 1 1 82

¹ 1 1 71

⁹⁹ Cf oben S. 14 24 f

[32] gor od tã || 95 ||

sāca² ity nityam | gośabdasya yah padānta en tasya akāre pare okāro
vā bhavati | or odvacanam prakṛtibhāvārtham | goagram | gavāgram³ | go
'gram⁴ || he citrago 'gram ity atra citragośabdasya⁵ lākṣaṇikatvān na bha
vati | lakṣaṇapratipadoktayoh pratipadoktasyaiva grahaṇam | na tu lākṣaṇ
kasya ||

avo 'cy anakṣe || 96 ||

gośabdasya padante vartamānasya enah aci pare ava ity ādeśo vā bha
vati | na cet so 'j akṣaśabdashah | gavāgram | go'gram⁴ | goagram⁶ | gaves-
varah | gaviśvarah⁷ || padānta ity kim || gavi⁷ || anakṣa ity kim || goakṣam⁸ |
go'kṣam⁴ ||

indre || 97 ||

gośabdasya padānte vartamānasya enah indra.abdashthe 'ci pare ava ity
ādeśo nityam bhavati | gavendraḥ ||

tātāyane 'kṣe || 98 ||

gośabdasya padānte vartamānasya enah akṣaśabdashthe 'ci pare vātāyane
vācye avety ādeśo bhavati | gavakṣah | vātāyanam ity arthah || anyatra ||
go'kṣam⁴ | goakṣam⁸ ||

na plutasyāntau || 99 ||

plutasyāntāv aci pare yat prāpnoti tan na bhavati | devadattā³ atra
nv asi | jinadattā³ idam ānaya || anitāv ity kim | suślokā³ ity | suśloketi⁹ ||

gataḥ || 100 ||

ganubandhakasyāci pare tannimittam yat prapnoti tan na bhavati |
munu¹⁰ etau | sadhū etau | pacete atra | pacāvahe¹¹ avām ||

cāder aco 'nānah || 101 ||

cādūr asattvavācī ānvarjito yo 'c tasyāci pare tannimittam na bhavati |
a apehi | i indram paśya | u uttiṣṭha | ā evam nu manyase | ā evam kila
tat || anana ity kim || a uṣṇam | oṣṇam⁹ | iṣad uṣṇam | [33] ā ihu | ehu | a
udakantat odakāntat priyam anuvrajet | ā aṛyebhyah | āṛyebhyo 'sya ya-
gatam ||

iṣadathe kriyayoge maryādabhuvidhau ca yah |
etam ātam nitaṁ vidyad vakyasmaranayor anit ||

otah || 102 ||

cader okārantasyāci pare yat prapnoti tan na bhavati | aho idam |
utaho evam | atho asmai | no indriyam ||

2 1 1 76

3 1 1 96

4 1 1 94

5 2 1 123

6 1 1 95

7 1 1 71

8 2 3 27

9 1 1 82

10 1 2 22

11 1 4 93

sau vetau || 103 ||

sunimitto ya okāras tasya itisābde pare yat prāpnoti tan na bhavati vā | paṭo iti | paṭav iti¹² || sāv iti kim || gav ity āha ||

ū coñah || 104 ||

uñ ity etasya itau pare ū ity ayaṃ dirghānunāsika ādeso bhavati vā | caśabdad yad anyat prāpnoti tac ca vā bhavati | evaṃ trainūpyaṃ bhavati | ū iti | u iti¹³ | v iti¹⁴ ||

mayo 'ci vo 'san || 105 ||

may iti pratyahārah | maya uttarasya uñah sthāne aci pare vakaro bhavati vā | sa cāsan abhutavat | krunn¹⁵ v āste | krunn u ĩste¹⁶ | kim v uṣṇam | kim u uṣṇam¹⁷ | tad v asya matam | tad u asya matam | kim v iti | kim ū iti¹⁸ | kim u iti¹⁹ | kṛṇ v iti²⁰ || asve [I 1 73] iti yañ || asattvād²¹ dvitvam²² anusvāranunāsikabhāvaś ca ||

halo 'nunasike nunasikah svah || 106 ||

padante vartamānasya halaḥ sthane anunāsike pare sthāninaḥ svo nunāsika ādeso bhavati va | vān madhurā | vāg ° madhura | śan nayaḥ | ṣad nayaḥ | tan nayanam | tad²³ nayanam | kakummaṇḍalam | kakub maṇḍalam²⁴ | halmatram | halmatram | tvan ū²⁵ iti | tvag ū iti || asan²⁶ ity eva | tvan ū iti | hrasvān namaḥ [1 1 123] iti dvitvam na bhavati |

pratyaye || 107 ||

padante vartamānasya halaḥ sthane anunāsikadau pratyaye pare sthāni naḥ svo nunāsika ādeso bhavati nityam | vanmayam | śanmām || padanta iti kim || yajñah | svapnah ||

[34] rīsyoh || 108 ||

padante vartamāne rephe sakare ca īkanubandhe pare yaḥ pūrvas tasya sthane svo 'nunāsika ādeso bhavati | nṛḥ paḥ²⁷ kṛṣkan²⁸ | bhav ā chādayati²⁹ ||

mnam jayy apadante || 109 ||

makaraṇakaraṇam apadante vartamanāṃ jayī pare nimittasvo nunāsiko bhavati || masya || ganta | gantum || nasya || śankita | sankitum || bahuvacanam nasya pātvaśābhadhanartham || viśrambhah | abhiṣanti || apa danta iti kim || bhavan paramah ||

¹² I 1 71

¹³ I 1 123

¹⁴ I 1 105

¹⁵ I 1 148

¹⁶ I 1 101

¹⁷ I 1 104

¹⁸ Cf I 1 123

¹⁹ I 1 149

²⁰ I 1 73

²¹ I 1 73, 111

²² I 2 75

²³ I 1 150

śaly amustārah || 110 ||

makāranakārūnām apadānte vartamānānām sthāne śali pare 'nusvāro bhavati || masya || pumsī | gamsyate || nasya || dāṃśah | yaśāṃsī ||

maṃmo hali tau || 111 ||

padānta itī vartate maṃgrahaṇāt | maṃgamasya padānte vartamānasya ca makārasya sthāne hali pare tau nimittasvo 'nunasiko 'nusvāraś ca paryayeṇa bhavataḥ | caṅkramyate | caṅkramayate²⁴ | abhraiśiḥo vāyuh | abhram liḥo vāyuh | masya || tvaṃ karoṣi | tvaṃ karoṣi | saṃyantā | samyantā || padānta itī kim || gamyate | ramyate ||

hi lvyamni || 112 ||

padānte vartamānasya makārasya sthāne lavayamana ity etadvamapare hakāre pare teṣūṃ svo 'nunāsiko 'nusvāraś ca paryayeṇa bhavataḥ | kil hlādayati | kiṃ hlādayati | kiṃ hvayate | kiṃ hvayate | kiṃ hyah | kiṃ hyah | kim hmalayati | kiṃ hmalayati | kin hnuṣe | kiṃ hnuṣe ||

samrāt || 113 ||

sam ity etasya rūjatau kvibante pare anusvārābhavo nīpātyate | samraṭsu pañcamah śantiḥ ||

khay khayah śarī vā || 114 ||

padānta itī nivṛttam | khayah śarī pare khayādeso bhavati va | tacch sete | tac sete | vathsah | vatsah | aphsarāḥ | apsarah ||

[35] śaro 'nu dve || 115 ||

śarah parasya khayah sthāne anu yad anyat prapnoti tasmin kṛte paścad dve rūpe bhavato vā | kaś cchādayati²⁵ | kaś chādayati | tvaṃ kḥhanasī²⁶ | tvaṃ kḥhanasī | stthali | sthali || anv ity uktatvad asan²⁶, itī nivṛttam itī dvitve cartvadi²⁵ bhavati || punah khayah parasya sarah sthāne dve rūpe bhavato vā | tac śete | tac sete | vatssah | vatsah ||

yano mayah || 116 ||

yañah parasya mayah sthane dve rupe bhavato va | vṛkṣav kkaroti | vṛkṣav karoti | valmūkah | valmūkah || anv²⁷ ity eva || proṇunāva | urjijayati || punar mayah parasya yañah sthane dve rūpe bhavato va || dadhy atra | dadhy atra | madhv atra | madhv atra | trapv atra | trapv atra ||

aco hro hracah || 117 ||

acaḥ paro yo hakāro rephaś ca tabhyām parasya ahracah hakārad rephād acaś cānyasya varṇasya sthane dve rupe bhavato va | brahmna | brahma |

sarvvaḥ⁴ | sarvaha | dīrghaḥ²⁸ | dīrghaḥ || ahraca iti kim || barhaḥ | dahraḥ |
aham ||

adīrghāt || 118 ||

adīrghād acaḥ parasyāhracah sthāne dve rūpe bhavato vā | daddhy²³
atra | dadhy atra | patthy²⁵ adanam | pathy adanam | tvakk | tvak |
tvagg | tvag | go3trātaḥ | go3trātaḥ || anv²⁷ ity adhikārāt kutvāda²⁹
kṛte dvitvam || adīrghād ekahality anuktvā na saṃyoge [I 1 119] tv aci
[I 1 121] iti yogadvayārambhād virāme 'py ayam ādesaḥ || ahraca iti kim |
sahyam | varyah | titāuḥ || adīrghād iti kim || sūtram | pātram | vāk ||

na saṃyoge || 119 ||

halo 'nantarāḥ saṃyogah | saṃyoge pare ahracah sthāne dve rūpe na
bhavataḥ | indraḥ | kṛtsnam ||

putrasyādiputrādīny ākrośe || 120 ||

putraśabdasya adinsābde pare putrādinsābde ca pare ākrośaviṣaye dve
rūpe na bhavataḥ | putrādīni tvam aśi pape | putraputrādīni bhava || anya-
tra putrādīni śīsumāri ||

[36] *aci* || 121 ||

adīrghāt parasya ahracah sthāne aci pare dve rūpe na bhavataḥ | dadhi |
madhu ||

śarah || 122 ||

śaro 'ci pare dve rūpe na bhavataḥ | darśanam | varṣaḥ | tarsam ||

hrasvān namaḥ padante || 123 ||

hrasvāt parasya padante vartamānasya namaḥ sthāne aci pare dve rūpe
bhavataḥ | krunā ūste | sugaṃṇ iha | kṛṣann iha || asiddham bahuraṅgam
antarange iti ṇo na bhavati ||

dīrghāc cho vā || 124 ||

padānte vartamānād dīrghāt parasya chakārasya dve rūpe bhavato vā |
kanyā cchatram³⁰ | kanyā chatram ||

plutāt || 125 ||

padānte vartamānād dīrghasthūnikāt plutāt parasya chakārasya dve rūpe
bhavato vā | āgaccha bho indrabhūte³ cchatram³⁰ ānaya | āgaccha bho
indrabhūte³ chatram ānaya || dīrghād iti kim || āgaccha bho devadattā³
chatram ānaya ||

ajanmāṇah || 126 ||

acah āno mānaś cāvyaṇḍ uttarasya cakārasya dve rūpe nityam
bhavatah | icchatu³⁰ | mlecchatu³⁰ | āochinatti | mā cchidat || anv³¹ ity
eva || praśnah | praṣṭā ||

ḍajbhāja 'to lug itau || 127 ||

ḍācbhājah³² anekāco 'vyaktānukaranasya yaḥ atśabdas tasya itśabde
pare lug lopo bhavati | chamat ity | cham ity | paṭat ity | paṭ ity | asiddham
bahurangam antarange ity luci jaśtvam³³ na prāpnoti ||

cakad ity taḍitāpi kṛtam |

ity dakarantam draṣṭavyam || ḍajbhaj ity kim || chat ity | chad ity | jagat
ity | jagad ity ||

[37] *na dvyukteh* || 128 ||

dve uktī yasya tasya ḍajbhajo³⁴ yo 'tśabdas tasya itau pare lug na
bhavati | paṭatpaṭad ity | ghaṭadghaṭad ity | vipsayam dvyukteh³⁵ | paṭatpatad
ity samudayanukaranam ||

taḥ || 129 ||

dvyukter ḍajbhajo³⁴ to yas takāras tasya itau pare lug bhavati | paṭat
paṭeti³⁶ karoti | ghaṭadghaṭeti karoti ||

dācy ādau || 130 ||

dvyukter ādau pūrvasyām uktau ato yas takaras tasya ḍacy parato nityam
lug bhavati | paṭapaṭakaroti | dhamadhamakaroti ||

ḍhro dhri || 131 ||

ḍhakarasya rephasya ca yathāsamkhyam ḍhakare rephe ca pare lug
bhavati | liḍham³⁷ | gūḍham | agnī rathena | punā rauti ||

halo yam yamo va || 132 ||

halah parasya yamo yathasamkhyam yamī pare lug bhavati vā | adityaḥ |
adityyah³⁸ || keṣam cid yamām ity pathah | teṣam vacanabhedad yathāsam-
khyam nāstuty udāharanam idam || babhyate | babhryate ||

jarī jarah sve vā || 133 ||

halah parasya jarah sve jarī pare lug vā bhavati | bhuntah | bhunttah |
bhuntam | bhunttam || sva ity kim || taptva |¹

udah sthastambhaḥ || 134 ||

udah parasya sthastambhor dhatvor avayavasya jaro jarī pare nityam
lug bhavati | utthata | utthatum | uttambhūtā | uttambhūtum || utthata |

³¹ 1 1 115

³² 3 4 54

³³ 1 1 136

³⁴ 1 1 136.

³⁵ 2 3 8

³⁶ 1 1 82

³⁷ 1 1 80

³⁸ 1 1 116

uttambhitā iti trisamyogaḥ adīrghāt [I. 1. 118] iti dvitvena bhavati ||
 skander utkandako roga iti prṣṭadarādīṣu draṣṭavyaḥ ||

car || 135 ||

jaraḥ sthāne jaraḥ pare carādeṣo bhavati | vedacchatram | guḍaliṭ tarati |
 natsyate | lapsyate || jaṣi jaś [I. 1. 136] vacanāt khari cartvam ||

[38] jaṣi jaś || 136 ||

jaraḥ sthāne jaṣi pare jaś bhavati | caro 'pavādaḥ | labdhā | labdhum |
 dogdhā | boddhā | ṣaḍbhyah | vidyud bhadra ||

ścau ścū stvoḥ || 137 ||

sakārasya śakāre cavarge copasliṣṭasya sthāne śakāra ādeṣo bhavati |
 tathā tavargasya cavargah | āptaś śobhate | tapaś carati | yaśaś chatram |
 ścyotati | bhrjyati³⁹ || tavargasya || tac śete | bhavāñ śete | tac carati | tac
 chādayati | taj jayati | taj jhāṣayati | bhavāñ jakāreṇa | rājñā | yajñah ||
 samavacane yathāsamkhyam | śailiyam ācāryasya | na śāt [I. 1. 139] toḥ
 padānta iti niṣedhāt pare toḥ śi [I. 1. 141] iti niṣedhāt pūrve ca ścutvaṣ-
 tutve⁴⁰ ||

śtau śtū || 138 ||

sakārasya śakāre tavarge copasliṣṭasya śakāro bhavati | tathā tavargasya
 tavargah | kaṣ ṣaṇḍe | kaṣ ṭikate | kaṣ ṭhakāreṇa || tavargasya || peṣṭā | taṭ
 ṭikate | taṭ ṭhakāreṇa ||

na śāt || 139 ||

śakārāt parasya ścutvam na bhavati | aśnāti | kṣīnāti ||

toḥ padānte 'nāmnagarīnavateḥ || 140 ||

padānte vartamānāt tavargād uttarasya śtutvam na bhavati | nāmna-
 garīnavatīśabdān varjayitvā | madhuliṭ sīdati | ṣaḍnayam⁴¹ | ṣaṇ nayāḥ ||
 anāmnagarīnavater iti kim | ṣaṇnām⁴² | ṣaṇnagarī | ṣaṇnavatīḥ || padānta iti
 kim || iṭte || padānta ity adhikāra ā pādapanīsamāpteh ||

toḥ śi || 141 ||

tavargasya padānte vartamānasya śakāre pare śtutvam na bhavati |
 agnicit ṣaḍikaḥ | mahān ṣaṇḍah ||

li lah || 142 ||

padānte vartamānasya tavargasya sthāne lakāre pare lakārādeṣo bha-
 vati | tal lunāti | bhavāl likhati ||

³⁹ I. 1. 136

⁴⁰ I. 1. 138.

⁴¹ I. 2. 152

⁴² I. 2. 152, 34.

[39] *jašo ho jhaṣ vā || 143 ||*

padānte vartamānā jashaḥ parasya hakārasya sthāne yathāsamkhyam
jhaṣ vā bhavati | ajjhalau | aj halau | triṣṭubbhutam | triṣṭub-
hutam | vag ghasati | vāg hasati | ṣaḍ dhalāni | ṣaḍ halani | taddhutam | tad hitam ||

śaś cho 'mi || 144 ||

padānte vartamānā jasha uttarasya śakārasya ami pare chakāro bhavati
vā | tac chobhate | tac śobhate | triṣṭup chrūyate | triṣṭup śrūyate ||

nno gagḍak śari || 145 ||

padānte vartamānāyor nakāraṇakārayoḥ śari pare yathāsamkhyam gṛak
dak ity etav agamau vā bhavataḥ | krunk śete | krun śete | sugaṇṭ śete
sugan śete ||

ḍnas tat so 'ścah || 146 ||

padānte vartamānād ḍakāran nakārāc ca parasya sakārasya tadāgamo
vā bhavati | aścah | ścasamyogasyavayavaś cet sakāro na bhavati | madhu
hiṭ sūdati | bhavānt cāmsadi || asca ity kim || ṣaṭ ścyotanti | bhavān ścyotati ||

nah śī jak || 147 ||

nakārasya padānte vartamānasya sakāre pare jagāgamo⁴³ vā bhavati |
aścah | ścasamyogasya tu śakāre na bhavati | bhavāñc śete⁴⁴ | bhavāñ⁴⁵ śete |
kṛṣaṇc śete | kṛṣaṇ sete | bhavāñc śuraḥ | bhavāñ śuraḥ ||

nīnah pi nīrak || 148 ||

nīn ity etasya nakārasya padantasthasya pakāre pare nī⁴⁶ ity ikārānu
bandha ādeśo rak⁴⁷ vagamah paryāyeṇa bhavato vā | nīh⁴⁸ pāhi | nīn⁴⁹
pāhi | nīn pāhi ||

kāṃskān śasak || 149 ||

kān ity etasya śasantasya dvirvacane kṛte purvasya śī⁵⁰ ity ikārānu-
bandha ādeśaḥ sak⁵¹ vagamah paryāyeṇa nīpātyate | kāśkan⁵² | kāṃskan⁵³ |
nīsyor ikāro nīsyoh [I 1 108] ity viśeṣapārthah ||

[40] *chavy amy aprasanah || 150 ||*

praśān varjitasya yo nakāras tasya padāntasya ampare chavi parataḥ
sī⁵⁴ ādeśaḥ sak⁵⁵ vagamah paryāyeṇa bhavataḥ | bhavāś⁵⁶ chādayati | bha
vāṃś⁵⁷ chādayati | bhavāś⁵⁸ tarati | bhavāṃś⁵⁹ tarati || chavati kim || bha
vān phalati || amuti kim || bhavān tsarukaḥ || apraśāna ity kim || praśān
carati ||

⁴³ I 1 54⁴⁶ I 1 108, 2 67⁴⁹ I 1 108⁵² I 1 110, 137⁴⁴ I 1 137⁴⁷ I 1 110, 2 67⁵⁰ I 1 54⁵³ I 1 110⁴⁸ I 1 108⁵¹ I 1 110⁵⁴ I 1 108, 137

pumak khayi || 151 ||

pum ity etasya yad antyaṃ tasya padāntasya ampare khayi parataḥ
sī'akau bhavataḥ | pūṣkokilāḥ⁴⁹ | pumṣkokilāḥ | pūṣkhātāṃ | pumṣkhātāṃ |
pūṣcali | pumṣcali ||

samaḥ skṛsi gluk ca || 152 ||

skṛsi sasaṅkasya kṛṇo 'vayave sakṛe pare sam ity etasya sīsakau gluk ca
bhavanti | sāṣskartā⁵⁰ | sāṣskartum | samṣskartā | samṣskartum | saskartā |
saskartum || gitvam uttarārtham ||

vyo 'śy āghobhobhagoh || 153 ||

avarmād agho-bho-bhago ity etebhyaḥ ca parasya padāntasya vakārasya
yakārasya cāṣi pare gluk bhavati | vṛkṣa hasati | vṛkṣavṛcam ācakṣṇo vṛkṣav |
devā⁵¹ yanti | agho hasati⁵² | bho dadāti | bhago dehi || padānta ity kim ||
gavyam | jayyam | bho vyoma ||

acy aspaṣṭaś ca || 154 ||

avarmād aghobhobhagobhyaḥ ca parayoh padāntayor vjor aci pare gluk
aspaṣṭaḥ avyaktaśrutiś cāsanno bhavati | paṭa u | paṭav u⁵³ | ta u | tay u |
agho u | aghoy u | agho⁵⁴ atra | aghoy atra | bho⁵⁵ atra | bhoy atra | bhago
atra | bhagoy atra || gluci gitaḥ [1 1 100] ity sandhipratishedhārthah ||

vānuṇy āt || 155 ||

avarmāt parasya padāntasya vyah uñvarjite aci pare gluk aspaṣṭaś cāde
śau vā bhavataḥ | pakṣe tadāvasthyam | paṭa iha | paṭav iha | paṭav iha |
devā āsate | devāy āsate | devāy āsate || padānta ity kim || nayanam |
lavanam ||

[41] rer yah || 156 ||

avarmād aghobhobhagobhyaḥ ca parasya rer ikārānubandhasya sthāne
aṣi pare yakaro bhavati | devāy⁵⁶ āsate | devā⁵⁷ hasanti | aghoy⁵⁸ atra |
agho hasati | bhoy āste | bho raja | bhagoy āssva | bhago dayase || rer ity
kim || antar dayate ||

ato 'ddhaṣy uh || 157 ||

akarāt parasya reḥ sthāne akare haṣi ca pare ukara ādeso bhavati |
yatvapavādaḥ | sramano⁵⁹ 'smi | dharmo⁶⁰ jayati || takaraḥ kim || devā⁶¹
atra | devā yānti | susrota⁶² atra nv asi | susrota⁶³ dehi | sarvañña aṣte ||
rer ity kim || antar asmi ||

kaly anañsamāse luk tah sāt || 158 ||

takārasthānikāt⁶⁴ sakārāt parasya rer halī pare lug bhavati | na cet sa
sakāro nañsamāse bhavati | eṣa⁶⁵ karoti | sa dadāti | paramaṣa karoti |

⁴⁹ 1 2 72, 1 156

⁵⁰ 4 3 86

⁵¹ 1 2 72, 1 155

⁵² 1 2 15

⁵³ 1 1 155

⁵⁴ 1 2 72

⁵⁵ 1 2 72, 1 94

⁵⁶ 1, 2, 15, 72

⁵⁷ 1 1 156

⁵⁸ 1 2 72, 1 153

⁵⁹ 1 2 72, 1 156, 155

paramasa dadatu || haliti kim || ešo 'smi⁶⁵ | so 'smi || anañsamāsa iti kim ||
anešo gacchati | aso gacchati ||

tadāḥ padapūraṇe || 159 ||

tadādesat sakarad uttarasya rer aci pare anañsamāse lug bhavati | paḍa
pūraṇaviṣaye | lope cet padah pūryate |

saṣa dāsarathu ramah saṣa raja yudhiṣṭhiraḥ |

saṣa karmo mahatyāgi saṣa pārtho dhanurdharaḥ ||

padapurāṇa iti kim ||

sa eṣa bharato rājā yo nyāyē pathu vartate ||

ro 'hno śy asubrūparatīratnāntare || 160 ||

ahan⁶⁶ ity etasya rer aṣi pare rephādeso bhavati na subruparātīrathan
tareṣu | ahar⁶⁶ eti | ahar dadatu || asubruparatīrathantara iti kim | aho-
bhyam⁶⁷ | ahobhūḥ | dīrghābhayam⁶⁸ | ahorupam | gatam aho⁶⁹ ratīr āgata |
aho rathantaram ||

[42] *visarjanīyasya || 161 ||*

visarjanīyasyāṣi⁷⁰ pare repho bhavati | munir⁷¹ asti | sādhu asmī |
śajūr⁷² jayati | pitur dayase || visarjanīyasyety adhukara a padaparīsamap
-teḥ ||

vaharpatyādiṣu || 162 ||

aharpaty evamādiṣu śabdeṣu visarjanīyasya sthane repho bhavati va |
aharpatih | ahaḥpatih⁷³ | girpatih | gūḥpatih | dhurpatih | dhuḥpatih | praceta⁷⁴
rajan | praceto rajan || va rephād atra rer utvaḥādhyā pākṣe visarjanīyah ||

śas chavy asati || 163 ||

visarjanīyasya sthane asarpare chavi parataḥ śakaro bhavati | kas cha
dayati | kas⁷⁵ tarati | antas thuḍati | mataṣ ṭakarena || asanti kim || aśeḥ
tsaruh ||

sati va || 164 ||

visarjanīyasya asarpare sari pare sakaro va bhavati | kas śobhate⁷⁶ |
kaḥ sobhate | mataṣ śandhe | mataḥ śaṇḍhe | antas siktah | antah siktah |

luk khayi pare || 165 ||

visarjanīyasya khayi pare sari parato lug va bhavati | anta skhalati |
antas skhalati | antah skhalati | cakṣu spandate | cakṣus spandate | cakṣuḥ
spandate ||

⁶⁵ 1 2 72 1 157 94

⁶⁶ 1 2 95 134

⁷¹ 1 2 72 67

⁷⁴ 1 1 130, 80

⁶⁸ 1 2 72

⁶⁹ 1 1 157

⁷² 1 2 72

⁷³ 1 2, 72 67

⁶⁷ 1 2 72, 1 157

⁷⁰ 1 2, 67

⁷⁶ 1 2, 72 1 160, 2 67

lupau × ka ≈ pam || 166 ||

visarjanīyasya kavargīye pavargīye cāśarpāre khayi pare × ka ≈ pa ity etau
jīhvāmūlīyopadhūmīnyau yathāśamkhyam ādeśau vā bhavataḥ | ka × karoti |
kaḥ karoti | ka × khanati | kaḥ khanati | anta ≈ pacati | antaḥ pacati | anta ≈
phalati | antaḥ phalati || aśarpāra ity kim || vāsaḥ kṣaumam | abdhūḥ pśū
tam || khayīti kim || antar gacchati | antar bhāṣate ||

tīrasas leḥ sīḥ || 167 ||

tisamjñākasya⁷⁶ tīrasaḥ śabdasya sambandhino visarjanīyasya sthāne
kavargīye pavargīye cāśarpāre khayi pare sīḥ ikārānubandha ādeśo bhavati
va | tīraskṛtya | tīraḥkṛtya | tīraskaroti | tīraḥkaroti || ter ity kim || tīraḥ
kṛtvā ||

[43] namasṭūrasaḥ || 168 ||

namasṭūras⁷⁷ ity etayos tisamjñākayoh sambandhinor visarjanīyasya
kupav asarpāre khayi pare nityam sīr bhavati | namaskṛtya | namaskaroti |
puraskṛtya | puraskaroti || ter ity kim || namaḥ kṛtvā | puraḥ kṛtvā || yoga
vibhāgo nityarthah ||

caturmūrdurbahuvrīṣpradusām || 169 ||

catur mūrdus-bahuvrīṣ prādus ity eteṣaṃ visarjanīyasya kupav asarpāre
khayi pare sīr bhavati | catuṣkam⁷⁸ | catuṣpatram | niṣkaroti | niṣpācāti |
duṣkaroti | duṣpacāti | bahiṣkaroti | bahiṣpacāti | āviṣkaroti | āviṣpacāti |
praduṣkaroti | praduṣpibāti | niṣkulah | duṣpuruṣaḥ ||

suco va || 170 ||

sucpratyayantasya visarjanīyasya kupav asarpāre khayi pare sīr vā
bhavati | dviṣ⁷⁹ karoti | dvīḥ⁷⁹ karoti | triṣ khanati | triḥ khanati | catuṣ
pacati | catuḥ⁸⁰ pacati ||

isuso pekṣayam || 171 ||

isuspratyayantasya sambandhino visarjanīyasya kupav asarpāre khayi
pare sīr va bhavati | sthānanimuttapade cet parasparasyāpekṣayam bhavataḥ |
sarpīṣ karoti⁷⁸ | sarpīḥ karoti | sarpīṣ pibati | sarpīḥ pibati | dhanuṣ khaṇ
dayati | dhanuḥ khaṇdayati | dhanuṣ phalati | dhanuḥ phalati paramasarpīṣ
karoti | paramasarpīḥ karoti | paramadhanuṣ phalati | paramadhanuḥ
phalati || isa saḥacaryād uso tīno trā grahanād iha na bhavati || cakruḥ
kalaham | bhīndyuh pāpāni || apekṣayam ity kim || tīṣṭhātu sarpīḥ piba
tvam udakam ||

nakṛtyaikarthe || 172 ||

isuspratyayāntasya visarjanīyasya sthāne kupav asarpāre khayi kriya

⁷⁶ 1 1 31

⁷⁷ 1 1 29

⁷⁸ 1 2 65

⁷⁹ 1 2 72 67, 65

⁸⁰ 1 2 67

padavarjitasamānādhukaraṇapadaṣṭhe pare sthānīnūmittayor apeksāyām sir
na bhavati | sarpīḥ⁸¹ kālakam | yajuh pītakam || kṛyāpratīṣedhah kim ||
sarpīḥ kṛyate⁸² | sarpīḥ kṛyate || ekārtha itī kim || sarpīḥ kumbhe | sarpīḥ
kumbhe ||

[44] *samase 'samastasya* || 173 ||

īśuspratyayāntasya pūrvenāsamastasya sambandhino viśarjanīyasya
kūpāv asarpare khayī pare sir bhavati | te cet sthānīnūmittapade ekasamāse
bhavataḥ | sarpīḥkūṇḍam⁸³ | sarpīḥpānam | dhanuskhaṇḍam | dhanuḥpha
lam || samāsa itī kim || tīṣṭhatu sarpīḥ⁸⁴ pība tvam udakam || asamastasyeti
kim || paramasarpīḥkūṇḍam⁸⁵ | indradhanuḥkhaṇḍam ||

pade 'dhaśīrasaḥ || 174 ||

pūrvanākṛtasamāsayoh adhas-śīrasa ity etayor viśarjanīyasya padaśabde
pare samāse sir bhavati | adhaspadam⁸⁶ | śīraspadam || samāsa itī kim ||
adhah⁸⁷ padam | śīraḥ padam || asamastasyeti kim || paramaśīraḥpadam ||

kṛkamukamśakusākāṇīkumbhapātre 'to 'navyayasya || 175 ||

anavyayasya pūrvenāsamastasya sambandhino 'kārāt parasya viśarja
nīyasya sthāne dūktī karaṇe kamūn kāntau kamsa kuśā karmī kumbha pūtra
ity eteṣu parataḥ samāse sir bhavati | ayaskṛt | ayaskāraḥ | payaskāmah |
ayaskāmah | ayaskarṣaḥ | ayaskuśā | ayaskarmī | payaskumbhaḥ | payas
kumbhī | payaspatram | payaspatrī || prātipadikagrahane lingaviśiṣṭasyapi
grahaṇam bhavati || anavyayasyeti kim || svahkamah || samāsa itī kim ||
ayah karoti || asamastasyeti kim || paramayaśahkamah || śīlikāmīti⁸⁸ ṇavi-
dhau kāmīgrahanad atranyantagrahaṇam | tena strīyām payaskāmīti bha-
vati ||

pratyaye || 176 ||

anavyayasya sambandhino viśarjanīyasya kūpāv asarpare khayī pratyā
yaṣṭhe pare sir bhavati | kāmīya kalpa ka pāśaḥ pratyayah | tān kavayah
prayojayanti | yaśaskamyati | gīṣkalpam⁸⁹ | yaśaskam | yūḥpāśā⁹⁰ | suyu-
pāśā ||

na rakṣak kāmīye || 177 ||

rephāntasyāhnaś ca viśarjanīyasya kāmīyapratyaye sir na bhavati |
dhūhīkāmīyati⁹¹ | ahahīkāmīyati⁹² ||

[45] *hrasvat supas tā* || 178 ||

hrasvāt parasya viśarjanīyasya subantād vihite takarādau pratyaye sir
bhavati | tara tama tas-taya tva tal tyah pratyayāḥ tān kavayah prayojayanti |

⁸¹ 1 2. 72 67

⁸² 1 2. 72, 67

⁸³ 1 2. 67

⁸⁴ 1 1 171 2. 65

⁸⁵ 4 3 110

⁸⁶ 1 2 63

⁸⁷ 1 2 63

sarpiṣṭaram⁸⁸ | sarpiṣṭamam | sarpiṣṭaḥ | 'catuṣṭāyam | catuṣṭvam | catuṣṭā |
niṣṭyah ||

niso 'nāsevāyām tape || 179 ||

nisah sambandhino visarjanīyasya takārādau tapatau parataḥ sir bha-
vati | niṣṭapati⁸⁹ svamam || anāsevāyām iti kim || niṣṭapati svamam
svamākārah || tūti kim || niratapat || śapnirdeśād iha na bhavati || niṣṭā-
tapti ||

tipā śapānubandhena nirdiṣṭam yad gaṇena ca |
yac caikājgrahaṇam kim cit pañcāitāni na yaśluci ||

kaskādiṣu || 180 ||

kaska iti evamprakāreṣu śabdeṣu visarjanīyasya sthāne kavargiye pavar-
giye cāsarpare khayi pare sir ādeśo bhavati | kaskaḥ | kautaskutaḥ || sar-
piṣṭkuṇḍikādigaṇapāṭhah samastārthaḥ | tena paramasarpīṣkuṇḍiketyādi⁸⁹ sidd-
dham || bahuvacanād āktigaṇo 'yam | tena bhāskara ityādi siddham ||

iti śrīśrutakevalīdeśīyācāryaśākatāyanakṛte
śabdānuśāsane cintāmaṇau vṛttau
prathamasyādhyāyasya
prathamah pādah ||

[46] VARIAE LECTIONES

S Z

H auf dem Titelblatt.
śākaṭāyanavyākaranaprāraṇ -
bhah || *śrījñendraya namaḥ* ||
P fangt mit Verehrung aus-
drückenden Worten an, wo
von ich nur **namaḥ* | **na*
mah zu lesen vermag

- 13 3 *prakāśaśāntilā** P, *prakāśa*
*śāntilā** B, **śāntilā* (corr
śāntilā) H [St. 1]
7 **patīyyaḥ* BP. [St. 3]
8 Die Strophen von 4 an fehlen
bei P.
8 *sarvasāstrāṇibudhimbudhi**
(corr wie im Text) H
9 *sayasahśrī* B [St. 4]
10 **grandham* B [St. 5]
10 *sampūrṇa* H
11 **marhatsyāsana** H
14 *tasjātī** H [St. 7]
17 *śāstrasamhāna** H [St. 8]
21 **dihāsthi* H. [St. 10]
22 **dhātu* B [St. 11]
25 *ṣṭṭaullau* H
14 4 B kürzt den Vers *namaḥ śrī**
usw mit *n** *śrīardhamāna*
jetjēdi ab
6 *jogjalā alhātā* B
8 *sākṣātsakala** H
8 HB om. *namaḥ*
14 ff Die Lesarten von H für
die *pratyakāśa* Sūtras sind
nicht angegeben, weil der Text
zu sehr verderbt ist.
14 14 **ratulan* B
18 **pāddheraḥ* H

S Z

- 22 BH om den Vers *uccatī*
udātto usw.
24 H om *ṛ ity anena ṛ itya*
kaḥ
24 f B om. | in *ṛvānasyapi*
25 *lagrahanād* B
26 *lukāre** B, *lukāram** H
29 *īā ya ālmanah* B [1]*
31 *at* (st. *ak*) B
31 H add *ktan* hinter *plasu*
15 2 *varnasya* B [2]
3 *atmanā saha bhavati* H
6 H add *ṛt* hinter *ut* [3]
7 *ṛvyon* H [4]
8 *vidyāḥ* P
9 *agakāraṇa* H
9 *asmai* H
13 *bhavat* B [5]
15 Mss. *sta* [6]
17 *kālalakāt* H
19 *spṛṣṭeṣaṣpṛṣṭam iṣṭa** P
20 *sthanāma* H
22 *maṇicu** B
23 *oṣṭhyāḥ* B
23 *kaṇṭhoṣṭham* | *ekeṣam* H
24 **eteṣām* BP.
24 *ṛṣṭurapa* B
25 *lululakā* B *lulula** P, *lula** H
[17] 15 26 *kaṇṭhyara** P
29 Mss. *caa*
16 1 *lucatra** B
8 *kleṇīṣṭhāḥ* H [7]
9 B om. *elṣapānāsya*
10 *ghoṣacato* B
11 H om. *bhavati*
12 *amūṣya* H
13 *stīryenye'oruh* B

* [Hereafter the references in square brackets are to Citra.]

S Z

- 14 *yuvati* B
 18 H fügt *tu* hinter *saṃjñāyām*
 19 *śvāsurī* B
 22 *vatkāryam* H [9]
 22 *yavaddhā* B
 29 °*māsedhyarttakah* B, °*māse*
dhyarddah H [11]
 30 *vidhātavye* nach *ca* PH
 32 *psluk* B
 17 12 *bhrāta dayodhikah* H [14]
 13 *ekapṛtīkamatīkah* | *parama*°
H.
 14 *jīvasati* H *jīvati satī* P
 14 *putradīh* B
 14 P hat *ca* nach *bhratari*
 15 f *paramaprakṛtīr gargah syat* |
gārgis tadantanarah | *vṛddho*
gargyas tīṭiyah H
 17 *gārgyāyane yuvā* B
 17 H om *yuvā*
 24 *pṛtīpye* B [15]
 24 *pītam* B
 25 *jīvādgārgyah* H
 25 B om *gārgyah*
 29 °*patyam kutsau yuva* B [16]
 18 2 *haram* H [17]
 3 *devadattah* B
 8 *yasyakamvādī*° B
 9 °*abdasjācāmadiya*° B
 9 B om. *sa* hinter *tā*
 12 °*ecanichādau* B, *deśavyencha*
dau H [20]
 13 B om. *yasya*
 13 °*reni bhavati sa*° P
 14 PH om *pratyaye*
 18 14 P om. *bhavati*
 14 *vidātavye* P
 15 H om *skāunagatiki*
 15 *bahika*° H
 17 H add *gonarddīyāl* zwischen
bhavati und *etādā*°
 17 *phibhādau na bhavatah* B

S Z

- 20 °*pekṣām* H [21]
 21 *atīkacakrah* BH
 26 H om *pāpacya* [22]
 27 *myṭṭh* BH
 28 *dāda*° P, *dādaghvabh* H [23]
 29 *dārūpo dharūpasca* B, *dada*
rupopalakṣitaro H
 29 *sah abakārā*° PH
 30 *dyaṛūpau* B, *dhaturūpā* H
 30 *pramīlā* H
 19 1 *dheṭh* B
 2 °*dadāli* H
 3 *avattadatam* B
 5 *ghana* B [24]
 7 P om *apratyaye*
 7 *pratyayah paro* B, P om
parah
 7 *abhyamanayatah* H
 8 *abhīmamomanaiṣati* H
 8 *prāsadiyata* H
 8 *prasīsādiyapati* H
 9 *utsukāntvā* H
 15 B om *iti* nach °*pari* [25]
 16 °*tīkrāma*° P
 18 *vīkṣavī*° B
 20 f °*bhāvasya cakaprakā*° H
 22 *prāklameva* B
 23 *parasyate* H
 25 *yadarthah* H
 28 *dājanta* B [26]
 30 *sukavīkṛtya* B und H s. m
 30 *paṭekṛtya* H
 30 *uryādī* B
 32 °*dācsārtharmyāt* B
 20 3 °*upadesah* P [27]
 3 *paragraha* H
 5 *bhavati* B
 8 *pīṭyā* B
 10 *kāṇkā* H
 [48] 20 10 *kartṭram* B
 13 *uṣyamāna*° B, *uṣyamana*° H
 19 °*saṃjñā* B [29]

S Z

- 29 *ta* nach *bhatat* H [31]
 33 f B om. *amjatra* usw
 21 4 *anatyadanamupaseṣah* H [33]
 8 *samye* H [34]
 10 f H om. *adhī kṛtā*
 12 H om *tena*
 12 **kalpale* H
 12 **ṛadhiti* B
 15 16 In P ist die Stelle abgebrochen. [35]
 17 *atamkṛtya* B
 18 f H voller Fehler¹ [36]
 20 PH om. *nityam*
 21 *gatva* B *kṛtā* B
 22 1 *tasāndamadhantasyamktan*
ivantisuptasā° B **madan*
tasyam° P **madantasyamktan°*
 H. [39]

S Z.

- 28 *dīpam* B *dīpah* H [48]
 24 1 **nīdā* B [49]
 3 *jascassī* H
 3 *śih* B
 3 H om. *dhanam*
 5 H om. *jho ntah itī jāḥ*
 10 f H om *śūal lope pi* [50]
 13 *so* H
 13 H om *na*
 21 *tatrallu°* B [51]
 27 B add *jaluci* hinter *ṣaṣṭhau*
 32 *taḥṣatī kaṣṭatāt* B
 33 *kaṣṭatāditi* H
 34 *prayinayannī°* H
 25 3 *ṣaḍik ity ato jaṣ* H
 7 *enacchitakah* B [52]
 10 *dīdadīh* H. [53]
 11 *tasādsorīca* H

S Z

- 12 śyasyats B
 16 sakāra asya B [60]
 [49] 26 18 °nakulam° B
 19 samkoṣṭhinam B, sāmkoḍinam
 H
 19 vyakroṣi B, vyākroni H
 24 H om sadhu no rakṣatu [61]
 25 kurūṣi grāmaṃ gacchha B
 kamru grāmaṃ ca H
 26 Mss. om yaśān und lesen
 lunih
 26 saktumśca B
 26 f H om. detadattena no datu
 tjam.
 28 si odanaṃ pañca na bhāṣi
 yati | mama bhāṣiyati |
 paca | tata bhāṣiyati | oja
 nam | tata bhāṣiyati |
 arthāt usw. H

S Z

- 28 paṭaliṣṭrādya B, °tradu H
 (nur einmal')
 28 3 P om. a pādapaṭi° [70]
 10 P om nāṇyah [72]
 10 f B gibt das Zeichen für die
 Plutierung stets mit nu
 wieder, bei H fehlt jegliches
 Zeichen
 28 16 ṭakaya BH [73]
 17 iko jantabhiṛ° B
 20 PH om. ta [74]
 27 sto ta für va PH [75]
 28 f Die Lesarten Hs sind voller
 Schreibfehler und daher un
 berücksichtigt gelassen B liest
 durchweg lu für l
 29 4 si piṭṭṣabbhah | piṭṭṣabbhah |
 luti | piṭṭikārah | piṭṭlukarah |

S Z

- 31 11 *ṛṇaṇayatah ṛṇam ṛṇarṇaḥ* :
B H verderbt' [90]
- 32 2 B om. *saca itī nūṣṭam* [95]
5 f *lakṣanapratiṣṭhā*° usw nur in
P
29 B om. *a uṣṇam oṣi am* [101]
- 33 9 f *tacca va na bhavati* P
[103]
11 u B [104]
[50] 33 12, 14 u B
19 *kṛm* B [105]
21 *ca bhavanti* H
24 *°natkasvah* B [106]
26 *hala matrāḥ* B
26 f Das Zeichen für das *anu*
nasika wird überall weg
gelassen.
- 34 3 *°nāsiko bhavati* B [108]
3 Das *anunasika* Zeichen fehlt
bei B
6 *nūṣṭasve* B *°tlasyaso* P
°mitrasvo H [109]
14 B om. *°ha*° [111]
23 f In B fällt das Zeichen für
das *anunasika* durchweg aus.
[112]
24 *kṛmā hmalayati* B beidesmal
hṛṣe B
28 *saṃrat saṃrajau* H [113]
- 35 3 B om. *kas ccha*° und *kas*
chadayati H hat nur *kas*
cada° [115]
6 *tac sete tach sete* B *tac sete*
tacete H
11 *proktunava* B [116]
12 H om. *madhvi atra* und
madhv°
13 *trasvātra* und *traṣvātra* B
- 36 6 *tarsah* B [122]
11 *ca* (st *va*) B [124]
16 ff nu für das Zeichen der
Plutierung B [125]

S Z

- 19 *°manuḥ* B [126]
- 37 3 *ṛpsayadvaktiḥ* B [128]
10 *damadama ka*° H [130]
16 *yamaditi* B [132]
21 *tapta* BH [133]
25 H om. *trisaṃyogah trisaṃ*
yoga itī B [134]
28 *carra* B [135]
30 *matṣyate* B
- 38 4 *ścauḥ* B [137]
8 *ḥaṣayati* B
10 *masat* B
10 f *toṣṭi* (st *toh ṣi itī*) B
- 38 11 *°ṣṭve* B
12 *ṣu* B [138]
18 *toṣpada*° B [140]
26 *ṣaṇḍhah* B [141]
- 39 14 *ḍnastaḥ* B [146]
19 *jat* B [147]
21 *ścaḥ saṃyogasya* B
22 Durchweg *°ich*° in *bhāraḥ c*
śete usw B
26 f *nṛḍhpah* und *nṛmḍhpa* B
[148]
- 40 3 *bhāvanschādayati* B [150]
5 *śarukah* B
6 *prasan carati* B
11 *saṃaskṛṣi* BP [152]
16 *aiarnantad* P [153]
18 *acakṣano* B
18 *ṛk.ac* B
22 ff Die undeutlich au zuspre-
chenden *y* und *v* werden in
B durchweg mit einem *can*
drabindu bezeichnet [154]
28 f Das *v* im ersten *paṇaviha*
und das *y* im ersten *devaya*
sate sind in B mit *candra*
bindu bezeichnet. [155]
- 41 3 *devaṣṣate* B [156]
4 *bhagoṣṣa* B
8 *śṛavāno* B [157]

S Z.

- 9 *devā yatra* H
 13 *cetsakaro* B [158]
 23 *roṣno°* B [160]
 26 *ḍigghākāyayam* B *ḍirg' u*
hāyayam H
 42 3 *sajardayate* H [161]
 3 *ṣṭardayase* B
 7 f B *hest gṣpati°* '(st *gīh°*)
 und om [162]
dhuhpatih und *praceto rajon*
 7 f *ahalpatih*, *gṣpati* und *dhūl*
pati H
 10 *saścavy°* B [163]
 13 *aseda* B
 22 *kupaumkarpam* B [166]
 23 *khayī pare nkarpa* und ८
 [51] *durchweg n für ×* und
σ für ≈ bei B
 42 26 B om. *antah pacati*
 27 *dadbhik psātam* BH

S Z

- 29 *tirasah steh sīh* B, *tirasaste*
sīh P [167]
 43 3 B om *nityam* [168]
 5 *ter ilt purah kṛtvā nur in*
H
 26 *pare nach khayī* P [172]
 44 19 *ayaskumbhak* B [175]
 21 *ayakah karoti* BH
 44 26 f *tān kavayah prayojayanti*
nur in H, in P ubrigens fällt
das Ganze mit kāmya begin
nend weg. [176]
 45 3 f *tan kavayah°* *nur in H*
 [178]
 9 H add *nṣaptā arātayah ||*
anyatra | nach nṣaptā
svarnam [179]
 13 *°kādgrahanam* B
 13 *yad sluci* B
 20 ff P om. *śrī* B om *śrī*
kṛtau vṛtau PH [180]

Übersetzung der Sūtras und Erläuterungen.

Wegen der Übersetzung der einleitenden Strophen s. Einleitung S 7 f. Das *sadbārthasambandha* (S 14, 5) ist sicherlich, dem ersten Vārttika des Katyāyana *siddhe sadbārthasambandhe* entlehnt und ist daher im Sinne Patañjali's zu fassen, der das Kom. als ein dreigliedriges Dvandva auffasst. Das *yogyatā* des Kom. bedeutet wohl nicht mehr als *sambandha* oder vielmehr das Geeignetsein den Zusammenhang (zwischen dem Auszudrückenden und dem Ausdrückenden) herzustellen ¹—*dharmarthakama*^o usw. "Weil der Erkenntnis des wahren Wesens von *dharma*, *artha*, *kama* und *mokṣa* die Kenntnis der Worte und (deren) Bedeutungen vorausgeht, soll der Weise die Grammatik kennen lernen."

Die Aṣṭadhyāyī hat 14 *pratyākāra* Sūtras. Sākaṭayana hat die Zahl um eins vermindert. Einem Vārttika Katyāyana's zufolge hat er den *anusvara*, *ṭisārjanīya* *ṣhvamuliya* aufgenommen ²—Gestützt auf das Vārttika (P 1 1 7 Vā 5) *ṣkaraḷkātayoh saṁarṇavādhik* lasst er den Vokal *i* mit wenigen Ausnahmen durchweg unberücksichtigt. Die Homogenität von *r* und *l* wird zwar nicht ausdrücklich erwähnt ergibt sich aber nach dem Kom. durch ein *ṇāpaka*. S 2 3 27 schreibt die Plutierung der Vokale mit Ausnahme des *r*, aber einschliesslich des *l*, unter gewissen Bedingungen vor. Es wäre nicht nötig gewesen, heisst es, die Einschliessung von *l* dort ausdrücklich zu erwähnen wenn nicht *r* und *l* homogen wären und demzufolge die Ausschliessung von *r* auch die von *l* mit sich gebracht hätte. Das zweideutige *n* des Pāṇini'schen *pratyākāra* *lan* (vgl. MBhāṣ Vol I S 34 f.) wird hier durch ein neutrales *ñ* ersetzt, das *ḷ* des Śiva-Sūtra *hayataraḷ* wird als zwecklos aufgegeben. Bei dieser letzten Änderung ist er Candra gefolgt. [53] Ferner weicht Śakaṭ von seinen Vorgängern darin ab dass er die nicht aspirierten Mediae und die aspirierten Mediae und Tenues in drei gleichen, phonetisch einheitlichen Sūtras (*jabagaḍadaḥ*, *ḥabhaḥḥadhaḥ*, *khaphachaḥḥatḥat*) angibt dagegen erscheinen sie bei Pāṇini und Candra in scheinbar willkürlich zusammengesetzten Abschnitten (*ḥabḥaḥ*, *ḥadhaḥ*, *jabagaḍadas*, *khaphachaḥḥathacaḥata*) — Alle drei MSS. lesen einstimmig *pratyākārayan* (S 14 18) ich weiss es aber nicht recht zu deuten.

¹ APTE gibt *yogyatā* wieder the absence of absurdity in the mutual connection of the things signified by the words und verweist auf die Definition im *Sahitya darpaṇa* (ed. KANE Bombay 1910 S. 8 oben) *yogyatā paraspara sambandhe badhabhataḥ*

² Nach KIELHORN, *Ind. Ant.* Bd. 16, S. 26³

1 (Ein Laut oder ein Aggregat von Lauten das) mit einem stummen Buchstaben (versehen ist bezeichnet alles Dazwischenliegende) bis zu dem stummen Buchstaben mit Einschluss seiner selbst.

P 1 1 71 C 1 1 1

It ist in *itā a it* aufzulösen Der *sandhi* erfolgt nach § 1 1 82 86 Den ersten drei Sūtras Śakat's entsprechen die nämlichen in dem Candra Vyākaraṇa

2 (Ein Konsonant) mit (dem stummen Laut) *u* (bezeichnet) den homogenen (*[sva]* einschliesslich seiner selbst)

P 1 1 69 C 1 1 2

Nach § 1 1 6 heisst *sva* ein homogener Laut und ist infolgedessen gleich bedeutend mit dem Pīṇinischen *saṁāna* Dem Wortlaute nach also gilt die obige Regel für alle Laute die einen homogenen Laut aufweisen In der Tat aber wird der stumme Laut *u* nur an *k c f t* und *p* angefügt daher im Kom. *svasya vargasya*

3 (Ein Vokal) mit (folgendem) *t* (bezeichnet) nur einen so langen (d. h. den Vokal seiner Quantität)

P 1 1 70 C 1 1 3

Diese und die folgende Regel schliessen ein dass ein mit *t* unverbundener Vokal ausser Suffixen Augmenten und Substituten zugleich die entsprechenden langen plurierten und nasalisierten Formen desselben bezeichnet

4 Ein operativer (Vokal d. h. ein Vokal der ein Suffix oder Augment ist bezeichnet nur den Vokal seiner Quantität) ausser wenn er mit (dem stummen Laut) *g* versehen ist.

Cf P 1 1 69

Śakat hat das Pīṇinische Sūtra 1 1 69 mit Rücksicht auf die Paribhāṣa (19) *bhavyamanena savarnanam grahanam na* verändert. Da wird dem Wort *pratyaya* seine etymologische Bedeutung angewiesen Vgl. Kaiyaṭa dazu *pratyate vidhiyate iti yaugikasyatra pratyayasya grahaṇam iti bhāṭah*

Zu *amum amu* des Kom. Der stumme Laut *g* hat zwei Funktionen die eine wird hier erwähnt die andere erst in 1 1 100 Wird *g* einem operativen Vokal wie z. B. einem Suffix angefügt, so hat nach dieser Regel das wirkliche Substitut ebensoviel *matras* wie der *sthanin* z. B. nach § 1 2 44 wird für das *d* von *adas m* substituiert, [54] wobei (g)*u* für den unmittelbar darauf folgenden Laut antritt Folgt also *au* des nom. oder des acc. du auf das *anga ada* so muss das Substitut ebenfalls zwei *matras* haben und infolgedessen tritt *amu* (und nicht *amū*) für *adau* (aus *ada + au*) ein Folgt dagegen ein kurzes *a* auf *d* wie in *adam* (aus *ada + am*) so muss ein kurzes *u* für den folgenden Laut substituiert werden infolgedessen heisst der acc. sing. *mas amum*

5 (Buchstaben oder Aggregate von Buchstaben die in der Grammatik

angeführt, aber in der gewöhnlichen Sprache) nicht gebraucht (werden heissen) stumme Buchstaben (*it*)

Cf P 1 3 29, C 1 1 5, H 1 1 37

In *juvepīn* (= Wz *vep*) sind die Buchstaben *i*, *u* *r* und *n* *it* Dieses Sūtra vertritt die Regeln Paṇini's 1 3 2-9

6 Wenn die Artikulationsstelle und die Tätigkeit (des Mundes) gleich sind, (heissen die Laute) homogen (*sva*)

P 1 1 9, H 1 1 17

MS P gibt für dieses Sūtra ausnahmsweise den ganzen, wie in Text gedruckten Kommentar³—Die MSS lassen einstimmig den *visarjanīya* hinter *sva* aus. Der Ausfall ist nach § 1 1 165 (= P 8 3 36 Vā 1) *freigestellt* Die Lesart ohne den *visarjanīya* mag wohl die ursprüngliche sein weil dadurch das Sūtra um einen Buchstaben kurzer ist. Der Konsequenz halber habe ich die vollere Schreibung beibehalten—Die Unterscheidung der sechs kurzen von den zwölf langen und plurierten *a* beruht darauf, dass das *asya* der kurzen *saṃvṛta*, dagegen das der langen *vivṛta* ist. Vgl P 8 4 68—Nach dem Herausgeber der Bombayer Ausgabe des Prakriyas. (S 4 Anm. 1) heisst *syk oṣṭhayaḥ agrabhagaḥ* Es ist mir nicht bekannt, dass man *sykīan* (oder *sykkan*, Mundwinkel) als das *asya* von *v* angegeben hat, was man sonst annehmen musste.—Was Paṇ *asya* nennt, heisst bei Śakaṭ *sthāna* dem *prayatna* Paṇ s entspricht aber bei Śakaṭ, *asya* Vgl Cintāmaṇi und Siddhāntak. S. 4 (unter *tulyāsyaprayatnam sarvaṇam*) *taliḍisthānam abhyantara prayatnaś ca*—Diese Regel fehlt gänzlich bei Candra!—Zu *amukarāṇa* Ausser in den Ableitungen von *kṛp* und in den Worten die den Laut *k* bezeichnen, kommt *k* nach den indischen Grammatikern auch bei der Nachahmung einer Person vor, die aus Unfähigkeit *r* auszusprechen an dessen Stelle *k* sagt. So sagt z. B. eine alte Brahmanenfrau *pitḥ*, *ṭṭaka* und *piṭṭaka* anstatt *pitṛ* bzw. *ṭṭaka* und *piṭṭaka* (MBhāṣ Bd 1, S 19 Z. 16 f)

7 (Von den verschiedenen Substituten wird dasjenige vorgezogen) das (dem ursprünglichen Laut) am nächsten (steht)

P 1 1 50, H 7 4 120

Nach dem Kom. kann die Verwandtschaft auf der Artikulationsstelle, Qualität, Quantität und Bedeutung beruhen In *muri + indra* [55] muss für die beiden *i* nach 1 1 77 ein langer Vokal substituiert werden es wird in diesem Falle nach unserer Regel das lange *i* gewählt, weil die zwei Vokale—das kurze und das lange *i*—das gleiche *sthāna* haben, und keiner von den übrigen dem *sthāna* näher steht als dieser—Zu den Beispielen zu *pramāṇa* vgl. Anm. zu 1 1 4 —*rāṇiḍyayure* = ein junger weiblicher Nachkomme von V *dātadarmānāṇā* = die schönste unter den D Frauen Das erste feminine Glied des Kompositums nimmt dasjenige maskuline Form an welche

³ Vgl. Einleitung S. II unter der Beschreibung des MS.

dem ursprünglichen Femininum was die Bedeutung anbelangt am nächsten steht, also wird für *vatanḍī* nicht *atandā* substituiert, sondern *vātandya* (= ein männlicher Nachkomme des V.), das jenem noch näher steht als das *vatanḍa* da beide den Abkömmling bezeichnen.

8 (Eine Operation die sich auf) ein Verwandtschaft (ausdrückendes) Wort (bezieht tritt nur dann ein), wenn die Verwandtschaft (in der Tat) vorhanden ist

H. 7 4 121

śvaśura = Sohn des Schwiegervaters Schwager, aber *śvaśuri* = Sohn eines Mannes der einem Schwiegervater ähnelt⁴ Diese Regel vermag ich weder bei Paṇ noch bei seinen Kom. nachzuweisen. Vgl jedoch Ujvala datta's Kom zu Uṇ 1 45 *sambandhīśabdānaṃ tatsadṛśat pratisēdhaḥ* H 7 4 21 gibt das Sūtra mit dem Kom fast wortlich wieder — Das Sūtra dient wahrscheinlich nur dazu den abgeleiteten Nominalstamm *śvaśuri* in dem obenerwähnten Sinne zu rechtfertigen dessen Bildung sonst gewisse Schwierigkeiten bereitet.⁵

9 Die (Wortformen) auf *ghat* (= *at*) und *ḍat* (= *at*) (sind wie) Zahlwörter ([*saṃkhyā*] zu behandeln)

P 1 1 23, H 1 1 39

Zum Suffix *ghatu* Dem Suffix *ghatu* bei Śakaṭ. steht bei Paṇ *valu* gegenüber (P 1 1 23) Dies sind beides Suffixe (Konsonant + *at*), die gewissen Pronomina angefügt werden wie z B. in *yavat*, *tavat*, *kīyat*, *īyat* usw. Da bei Paṇ das normale Suffix *vat(u)* (wie in den Bildungen *yavat* *tavat*) heisst so wird hinter *kīm* und *idam* für das *i* des Suffixes das Substitut *gh* (= *iy*)⁶ [56] vorgeschrieben um die Bildungen *kīyat* *īyat* zu ermöglichen (P 5 2 40 41) Umgekehrt heisst bei Śakaṭ. das normale Suffix in diesem Falle *ghat(u)* = *īyat* (wie in *kīyat* *īyat* § 3 3 68), infolgedessen schreibt er 3 3 69 70 die Substitution von *v* für *gh* hinter *etad* usw. (*etavat*) vor. Das Ergebnis ist genau dasselbe. Warum Śakaṭ. die Änderung vorgenommen hat lässt sich vorläufig nicht ermitteln — Bei Candra wird der Terminus *saṃkhyā* nicht weiter definiert

⁴ Vgl. Paribhāṣendus (Text) S 15 Z 9 *śvasurasadṛśasyapatyam ity arthare śvaśurīḥ* usw. Nach Ujvaladatta (Uṇ. 1 45) ist *śvaśura* hier ein nom. pr. *śvasuro* *nama kaścit tasyapatyam*

⁵ Die Regel P 4 1 137 *rajaśvasurad yad* wird durch die Paribhāṣā (15) *gaṇamukhyayor mukhye karyasampratyayah* modifiziert und infolgedessen wird das Suffix *ya* dem *śvaśura* nur dann angefügt wenn das Wort seine primäre Bedeutung hat diese wiederum bedarf der in der Paribhāṣā selbst nicht ausgedruckten Ergänzung *kīm cajanī nyayo na pratisadīkākarye kīm tūpattam viśiṣṭarthopasthapakam iṣiṣṭarūpam yatra tadṛśapadākarya eva* (Paribhāṣendus Text S 15 Z 5—6 Transl. S 88 und Anm. 1 S 89 und Anm. 1)

⁶ Nach P 7 1 2 ebenso sicherlich auch bei Śakaṭ. obwohl ich die [56] Regel bei ihm nicht nachweisen kann vgl. jedoch Prakriyās S 183 (unter Sūtra 913) *ghasya iy*

10 *bahu* und *gana* (werden) in (der Bedeutung) Verschiedenheit (Mannigfaltigkeit) (wie Zahlwörter behandelt)

P 1 1 23 + Kas H 1 1 1 40

Der Zusatz *bhede* beruht auf der Angabe der *Kasika* (zu P 1 1 23) *bahuganayor vapulye sanghe ca vartamanayor iha grahanam nasti | sam khyavacinor eva* Vgl. *Cintam*

11 (Die Wortform) *adhyardha* (wird) vor (dem Suffix) *ka* und in Kompositum (wie Zahlwörter behandelt)

P 1 1 23 Va 5, H 1 1 41

12 (Eine Wortform, die ein Kompositum ist dessen) erstes Glied *ardha* (ist und auf) *dat* (d h ein Ordnungszahlwort bildendes Suffix) auslautet wird wie Zahlwörter behandelt)

P 1 1 23 Va 7 H 1 1 42

13 (Die Nachkommenschaft) von Enkel an (heißt) *vṛddha*

P 4 1 162, H 6 1 2

In der Grammatik des *Candra* sind die Termini *vṛddha* und *yuvan* nicht definiert *vṛddha* entspricht *Paṇ s gotra*

14 Wenn ein Glied in der aufsteigenden Linie oder ein alterer Bruder noch am Leben ist (heißt die) nicht weibliche (Nachkommenschaft) von Urenkel an *yuvan*

P 4 1 163 + Va 7 und Bh H 6 1 3

vaṁśya ist jeder Vorfahr, von dem Vater aufsteigend der die Ursache eigenen Daseins ist.—Das entsprechende Sutra *Pāṇini s* (4 1 163) *jīvali tu vaṁśye jīva* ist zweideutig weil da der *samput* unspezifiziert bleibt. Der Urenkel ist es erst der überhaupt *yuvan* genannt werden kann. Die richtige Konstruktion ist aus dem folgenden Auszug aus dem *Bhaṣya* zu dem Sutra ersichtlich *etam tarhy apatyam etadhisambadhyate na tu pautraprabhṛti samanādhikarānam apatyam | naivam vijāyate pautraprabhṛti yad apatyam iti | katham tarhi | pautraprabhṛter yad apatyam iti* (MBhāṣ Vol 2 S 265 Z 19 f) Dieser Erklärungsversuch ist offenkundig ein Kunstgriff *Pit s* und bezeugt noch einmal dessen Bemühung die Unfehlbarkeit *Pāṇ s* zu dokumentieren. Unser Grammatiker lehnt ihn ab und vereinfacht die Sache indem er [57] *prapautradī* ausdrücklich hinzufügt.—Der Singular *satī* ist auffallend aber für den Sutrastil bezeichnend. Er soll doch ausdrücken wenn einer von den zwei genannten am Leben ist *satī* würde bedeuten wenn der *vaṁśya* und der *bhṛtī* beide am Leben sind. Zu *satī* ist also *anyatatasmin* zu ergänzen. Hema ebenfalls *jīvali* (d h *satī* H 6 1 3) —*asti* des Sutra beruht auf Vā 7 zu den oben erwähnten *Pāṇinischen* Sutra —*vṛddha* statt *Pāṇini s gotra* wohl gewissermaßen als Gegensatz zu *yuvan*

15 (Die im Sūtra 14 gelehnte Bezeichnung ist) Ingeheißt wenn ein

an Alter und Würde höher stehender *sapinda* des lebenden (Nachkommen vom Urenkel an noch am Leben ist)

P 4. 1. 165 + Bh , H 6. 1. 4

Die Erklärung in dem Kom. von *sthāna* ist wenig klar. Der Ausdruck *ayasssthāna* stammt aus dem MBhās her, wo Pat. bei Gelegenheit der Erklärung von *sthaviratara* (P 4 1: 165) sich folgendermassen aussert: *atha sthaviratara-grahanaṃ kimattham | ubhayato viśiṣṭe yathā syāt | sthānato tayastaś ca*. Dies passt auch gut zu der üblichen Bedeutung von *sthavira* bejahrt und würdig. Man vergleiche den Gebrauch des Wortes (*pāthera*) bei den Buddhisten. Wenn Pāṇ nur den Altersunterschied hatte ausdrücken wollen, so hatte er einfach *ṛyāyast* oder ähnliches sagen können. Sicherlich ist der Ausdruck hier auch so zu verstehen wie bei den älteren Grammatikern. Warum der Kom. sich so ausdrückt, sei dahingestellt.

16 (Die Bezeichnungen) *yuvan* und *vṛddha* (sind freigestellt), wenn Tadel (resp.) Verehrung (auszudrücken ist)

P 4 1 166, 167 = P 4 1 162 Vā 2, 163 Vā 3, H 6 1 5

yuvavṛddham ist nom. sing. und *kutsārtce* ist lok. sing. eines Neut. Dvandva. Śakaṭ gebraucht das Dvandva fast durchweg als sing. neut.

17 Ein Eigennamen (wird beliebig) *du* (genannt)

P 1 1 73 Vā 5, C 3 2 26, H 6 1 6

du entspricht dem *vṛddha* bei Pāṇ, das Śakaṭ für Paṇ's *gotra* verwendet (s. Sūtra 13, 14 Anm.)

18 *tyad* usw. (heissen *du*)

P 1 1 74, C 3 2 28, H 6 1 7

Zu beachten ist, dass der Übergang von *vibhāṣā* zu *nitya* im Text des Sūtra nicht ausdrücklich erwähnt wird. Es ist nur nicht klar, geworden woraus dieselbe überhaupt zu erschliessen wäre.

19 (Eine Wortform) von dessen Vokalen der erste *ā* *ai* oder *au* (ist, heisst *du*)

P 1 1 73, cf. C 3 2 24, H 6 1 8

20 (Eine Wortform, die) nur als Ortsname (gebraucht wird [58] und von deren Vokalen das erste) *e* oder *o* (ist, heisst *du*) vor (den Suffixen) *cha* (= *iya*) usw.

P 1 1 75 + Bh , H 6 1 9

Vgl. Anmerkung zum folgenden Sūtra

21 (Eine Wortform, die) einen Ort in Osten (bezeichnet und von deren Vokalen der erste *e* oder *o* ist, heisst *du* vor den Suffixen *cha* [= *iya*] usw.)

P 1 1 75 + Kās , C 3 2 25, H 6 1 10

Die Sūtras 20 21 besagen folgendes: Ein östlicher Ortsname wird in

gewissen Fällen als ein *du* genanntes Wort behandelt (21), aber auch solche anderen Ortsnamen die nur als Bezeichnungen von Orten auftreten (20) In dieser Weise wird die Regel weder von Paṇini, noch von seinen Kommentatoren noch endlich von anderen Grammatikern *ausser Hema* formuliert. Die Regel bei Paṇini (1 1 75) lautet *en prācam dese*, was der Verfasser der *Kaśikā* so erklärt *en yasyacam adis tat pragdesabhidhane vṛddhasamjñam bhaṭati* Dass Candra derselben Meinung ist geht deutlich aus dem Wort laut seines Sutra (3 2 25) *enadyacah pragaesat* hervor *prācam* kann aber auch eine andere Bedeutung haben nämlich, nach der Meinung der ostlichen Grammatiker, so z B P 3 1 90, 4 18 4 1 17, 43 160 usw wo es von den Kommentatoren einstimmig in diesem Sinne erklärt wird Leider gibt uns das MBhāṣ keinen direkten Aufschluss darüber, wie Patañjali sich zu dieser Sache verhält Sein kurzes Bhāṣya über das Sutra lautet *en prācam dese saṣṭikeṣv iti vaktavyam ' saṣṭuriki saṣṭurika | skaunagariki | kaunagariketi* (MBhāṣ Vol 1 S 190 Z 20 f) Nach der Ansicht Kaiyaṭas aber soll Pat die zuletztgenannte Auffassung billigen Er sagt *kuninā prāgrahanam ācaryanirdeśartham vyakhyatam | anyeṇa³ tu prāgrahanam desaviseṣanam vyakhyatam | bhāṣyakaras tu kunidatsa iam asisriyat* Und Kaiyaṭa hat offenbar Recht Denn die beispielweise gegebenen Ortsnamen Sepura und Skonagara müssen solche Namen vertreten die *vṛddha* heissen und denen zugleich die *saṣṭika* Suffixe *iki ika* angefügt werden können Nun aber können diese Suffixe *iki ika* technisch *ñiṣk* genannt, an Ortsnamen wie Sepura und Skonagara nur dann treten wenn diese im Gaṇa *Kaśi* enthalten (P 4 2 116) oder Dorfnamen der Bahika sind (117) Das erste ist nicht der Fall also müssen sie Dorfnamen der Bahika sein Da aber das Land der Bahika gar nicht im Osten liegt sondern den Teil Indiens bildet der heutzutage das Punjab heisst (s Nagojibhaṭṭa's Pradīpodyota zum oben erwähnten Sutra Paṇini's) so können die zwei Namen bei Patañjali welche als Beispiele der Ortschaften auf die sich das Sutra bezieht dienen müssen keine Namen von Orten im Osten sein Folglich kann nach der Ansicht Patañjali's *prācam* nicht mit *dese* verbunden sein Die Sūtras [59] Śakaṭ's wollen nun den beiden entgegengesetzten Ansichten — der Ansicht Patañjali's und der der Candra Kāśikakāra — gerecht werden Der letzten gibt er durch das 21 Sutra Ausdruck der ersten durch das vorangehende Sutra Die durch das Wort *eti* im 20 Sutra ausgedrückte Beschränkung kann auf der Bemerkung der Kāśikā beruhen *deśa iti kim | gomatyam bhata matsya gaumatah* Das Sūtra 20 hat meiner Ansicht nach lediglich den Zweck, die vier im MBhāṣ vorkommenden Bildungen *saṣṭuriki* usw zu rechtfertigen

Die Vārttikas 6 7 und 8 zu P 1 1 73 modifiziert durch das Bhāṣya *gotrantad rasamastatad ity eti jayah* bilden ein Sutra im Abschnitt über die Taddhitasuffixe (S 2 4 2 = H 6 1 12)

* Darunter ist wohl der Verfasser der Kāśikā zu verstehen.

Das MS H fugt als Beispiel *gonardiya* zwischen *bhūati* und *chādau* im Kom zu Sutra 20 ein, was vollkommen unzulässig ist. Denn das Beispiel als *pratyudaharana* musste einen Ortsnamen aufführen. 1) der nicht ausschließlich als Bezeichnung eines Landes verwendet wird. 2) dem das Suffix *cha* (= *īya*) eben nicht angefügt werden kann. 3) der kein Ortsname der östlichen Völker ist. Es ist offenbar aus dem Kom zu 21 eingedrungen.

22 (Eine Wortform) die eine Tätigkeit bezeichnet, (heißt) Wurzel (*dhatu*)

Cf P 1 3 1, H 3 3 3

Obwohl nach der obigen Definition jede Tätigkeit ausdrückende Wortform *dhatu* heißen konnte, werden die halbprakritischen Verba wie *anapayati*, *vadḍhati* usw. aus dem Begriff *dhatu* ausgeschlossen, genau wie im Pāṇini'schen System (vgl. Vārtt 12 zu P 1 3 1 und Bhāṣya daselbst).

23 (Die verschiedenen Wurzelformen) *da* und *dha*, mit Ausnahme der mit (dem stummen Laut) *b* versehenen, (heißen) *ghu*

P 1 1 20, C 1 1 4, H 3 3 5

dān 1 Kl (*yacchati*) „geben“, *den* 1 Kl (*dayate*) „schützen“, *dudañ* 3 Kl (*dadati*) „geben“, *do* 4 Kl (*dyati*) „schneiden“, *dlet* 1 Kl (*dhayati*) „saugen“, *dudhañ* 3 Kl (*dadhāti*) „setzen“

24 *pra* usw. (gehören) nicht (der Wurzel an), ausser wenn ein Suffix (darauf) folgt.

H 3 3 4

utsuka wird nach der Ansicht der indischen Grammatiker von *ut* mit dem Suffix *suka* gebildet (§ 3 3 113)

25 (*pra* usw.) die sich auf eine (Wurzel) beziehen mit Ausschluss von *adhi* und *pari* wenn (sie) bedeutungslos (sind), *su* und *ati*, wenn Lob (ausgedrückt wird) und *ati* wenn Überschreitung des Masses (ausgedrückt wird) heißen. Praposition (*upasarga*) und (stehen) vor (dem Verbum)

P 1 4 58, 59 80 93 95, H 3 1 1

pralambha. Nur nach *upasargas* wird vor dem Suffix *a* in [60] *labh* *n* eingeschoben, so *pralambha*, dagegen *śallabha labha* usw. (cf P 7 1 67). — Wenn *adhi*, *pari* keine *upasargas* sind können sie nach dem Verbum stehen, wie in *āgacchati adhi* oder *āgacchati pari*, hier ergibt sich der Sinn „hinauf, ringsum“ auch sonst, z. B. aus dem Zusammenhang — *su siktam* usw. *su siktam* drückt einen Tadel aus, wie es aus unserem Kommentar und der Bemerkung der Siddhāntak (p. 125) *su siktam kim tatatra*⁹ | *kṣepo 'yam* hervorgeht. Es ist aber schwieriger zu sagen was *su siktam* eigentlich bedeutet. Es konnte wohl einfach „gut begossen“ heißen, allein die Kommentatoren fügen immer *atra dhātvaṅthaḥ stūyate* hinzu, was nur heißen

⁹ Ironisch gemeint, vgl. im Deutschen: „das hast du gut getan“ obwohl die Fragepartikel (*kim*) befreudend wirkt.

kann hier wird die *Bedeutung der Wurzel* (nicht etwa die Ausführung der Handlung wie man erwarten würde) gepriesen. Leider geben die älteren Kommentatoren keinen Aufschluss darüber inwiefern der *dhatvartha* gepriesen wird. In der *Siddhantak* (p. 135 Anm. 2) jedoch findet sich die folgende Notiz: *su siktam itī | sekagatapuṣṣyadvatākaḥ suh kṛtyapuṣṣya taktē tattatkrīyakartuḥ puṣṣatve gamya evaṁsa samjña* *su* deutet die der Vollziehung des Begießens zukommende Ehrwürdigkeit (oder geradezu das Verdienst) an (wie z. B. des Begießens eines heiligen Baumes wie der *Tulasi*). Nur in dem Falle dass wegen der Ehrwürdigkeit gewisser Handlungen die Ehrwürdigkeit des Vollziehers der betreffenden Handlungen auszudrücken ist, hat der Terminus (nämlich *karmapravacanīya*) Gültigkeit. Dieser Ansicht nach konnte *su siktam bhavata* geradezu heissen: es ist verdienstvoll dass du begossen hast.

Die vier Wörter *adhi* *pari* *su* und *ati* in der im Sutra gegebenen Bedeutung heissen bei Pāṇini *karmapravacanīya*. Dieser Terminus hat den Zweck dieselben von den Kategorien *upasarga* und *gaṭi* auszuschliessen. cf. *Kaśika* zu P. 1. 4. 93: *gatīyupasargasamjñabaddhanārtha karmapravacanīyasamjñā tīdhyate*. Śaṅkarā kennt die Kategorie *karmapravacanīya* nicht und scheidet bloss die obengennannten Wörter aus dem Begriff der *upasargas* und *tī* aus. — Bei Candra werden die *upasargas* nicht definiert. — Der *adhikāra prakāśa* gilt fort bis 1. 1. 38 inklusiv.

26 (Wortformen die auf) *ṣac* (= -a) *cvī* (= -ī) (auslauten die Wörter) *urī* usw. *Onomatopoeitika* (und die Präpositionen in Verbindung mit Verben¹⁰) heissen *tī*.

P. 1. 44. 60-62. C. 2. 2. 25. 26. H. 3. 1. 2.

Zu *cvīṣacsadharmyat* vgl. MBhaṣa zu P. 1. 4. 61. — *tī* ist eine Verstümmung von Pāṇini's *gaṭi* und entspricht diesem ganz genau wie schon BÜHLER richtig erkannt hat. *Or u. Occ.* 2. 701 Anm. 1.

[61] 27 (*tī* heissen in Verbindung mit Verben) *karika* wenn Regel usw. ausgedrückt wird *alam* wenn Schmückung ausgedrückt wird *adas* wenn nicht Mitteilung¹¹ und *antar* wenn nicht Ergreifen (Inbesitznahme) ausgedrückt wird *sat* und *asat* wenn Hoch respektiv Geringschätzung ausgedrückt wird.

P. 1. 4. 63-65. 70. 60. Va. 1. C. 2. 2. 25. 27. 28. 32. H. 3. 1. 3. 5.

Zu *karika*. Amaraḥ gibt *karika* mit *jalana* und *tīṭṭi* wieder. *tīṭṭi* = *t*.

¹⁰ *Orient und Occident* 2, 69 f. hat BÜHLER in seiner Notiz über die Grammatik des Čakrāḥyana dieses Sutra übersetzt. Es heisst dort: "Upasargas heissen *tī* wenn sie mit *Nomina* verbunden sind. Er glaubt [61] also in den *tī upasargas* eine Vorstufe der *karmapravacanīyas* bei Pāṇini wiederzuerkennen. Das ist jedoch ein Irrtum, wie aus der Erläuterung zu dem vorangehenden Sutra hervorgeht.

¹¹ Oder positiv gesagt wenn Überlegung (*paramarśa*) ausgedrückt wird.

"Erklärung", also *kārikā* „erklärende Regel“ Darauf deutet auch *sthiti*, *maryādā*, feste Regel“, „Regel“ im Kom. hin¹² *kārikākṛ* stammt wahrscheinlich aus der Unterrichtssprache der Grammatiker und heisst „zur *kārikā* machen“, also „eine Regel oder eine Erläuterung in der Form einer *kārikā* fassen“, denn wie soll es „durch eine *kārikā* erklären“ heissen, wie BÖHTLINGK in seinem Wörterbuch angibt? Unter *ādi* versteht der Kom. *yatna* (Anstrengung) Sollte da nicht *yātana* („Qual, Pein“, also *kārikā* = „Gefangenschaft“ entsprechend dem *kārya* im Kauṭīliya), zu lesen sein? Es ist indessen kaum anzunehmen dass *kārikākṛ* je im Sinne von etwa „Gefangenschaft machen“ gebraucht wird Im Sūtra steht *ādi* und der Kom. musste eben eine zweite Bedeutung angeben—Wegen *kartrī* vgl. Vopadeva, Grammatik 8 21

28 *kane* und *manas* (heissen *ti*), wenn das Stillen des Verlangens ausgedrückt wird

P 1 4 66, C 2 2 29, H 3 1 6

29 Die Indeklinabilen *astam* und *puras* (heissen *ti*).

P 1 4 67, 68, C 2 2 30, H 3 1 7

30 *accha* (in Verbindung mit Verben) der Bewegung und *vad* (heisst *ti*)

P 1 4 69, C 2, 2 31, H 3 1 8

acchagatya = herangekommen seiend, *acchavrajya* = d s, *acchoḍya* = eingeladen habend Hier ist zu erwähnen, dass *accha vad* im Sinne von *dṛḍha* neu ist *accha vad* heisst sonst heranzurufen begrüssen bewillkommen, einladen

31 *tīras* (in Verbindung mit Verben heisst *ti*), wenn ein Dazwischen treten ausgedrückt wird

P 1 4 71 C 2 2 33 H 3 1 9

32 (Wenn *tīras*) mit *kṛ* (verbunden ist, ist die Bezeichnung *ti*) freigestellt.

P 1 4 72, C 2 2 34, H 3 1 10

{62} 33 (Wenn die Indeklinabilen) *manasi* *utasi* *upāje*, *anvāje*, *madhye pade* und *nivacane* (mit *kṛ* verbunden sind, ist die Bezeichnung *ti* freigestellt)

P 1 4 73 75, 76 C 2 2 35, 37 H 3 1 11, 12

Zu bemerken ist, dass selbst das wichtige Wort *amatyadhane* in dem Sūtra weggelassen ist, es wird dem Kom. überlassen es zu ergänzen Bei Hema (3 1 11) lautet die Regel richtiger

¹² BÜHLER gibt zweifelnd *sthiti* mit 'Geschäft' wieder (Or u. Occ. 2 698) Der Zweifel ist berechtigt. Nach COOLEBROOKE, *Grammar* 124 soll es in diesem Zusammenhang, 'determination' heissen (Pet IV s. v) Weder das MBhās noch die Kaśika erklärt die Ausdrücke näher

34 (Wenn der *upasarga*) *adhi* zum Ausdruck der Herrschaft (mit *kr* verbunden ist ist die Bezeichnung *ti* nicht notwendig)

P 1 4 97 98 H 3 1 13

Die *mandukapluti* artige *anuvṛtti* von *upasarga* wird durch den Umstand notwendig gemacht daß *adhi* in diesem Sinne eigentlich weder *gati* noch *apasarga* sondern ein *karmapravacanīya* (P 1 4 97) ist welche letzte Kategorie sich bei *Sakaṭ* nicht findet.

35 (Die Bezeichnung *ti* ist freigestellt für) *sakṣat* usw (wenn sie die Bedeutung von den auf *cvī* [-i] auslautenden Wortformen haben) ohne (aber das Suffix) *cvī* ([-i] selbst zu haben)

P 1 4 74 + Va 1 C 2 2 36 H 3 1 14

Wenn die Worte auf *cti* ausgehen so heissen sie *gati* (§ 1 1 26) und müssen als solche ein *niyasaṃasa* mit *kr* usw bilden

36 *haste* und *panau* (heissen in Verbindung mit *kr*) stets (*ti*) wenn das Sichaneignen gemeint ist

P 1 4 77 C 2 2 38 H 3 1 15

37 (Die Bezeichnung *ti* ist freigestellt für) *jivika* und *upanīṣad* wenn Ähnlichkeit gemeint ist.

P 1 4 79 C 2 2 40 H 3 1 17

38 (In Verbindung mit Verben heisst) *pradhtam* (*ti*) wenn Fesselung ausgedrückt wird

P 1 4 78 C 2 2 39 H 3 1 16

39 *avyaya* (heissen die auf die Suffixe) *tas vat* und *nam* (= *am*) (ausgehenden Wortformen auch diejenigen welche auf die Reihe von Suffixen) *tasī* mit Ausnahme von *dhan* (= *dha*) (ausgehen) *am* (in periphrastischen Perf) (die Absolutiva auf) *ktiā* (*tiā*) und *am* (die Infinitive auf) *tum* (die) *ti* (genannten Wörter ferner diejenigen welche) den mit Flexionsendungen (versehenen oder den auf die Suffix Reihe) *plasu* (ausgehenden Wörtern) ähneln (und die Wortgruppe) *stā* usw

P 1 1 37-40 H 1 1 30 36

Der Umfang des Terminus *avyaya* bei Panini und *Sakaṭ* ist ganz genau derselbe. Nur ist die Aufzählung und Einteilung bei diesem etwas anders als bei seinem Vorgänger. So heissen bei Pan *avyaya* die folgenden Kategorien von Worten 1 *stā* usw und die Partikeln (*nipāta*) (P 1 1 37) 2 die auf ein *taddhita* [63] Suffix ausgehenden Worte wenn sie nicht mit allen Kasusendungen versehen werden können (P 1 1 38) 3 die mit einem *krī*-Suffix gebildeten Worte wenn sie auf *m* oder einem Diphthong ausgehen (P 1 1 39) 4 die Absolutiva auf *ktiā* (- *tiā*) und die Infinitive auf *tosam* (- *tos*) und *kasun* (- *as*) (P 1 1 40) und endlich 5 die *avyaya bhāta* (P 1 1 41). Zunächst fallen für unsere Grammatik naturgemäss die vedischen Infinitive (P 3 4 16 17) auf *tos* und *as* (Kategorie 2) und

die ebenfalls vedischen Infinitiv Dative auf Diphthonge wie *jīase pīadhyat* usw. (Kategorie 3), weg. Von den übrigen entsprechen der 1. Kategorie bei Śakat *svar* usw. *i* und *sunabha*, der 2. Kategorie *adhanasī pīasvabha* *tas* (in *pīlumulatah*) *īat* und *am* (in *uccaistamam*) der 3. Kategorie *am* (in *dayamcakre* s. MBhaṣ Vol 1 S 96 Z 19 f), *am* (in *purīamḥhojam*) und *tum* der 4. Kategorie *iva*. Dem Sutra P 1 1 41 scheinen die Sutras § 2 1 4 6 zu entsprechen. Die in P 1 1 38 erwähnten *taddhita* Suffixe (*taddhitas caśarvavibhaktiḥ*) ausser *vat* und *tas* hat Śakat an einer Stelle (§ 3 4 4 64) zusammengestellt, so dass er den *pratyahara pīasu* bilden konnte. Der Vers *sadīsam* usw. stammt aus dem MBhaṣ zu P 1 1 38 — Bei Candra wird *avyaya* nicht definiert.

40 *ghī* (heissen die Wortformen auf) *i* und *u* mit Ausnahme von *sakhi* und von *patī* wenn dieses nicht (Glieder eines) Dvandva ist.

P 1 4 7, C. 6 2 50 51

In einem Dvandva geht ein *ghī* Nominalstamm voran (§ 2 1 119) daher *pātisutau* und *pātisakkayau* weil *pātī ghī* ist dagegen *sutā* bzw. *sakhi* nicht. Der *īpratiśedha* hat mit der Flexion des *pātī* am Ende eines Kompositums oder anders gesagt in Bezug auf die Frage, ob eine Regel die für den Nominalstamm *pātī* gilt ebenfalls für einen auf *pātī* auslautenden Nominalstamm gelten sollte gar nichts zu tun. Darüber gibt die Paribhaṣa (31) Aufschluss *grāhanavata pratiṣadikena tadantavī dhīr nastī* welche nach der Kielhorn'schen Übersetzung (§ 160) heisst That which cannot possibly be anything but a Pratiṣadika does (contrary to P 1 1 72) not denote that which ends with it, (but it denotes only itself) wobei allerdings die Gültigkeit der Paribhaṣa nicht nur für ein Sutra in dem ein Suffix gelehrt wird (wie dort *vata evayam pratyayavidhivīṣaya eva* Paribh. Text S 29 Z 16) sondern auch für *saṃjña* Sutras vorausgesetzt werden muss.

41 Ein operatives (Element heisst) Suffix (*pratyaya*) (wenn es sich) nicht auf etwas (bezieht was) im Genetiv (gelehrt wird)

P 3 1 1 1 1 49 H 1 1 38

Das im Genetiv gelehrt bezeichnet dasjenige an dessen Stelle Etwas treten soll also den *sthanin* und das operative Element heisst in diesem Falle *pratyaya*. Wenn ein *pratyaya* einem Element angefügt werden soll so wird das Element gewöhnlich im Ablativ aber niemals im Genetiv angeführt. Unser Sutra [64] besagt also im Grunde genommen dasselbe wie das Pāṇinische Sutra *ṣaṣṭhī sthaneyoga* (P 1 1 49)

42 (Die Suffixe von) *īc* (2 1 135) bis *aya* (4 1 1) (heissen) *taddhita*
P 4 1 76 H 5 1 1

43 (Die Suffixe von) *ghya* (4 3 60) (bis zum Ende des Werkes) mit Ausschluss der verbalen Flexionsendungen (heissen) *kṛt*

P 3 1 93 H 6 1 1

44 (Ein Suffix [*pratyaya*] wird) nachgesetzt

P 3 1 2 H 7 4 118

45 Was *m* zum stummen Laut hat folgt auf den letzten Vokal (dessen dem das operative Element angefügt wird)

P 1 1 47 C 1 1 14

Die Kommentatoren erklären *acah* mit *acam* da bei Namen von Klassen oder Arten der Singular für den Plural eintreten kann (*jatav ekavacanam*) Cf Praknyas. S 52 Anm 1 *mid aco ntyad iti sutre aca ity ekavacanam jatav eva | nirdharane saṣṭhiyam*

46 (Wenn zwei Regeln, die gleiche Kraft haben und von denen jede auch noch anderswo eintreten konnte,) in Konflikt (geraten dadurch dass sie sich in einem Falle beide darbieten so tritt die in der Reihenfolge der Sutras später gelehrt ein¹³)

P 1 4 2 C.1 1 16 H 7 4 119

Zu den Beispielen im Kom Nach § 1 1 157 muss *u* an die Stelle des *r* (= *r*) treten, das für anlautendes *s* substituiert ist, wenn *a* die Media oder die Nasale folgen nach 158 aber muss *luk* (d. i. Elision) für das auf den Pronominalstamm *sq* folgende *r* eintreten wenn ein Konsonant folgt. Für *esah hasati* und *saḥ dhavati* werden sich beide Regeln darbieten daher der *vispratiṣedha* — *spardha* (m.) als Substantiv ist (nach dem P W) sonst gar nicht belegt.

47 (Wenn eine Substitution) an Stelle eines im Genetiv (ausgedrückten Elements gelehrt wird so heisst dies dass das Substitut an die Stelle) des letzten Lautes (desselben zu treten hat)

P 1 1 52 C. 1 1 10 H 7 4 106

Das Beispiel *napo co hrastah*¹⁴ die Kürze (tritt ein für den Auslaut) eines auf einen Vokal (auslautenden) Neutrums illustriert die zwei Funktionen des Genetivs die auseinander gehalten werden müssen. Der erste Genetiv *naph* fällt unter unsere Regel dagegen ist der zweite Genetiv *acah* ein Attribut (*viśeṣana*) von *naph* und fällt daher unter 1 1 50. Danach heisst *napo cah* [65] nicht etwa „an die Stelle eines neutralen Substantivs welches ein Vokal ist sondern an die Stelle eines auf einen Vokal auslauten den neutralen Substantivs

48 (Wenn eine Substitution für etwas gelehrt wird) was auf ein Anderes welches im Ablativ steht, (folgt, so heisst dies dass das Substitut an die Stelle) des ersten (Lautes des folgenden Elements tritt)

P 1 1 54 C.1 1 9 H 7 4 104

¹³ Für eine klare Darstellung der *vispratiṣedha* bhasya vgl. KILLHORN *Pari bhāṣyaśekhara* (Translation) S. 194f

¹⁴ S. 1 2. 1 = P 1 2. 47

Wenn gelehrt wird, dass *i* an die Stelle von *ap* tritt, wenn dieses auf *du*, *antar* usw. im Kompositum folgt (§ 2 2 138), so tritt nach unserer Regel das *i* nicht an die Stelle des letzten Lautes (*p*) der Gruppe (wie nach 1 1 47 zu erwarten), sondern an die Stelle des ersten Lautes (*a*)

49 (Ein Substitut,) das *s* zum stummen Laut hat, (und eins das aus mehr als einem) Laut (besteht und) kein *n* zum stummen Laut hat, tritt an die Stelle des Ganzen

P 1 1 53, 55, C 1 1 11 12

Dass der Sinn des Sūtra dies sein muss, wird niemand bezweifeln. Wie er aber aus den vier Silben des Sūtra herauskommen soll ist mir dunkel geblieben. *al* (als Plur gedacht) steht scheinbar für *anekāl*¹. Man hatte ferner erwartet, dass eine Andeutung der Tatsache, dass das Substitut an die Stelle eben des Ganzen und nicht eines Teiles tritt, in dem Wortlaut des Sūtra laum entbehrt werden konnte. Der Kom. versagt vollständig.

śi (= *i*) ist ein *ekāl* und hat *ś* zum stummen Laut, es tritt infolgedessen für das Ganze (*j*)*as* und (*s*)*as* ein, (*s*)*ām* ist *anekal* und hat ferner kein *n* zum stummen Laut, es tritt daher ebenfalls für das ganze *ām* ein (*n*)*as* ist *anekal*, hat aber *n* zum stummen Laut, es tritt infolgedessen nur für den letzten Laut in *jarā* ein, *anta* ist ebenfalls *anekal* hat aber kein *n* zum stummen Laut, es wird daher für das ganze *jha* substituiert.

50 (Das Substitut ist zu behandeln) wie das Ursprüngliche wenn (die betreffende Operation) nicht von den lautlichen (Bestandteilen des Ursprünglichen) abhängig (ist)¹⁵

P 1 1 56 + Vā 4, H 7 4 109

Der Begriff *astaya* in diesem Zusammenhang stammt aus einem Vārttika Kātyāyana's (P 1 1 56 Vā 4) her *saty asraye vidhīr iṣṭah*, vgl. auch das Bhāṣya (Vol 1, S 133, Z 13 f) *idaṃ tarhi prayojanam uttarapada lopo yathā viññāyeta | alam āstayaṭe 'lasrayah | alaśrayo vidhīr alvidhīr iti*, und dazu Kaiyaṭa *alāstayaṭe yasyeti | alaśrayo vidhīr alvidhīh | alāśrayatvad vidhīr eval ity ucyata iti gatārthatvad aprayoga eva uttarapadasya lopah*. Er gilt dann für die Folgezeit als ein unentbehrlicher Bestandteil dieser Paribhāṣa. So die Kāśika (zu P 1 1 56) *sthanivad ādeśo bhavati sthan yāśrayeṣu karyeṣu analāśrayeṣu | sthanyalāśrayāṃ karyāṃ varjayitvā*, Hier hat es in die Regel nicht aufgenommen aber im Kom. verwendet *ādeśah ādesiva syāt | na cet sthanvarnāśrayaṃ karyam* (H 7 4 109).

51 (Das durch das) Folgende (bedingte Substitut) für einen Vokal (verhält sich in bezug auf eine Regel, die einen ihm) vorangehenden (Laut betrifft, wie der ursprüngliche Laut) ausser (in einer Regel wo es sich handelt um die Substitution von Elision durch) *kṛ* 2 (um die Substitution der)

¹⁵ In der Cāndra-Grammatik fehlen diese und die folgenden Paribhāṣas gänzlich.

52 Wenn (ein Suffix durch) *śluc* (schwindet, so tritt die Operation an dem vorangehenden Element, die durch das geschwundene Suffix bedingt ist, nur in Bezug auf) *i, u* respectiv *ṛ* (für *y, v* respectiv *ṛ* und in) *enad* (acc sing neut.) (für *etad* ein sonst aber nicht)

P 1 1 63, 2 4 34 Va 1, H 7 4 112

Dass das *ik kārya* dasselbe wie das *saṃprasārāna* ist, geht aus dem folgenden hervor *ślucigenad iti nyamāt parasya ślucī satyaṃ yañā ik etadaḥ enad iti dvayam eva bhavāṇi* usw (Prakriyās S 253, Anm. 2) Demnach illustrieren die Beispiele *veveddhī, śośavīti jarīgrhīti* die Substitution von *i* u respectiv *ṛ* (in den Stämmen des Frequentativums *vevidh śośu* respectiv *jarīgrh*) für *y, v* und *ṛ* (in *vyadh, śvi* und *grah*), trotzdem dass für den Intensivcharakter *ya śluc* eingetreten ist.—Die Ausnahme für *enad* beruht auf einem Vārttika (P 2 4 34 Vā 1) *enad iti napuṃsakavacane* Zunächst ergibt sich im acc sing neut *etadam*. Nach dem Abfall des *am* durch *śluc* (§ 1 2 5 = P 7 1 23 *svamor napuṃsakat* zu ergänzen *luk*) konnte das für *etad* und *idam* gelehrte *ena* (§ 1 2 203 = P 2 4 34) gar nicht eintreten, weil mit dem Schwund durch *śluc* auch das durch das Suffix in Bezug auf den Stamm bedingte aufgehoben wird, gerade wie bei *tad* das im nom sing. zu substituierende *sa* (P 7 2 106) nur in *mask* und *fem*, aber nicht im neut. zur Erscheinung kommt!¹⁶

53 Was *t* zum stummen Laut hat, (wird) an den Anfang (angefügt)

P 1 1 46, C 1 1 13

54 Was *k* zum stummen Laut hat, (wird) an das Ende (angefügt)

P 1 1 46, C. 1 1 13

[68] Hema hat die stummen Laute *t* und *k* aufgegeben Z B dem Śākāṭyana'schen Sūtra *nah śi jak* (§ 1 1 147 = P 8 3 31) entspricht bei Hema (1 3 19) *nah śi ĩc* (Comm. *padāntasthasya nasya śe pāte ĩc iā syat | bhātānt śūrah* usw.), und *qnah sah tso ścah* bei diesem (H 1 3 18) entspricht *qnas taḥ so 'ścah* (§. 1 1 146) — Zur Trennung der Sūtras 53 und 54 s. Kom

55 (Was als) nähere Bestimmung (eines zu spezifizierenden dient bezeichnet den Auslaut des Aggregats)

P 1 1 72, H 7 4 13

Das unserem Sūtra entsprechende Sūtra bei Paṇini (1 1 72) ist ohne die Vārttikas 3 und 4 Kāṭyāyana's geradezu unmöglich. Die Vārttikas verlangen den Ausschluss der Fälle, wo es sich um Komposita und Suffix handelt mit Ausnahme derjenigen Fälle wo ein *ugī* Suffix erwähnt wird oder wo bei der Formulierung des Sūtra nur Buchstaben gebraucht werden. Indem Śākā-

¹⁶ Siddhāntak. (§ 99) *avardde napuṃsake (s c) enad taktarayaḥ* Tatt. śābhaṇṇiḥ daru (ebenda) *amv evadam tikhayate na ti avasthādu phalbhāṣṭe | svamor napuṃsakat | [P 7 1 23] | y amv lukt luptare 'te pā'yaṇṇāṣṭam iha p-āṇṇāṣṭe śābhaṇṇāṣṭāṣṭe i y śuk*

den Wortlaut des Sutra in der Weise ändert, dass er das den Auslaut bildende Element und das, dessen Auslaut dieses bildet, als im Verhältnis von *viśeṣara* zu *viśeṣya* stehend fasst, glaubt er die oben erwähnten Vārtukas Īatyayana's entbehren zu können. Wie weit es ihm dies gelungen ist, ist freilich sehr fraglich. Denn in einem Sutra wie *śrī'adibh h* (§. 2 1 33 = P 2 1 24) [Komm *dvitīyaṁ subantaṁ śrī'adibhiḥ subantāḥ samasyate*] mochte man fragen warum hier *śrīta* eigentlich kein *viśeṣana* von (dem *viśeṣya* *mudaya*) *sup* (zu ergänzen aus dem *adhikarī*-Sutra) ist und warum es als solches nicht zugleich den Ausgang eines Komplexes wie *paramaśrīta* bezeichnen kann. Dasselbe gilt von dem im MBhas (Vol 1 S 183 Z 20) erwähnten Falle *naḍadibhyaḥ phak* (P 4 1 99) dem bei Śakaṭ (2 4 32) *naḍadibhyaḥ phan* entspricht. Man beachte, dass diese Frage nicht durch §. 1 1 59 berührt wird. Denn dort handelt es sich lediglich darum, was die in einem Sutra angegebenen Suffixe (wie z B *sun padam* § 1 1 62 und *ṣaḥḥ ayaṭnat* § 2 1 34) und nicht *pratīpadika* oder Teile von denselben bezeichnen.

56 (Die im) Ablativ (angegebene Bestimmung muss unmittelbar) vor (dem Spezifizierten stehen)

P 1 1 67 C 1 1 8 H 7 4 104

57 Nicht (so darf die im) Lokativ (angegebene Bestimmung vor dem Spezifizierten stehen sondern sie steht hinter demselben) ausgenommen in (den Regeln) *gh)a* (d h *gh)an* [4 3 60]) usw

P 1 1 66 C 1 1 7 H 7 4 105

aghyaḍiṣu Die Beschränkung bezieht sich auf die in 4 3 60 ff gelehrten Suffixe. So z B in *yamah samnirjyup* (4 4 10) heisst *samnirjyup* nicht vor den Propositionen *sam* usw sondern im Gegenteil nach denselben. Also heisst das Sutra an *yam* hinter *sam ni ri* und *upa* (treten gewisse Suffixe) vgl Prakriyas. [69] S. 392 Nr 1965 — Zu *smarasi* usw. Dies ist das bekannte Beispiel für die Regel. In Verbindung mit einem Verbum in der Bedeutung sich erinnern steht das erste Futurum (fi) um die hinter dem Heute gelegene Vergangenheit zu bezeichnen s. *hāñā* zu P 3 2 112. Beide Handschriften B und H (P fällt natürlich aus) lesen *ratīyamah* was ohne weiteres zu verbessern ist.

58 (Die nähere Bestimmung des im Lokativ gelehrten Spezifizierten bezeichnet das) Anfangs(-element) dessen (d h des Spezifizierten)

P 1 1 72 Vā 29 H 7 4 114

59 (Als Attribute bezeichnen) ein Suffix und *yat* (d i die Formworts bildenden Suffixe wenn die auf sie ausgehenden Wortformen dem ganzen Kompositum) untergeordnet (sind, denjenigen Lautkomplex welcher) mit der *prakṛi* anfangt (d i damit anfangt woran das Suffix angefügt wird)

P 1 4 13 Vā 7 + 6 1 13 B^h H 7 4 115 116.

Wegen *matṛbhoginah* vgl Vā 1 zu P 8 4 11 und wegen *nyakṣyat* vgl die Paribh (26) *strīpratyaye canuṣasarjanā na* und MBhāṣ Vol 3, S 20, Z 15—23—Die Verwandlung von *n* in *ṇ* nach *r* und *ṣ* findet dann statt, wenn die betreffenden Laute in einem und demselben *Pada* stehen (P 8 4 1) Nun heisst ein *Pada* das, was auf die Kasusendungen oder die Personalendungen ausgeht (§ 1 1 62 = P 1. 4 14). Nach unserer Paribh heisst in *sun padam* (§ 1 1 62) *Pada* das dem das Suffix angefügt wird nebst dem Suffix In *matṛbhoginah* wird *s* (nom sing) (*māṭr + bhoga*) + *ina*¹⁷ angefügt, also heisst der ganze Komplex [(*māṭr + bhoga*) + *ina*] + *s* *Pada*.

60 (Ein in einem Sūtra aufgeführtes) *kṛt* (Suffix bezeichnet sowohl die Wortform, der das betreffende Suffix angefügt wird als) auch diese nebst den *ti* (genannten Worten) und den in einer Kasusverbindung stehenden Nomina

P 1 4 13 Vā 9, H 7 4 117

Dieses Sūtra ist identisch mit der Paribh (28) *kṛdgrahane gatikāra kapūrvasyāpi grahanam* — **bhasmanhuta* (adj) = in die Asche gepöfirt, s. v a ein unnützes Werk vollbracht (Boht. Wörterb.).

61 (Eine nähere Bestimmung des verbum finitum sei es, daes sie ausgedrückt oder nur implicite verstanden ist) nebst (dem ausgedruckten oder implicite verstandenen) verbum finitum (heisst) Satz (*vakya*)

P 2 1 1 Vā 9, 10, H 1 1 26

Die Bezeichnung *vākya* wird am Gebrauch der enklitischen [70] Pronomina (*tas, nas, id* und *me* § 1 2 191, 193) und der Plutierung des Auslautes (§ 2 3 17, 27) illustriert. — Obwohl die Lesart von H sehr mangelhaft ist, laesst das *ca* hinter *grāham* die richtige Lesart mit Sicherheit erkennen Die Beispiele für Plutierung beruhen auf Konjektur, doch macht ein Vergleich mit der Kāśikā zu P 8 2 104 die Lesung ganz sicher Indem Hema (1 1 26) das *vākya* als *saviśeṣam ākhyātam* („ein verbum finitum nebst den dieses näher bestimmenden Worten“) definiert schliesst er sich näher sowohl an den Sinn als den Wortlaut des Bhāṣya an (Bd. 1, S 367, Z 15) *apara āka ākhyātam saśiṣeṣanam ity eva [sarāṁ hy etām [scil. atyaya, karaka und kāraka und karakaśiṣeṣanam] kriyatiṣeṣanāni*

62 (Was auf) eine Kasus oder Personalendung (ausgeht, heisst) Wort (*pada*)

P 1 4 14, H 1 1 20

Nach der Paribhāṣi (23) *pratyayagrahane yasmāt 'a' itihitas tadodas tadantasya grahanam* kann *sup* nicht die Suffixe *sup* und *tin* sondern muss eine Wortform die auf die Suffixe *sup* und *tin* ausgeht bezeichnen Auf

¹⁷ *ina* ist ein *samāntānta* Suffix. Dieser Fall ist von *māyāḍṛpa* (von *māyāḍ* *pā*) zu unterscheiden, wo das Suffix ein *kr* ist. Dies fällt unter die Paribh (75) *ga śāstrakopapaddāntam ādāyikāḥ saha samāśeṣaṇam prāt saḥajā it*

unsere Regel findet aber die Paribhaṣā (27 = P 1 4 14 Vā 1) Anwendung *saṃjñāvidhau pratyaagrahane tadantagrahnam nāsti*, welche nach der Kielhorn'schen Übersetzung heisst *An affix, when employed in a rule, which teaches the meaning of a technical term does not denote a word form ending with the affix Śakaṭ* hat die Paribhāṣa tatsächlich aufgenommen (siehe das Bühlersche MSS unter den Paribhāṣās) Er macht sich hier also einer Ungenauigkeit schuldig Das Sūtra Hema's (1 1 20) *tadantaṃ padam* wird der Paribhaṣā gerecht.

63 (Eine auf) *n* (auslautende Wortform¹⁴ heisst) vor (den verschiedenen Denominativsuffixen) *kya* (= *ya*) Wort (*pada*)

P 1 4 15, H 1 1 22

In *sāmānya* fällt das *n* nicht aus, weil das darauffolgende Suffix nicht *kya* sondern *ṣyaī* (cf P 5 1 124) heisst. — Zu *manjā* Nach der Regel *samajanyādanipad manīḍiṅghaīśmah* (Ś 4 4 70 = P 3 3 90) tritt das Suffix *kyap* an *man* Doch fällt das *n* des Stammauslautes davor nicht ab weil der Stamm nicht auf *sun* ausgeht

64 (Vor einem Suffix), welches ein stummes *s* hat und vor einem mit beliebigem Konsonanten ausser *y* (anlautenden Suffix heisst das Vorausgehende *pada*, jedoch) nicht (wenn es eine) Wurzel (ist)

P 1 4 16, 18, H 1 1 21

pada aufzuheben, die ihnen nach Ś 1 1 50, 52 (= P 1 1 62, 63) zukommt, da sonst in den angeführten Beispielen der Reihe nach *visarjanīya* für *r*, fakultative Elision des *v* (der sogenannte *śakalyapratishedha*), *ḡ* für *h*, *g* für *h* und endlich Elision des *n* eintreten wurden. Alle diese Lautveränderungen werden für das Ende des *pada* gelehrt. Es bleibt zu erklären wie *gīr* usw. in *paramagīrau* usw. die Bezeichnung *pada* zukommt. Ein Kompositum ist in seiner aufgelösten Form mit Kasusendungen versehen. Bei der Komposition aber wird für diese *luk* substituiert. Eine solche Wortform wird dann zu einem *prātipadika* und es können ihr neue Endungen angefügt werden. Eine flektierte Form von *rajaपुरुषा* kommt auf folgende Weise zustande: *rājñah puruṣa* + (Endung) = [*rājan* + (*luk*) + *puruṣa* + (*luk*)] + (neue Endung) = *rājapuruṣa* + (Endung). Die Endung tritt stets an das ganze *prātipadika* *rājapuruṣa* und nicht an *puruṣa* allein an. Wenn z. B. Kaiyaṭa den Fall bespricht, ob in *paramavāca*, da ein vokalisches anlautendes Suffix folgt, das vorausgehende *vāc* ein *bha* (also kein *pada*) heißen konnte, sagt er ausdrücklich, dass die Endung *a* an den Komplex *paramavāc* und nicht an den Teil *vāc* tritt: *paramavaceti | samasārtha yā vibhaktiḥ kṛtā tām [supo dhatu (P 2 4 71) itī lupām, Nāgajibhaṭṭa] pratyayalakṣaṇanāsritya padatvanibandhanām kutvādīm prāpnuvanti | bhasaṃjñā tu yasmād yajādi itidhr itī samudayaśyaiva na tv avayavaśya* (Bhāṣyapradīpa zu P 1 1. 63). Demnach steht in unserem Beispiel die Sache so: *parama* + (*luk*) + *gīr* + (*luk*) + *au*. Die Substitution des *luk* hinter *gīr* wurde die Bezeichnung *pada* für *gīr* ebensowenig aufheben wie für *rajan* in *rājapuruṣa*²¹ denn [72] mit der Substitution des *luk* werden nur solche Operationen aufgehoben die beim Vorhandensein des Suffixes in Bezug auf das *aniga* vorgenommen werden müssten. — Dieses Sūtra beruht auf einem Varttika Kātyāyana's (P 1 1 63 Va. 6). Ich muss gestehen, dass mir das Bhāṣya dazu nicht in seinem ganzen Umfang klar geworden ist. Das Ergebnis scheint mir aber vom Verfasser der Siddhāntak (S 99) folgendermassen kurz zusammengefasst zu sein: *antarvartiniṃ vibhaktim asritya pūrvapadasyevottarakhaṇḍasāpī padasaṃjñāyām prāptāyām | uttarapadaḥ cāpadādividhau pratishedhaḥ [Vā 6 zu P 1 1 63] | itī pratyayalakṣaṇaṃ na | apadādividhau kim | dadhisecau | ita śatvanvedhe kartavye padatī am asty eva | kulve tu na*²². Dem Zusatz *ita śatvanvedhe* usw., welcher aus dem MBhāṣ (Vol 1, S 166 Z 12—14) stammt, wird das Sūtra Hema's (1 1 25) *itityanto 'saṣe* [Komm. *asaṣe sasya tu śatī e padam etā*] gerecht, was zugleich zeigt, dass

²¹ Als *pada* wirft *rajan* das auslautende *n* ab.

²² In dem Kommentar dazu heisst es: *putrapadasyeveti | anyathā rājapuruṣo iṣṭāṣīr ityadau nalopakulīṭṭikam yathāśambhāṭam na syād itī bharah || uttara padatī ceti || uttarapadena uttarapadam ucyate | uttarapadasya padatī e pada rypadete kartavye pratyayalakṣaṇaṃ na bhavīty arthah | etena sudhīyau sudhīya ity atīntarīntisupā padatīāt pakṣe śakalaprasaṅga ity āsankā parastā | uktīrityā pratyayalakṣaṇamvedhāt,*

Hema. gelegentlich über die Angaben bei Śakāt hinausgegangen ist, und dass er selbständig aus älteren Quellen geschöpft hat

66 Einer auf *t* oder *s* (auslautenden Wortform kommt vor einem Suffix), in der Bedeutung von *mat* (die Bezeichnung *pada* nicht zu)

P 1 4 19, H 1 1 23

67 *manus nabhas* und *anigras* (kommt) vor (dem Suffixe) *vat* (die Bezeichnung *pada* nicht zu)

P 1 4 18 Vā 3 H 1 1 24

Śakāt hat hiermit die Paṇini'sche Kategorie *bha* (P 1 4 18 20) abgeschafft, worin ihm Hema gefolgt ist (H 1 1 23 24)

68 *ā* *i* und *ū* können in der Pause nasaliert werden, (jedoch) nicht die (*ā*, *i* *ū*) welche mit den stummen Buchstaben *g* versehen sind, sowie (der Auslaut von) *ca* usw. ausser *ā*.

P 8 4 57, C 6 4 150, H 1 2 41

Die Beschränkung *anāncadī* ist weder bei Pan. noch im Bhāṣya noch bei Candra zu finden, wohl aber bei Hema.

69 (In der Pause kann) die tonlose nicht aspirierte Muta für die tonende (substituiert werden)

P 8 4 56, C 6 4 149, H 1 3 51

70 (Was bis zum Schluss des *pāda* gelehrt werden wird ist) nicht (in der Pause vorzunehmen)

P 6 1 72, H 1 3 52

[73] Zwischen *te* und *ahuh* bzw. *bhatān* und *lumati* ist eine Pause hinzu zudenken

71 Für *e*, *o*, *ai* und *au* (werden) vor einem Vokal (der Reihe nach) *ay*, *ai*, *ay* und *āv* (substituiert)

P 6 1 78, C 5 1 75, H 1 2 23 24

72 Für die auf *a* folgenden *i* und *u* (können) *ṣ* respektiv *v* (substituiert werden wenn die ersteren für *e* respektiv *o* eingetreten sind)

P 8 2 108, C 6 3 133 H 7 4 103

pūrte 'parada anantaram usw. = Panbh. 59—Ohne dieses *era* konnte Verlängerung vor homogenen Vokalen eintreten weil der *aparada* denjenigen *nyāma* aufhebt, der unmittelbar auf jenen folgt

73 (Für die Vokale *i* *ū* *ṛ* (*i*) werden) vor einem ihnen nicht homogenen (Vokal der Reihe nach *y*, *i* *r* und *l* substituiert)

P 6 1 77, C 5 1 74 H 1 2 21

Der Komm. erwähnt dass das Sutra auch auf eine andere Weise erklärt wird, wonach sich die Formen *dadhī atra madhur atra* usw. ergeben.¹¹

¹¹ Zur Verwendung von *ay* *ur* statt *y* *r*, vgl. WACKERNAGEL *Altind. Gramm.* 1 § 181

74 (Für die Vokale *i* *ā* und *r* (*i*) kann (vor einen nicht homogenen Vokal) die Kurze (substituiert werden wenn die aufeinander folgenden Vokale) nicht in einem (und demselben) *pada* stehen

• P 6 1 127 + Va 1 + Bh C 5 1 132 H 1 2 22

Diese Regel Śakat *s* ebenso wie die entsprechende Regel Hema. s (1 2 22) scheinen zu weit zu sein denn nach dem MBhaṣ gilt der *sakalyapraṭiśedha* nur für den Fall dass der zweite Vokal den Anlaut eines mit den stummen Buchstaben *s* versehenen Suffixes bildet also eines *si*-Suffixes vor welchem das Vorangehende *pada* herste (P 1 1 16 Śa 1 1 64) — *parjanjavat* usw = Paribh 111

75 Vor *r* (*i*) kann für jeden einfachen Vokal (die Kurze substituiert werden)

P 6 1 128 C 5 1 133 H 1 2 2

76 Für *r* (*i*) nebst dem (folgenden) Vokal (wird wenn *r* (*i*) folgt *rr* (allein substituiert wo *rr* folgendes bezeichnet ein Aggregat von Vokalen wie z B *rr i*) usw oder ein Aggregat von Vokal und Konsonant wie z B *rr i* usw oder aber ein ganz anderer Laut wobei die Organe sich nur leicht berühren)

Vgl P 6 1 101 Va 1 2 und H 1 2 3 4

Die obige Übersetzung ist nur provisorisch gegeben Aus dem Wortlaut des Sutra selbst ist nichts zu entnehmen Man ist infolgedessen vollständig auf den Kom. angewiesen Aus dem *samuccaya* in dem Kom wird man nicht klug Wenn der Kom [74] nur sagen will dass für *r* + *r* *rr* bez *rr* substituiert werden ist der Ausdruck *samuccaya* recht unglücklich gewählt Zwei Vokale machen doch keinen *samuccaya* *acau* bezw *ajha'au* hatte genügt und wäre klarer gewesen Die Beispiele sind hier wenig von Nutzen weil in solchen Fällen die richtige Lesart erst aus der Aussage des Sutra bez. des Kom. erschlossen werden kann Die Deutung der Vṛttukas zu P 6 1 101 *sarāṇ adīrghatā itī itā acanam* und *itī itā acanam* ist mir nicht gelungen Die entsprechenden Sutris Hema. s 1 2 3 4 sind ebenfalls wenig klar Wegen *varnāntara* usw verweise ich auf die Siddhāntak. (p 21 unter dem Sutra *akāḥ sarāṇe dīrghatā itī itā itī itī ubhayatrāpi vidheyaṁ varnā dīpāṇ dīpāṇam* | *adhyāṣa madhye dīpā rēpāṇ tayoṛ eka matra* | *abhiṣa jhaktāḥ aparā* | *distīyāṣa tu madhye dīpā lakṣṇā* | *śeṣam pragat* Der Laut besteht danach aus zwei *r* deren Länge eine *mātrā* beträgt und aus zwei der *r* umgebenden Vokalen die in Gesamtlänge auch eine *mātrā* beträgt Der Laut ist also doch zwei *mātrās* lang

77 (Wenn auf einen einfachen Vokal ein zweiter Vokal folgt wird für beide die entsprechende Länge (allein substituiert)

P 6 1 101 C 5 1 105 H 1 2 1

In der Tat aber wird die Länge nur dann substituiert, wenn ein homogener Vokal folgt denn die *apavadas* 1 1 73 82 83 sind mit diesem *sutra* zusammenzulesen — Wegen *anukarana* vgl. Anm. zu Sutra 6

78 Wenn (auf einen einfachen Vokal) *sa* (d. i. das *a* des acc. plu.) folgt, (wird für beide die dem vorangehenden Vokal entsprechende Länge allein substituiert)

P 6 1 102 C 5 1 109

79 Im Maskul. num. (wird für einfachen Vokal vor dem *a* des acc. plu. aber eine Länge) mit darauf folgendem *n* (substituiert)

P 6 1 102 C 5 1 109

munin ist aus *munins* entstanden das *s* ist nach § 1 2 92 abgefallen welches den Abfall des letzten Konsonanten einer am Ende eines *pada* stehenden Konsonantengruppe lehrt. *n* am Ende eines *pada* sollte nach 1 2 95 abfallen fällt aber doch nicht ab wegen 1 2 49 Vgl. Prakriyas § 25 Anm. 2 und S. 59 unter Sutra 227

80 Wenn *dh* und *r* ausfallen wird für (ein vorangehendes) *a* und *u* (eine Länge substituiert)²⁴

P 6 3 111 C. 5 2 137 H 1 3 41 42

[75] 81 In *sah* und *vah* wird (beim Ausfall des *dh* oder *r*) *o* für *a* substituiert.

P 6 3 112 C 5 2 138 H 1 3 43

82 Wenn ein einfacher Vokal (auf *a* oder *ā*) folgt (wird für beide *e* respekt. *o* *ai* (allein substituiert)

P 6 1 87 1 1 51 C 5 1 82 H 1 2 6

83 Wenn ein Diphthong oder (das für *v* substituierte) *u* (auf *a* oder *ā* folgt wird für beide) *ai* respekt. *au* (allein substituiert)

P 6 1 88 89 C 5 1 84 86 H 1 2 12 13

Das *uc* entspricht Paṇ. s. *uḥ*. Der Auslaut hat in beiden Fällen sonst keine Bedeutung — *dhauta* aus *dhav* + (k)ta

84 Für (das *a* von) *pra* und (den Anlaut von) *uḍha* *uḍhi* *uḍa* *eṣa* und *eṣya* (wird *ai* respekt. *au* allein substituiert)

P 6 1 89 Vā 4 C 5 1 89 H 1 2 14

larna wird hier und im Kom. zu 91—93 als Neutrum gebraucht. In

²⁴ Das Sutra Pāṇ. n. s. lautet *dhātoloḥ purtaṣya dīrgho naḥ*. Das Wort *purtaṣya* ist schon überflüssig denn nach P 1 1 66 kann die Veränderung eben nur in bezug auf den vorangehenden Vokal vorgenommen werden es wird aber dadurch notwendig gemacht dass das Wort *uttarapade* von P 6 3 1 noch in diesem Sutra fortgilt. Infolgedessen würde ohne *purta* [75]-*ṣya* in unserem Sutra die Verlängerung nur dann erfolgen wenn ein *dh* oder *r* in einem *uttarapada* elidiert wird (vgl. MBhāṣ. zu P 6 3. 111). Diese Erwägungen kommen für das Sutra Śākāṭyāyana's ebenso wie für das entsprechende Sutra Candras (C. 5 2. 137) nicht in Betracht.

seinem *Liṅgānuśāsana*²⁵ setzt *śākaṭ. varṇa* zuerst neut. (Vers 8) und dann mask. und neut. (Vers 53) an.

85. In *svāra*, *svairin* und *akṣauhinī* (tritt *ai* respekt. *au* für *a + i* respekt. *u* ein).

P. 6. 1. 89 Vā. 3, 5; C. 5. 1. 87, 88; H. 1. 2. 15.

68. Für (*a* oder *ā + o* von) *om* und (ur das Substitut für die Präposition) *ā* (mit dem darauf folgenden Vokal wird) der zweite Vokal (allein substituiert).

P. 6. 1. 95; C. 5. 1. 99; H. 1. 2. 18.

Das Beispiel *adyarśyāt* findet sich auch im MBhās zu P. 6. 1. 95, wo übrigens *adyārśyāt*, mit langem *ā*, ausdrücklich zurückgewiesen wird.

87. Für *a + e* von *eva* (wird der zweite Vokal allein substituiert, wenn das Wort) nicht zum Ausdruck der Beschränkung auf etwas Bestimmtes (gebraucht wird)

P. 6. 1. 94 Vā. 3; C. 5. 1. 96; H. 1. 2. 16.

88. Im Kompositum kann (für *a* oder *ā + o* von) *oṣṭha* oder *oṭu* (der zweite Vokal allein substituiert werden).

P. 6. 1. 94 Vā. 5; C. 5. 1. 97; H. 1. 2. 17.

89. (Für das auslautende *a* eines) auf das Instrumental (-suffix auslautenden Wortes + *ṛ*) von *ṛta* (wird im Kompositum) *ār* (allein substituiert).

P. 6. 1. 89 Vā. C. 5. 1. 90; H. 1. 2. 8.

[76] Das MBhās kennt den vom Kom. erlaubten Hiatus in *sukhaṛta*, *praṇa* (I. 1. 90), *upaṣabhiyati* (I. 1. 92) usw., (welche vermuthet eines *jñāpaka* zustande kommen) freilich nicht; weil es andererseits kaum anzunehmen ist, dass der Kom. ihn erfunden hat, müssen wir ihn wohl auf den Verfasser der Sūtras zurückführen.

90. Für (das auslautende *a* in) *pra*, *daśa*, *ṛna*, *vasana*, *kambala* und *valsatara + ṛ* von) *ṛna* (wird im Kompositum *ār* allein substituiert).

P. 6. 1. 89 Vā. 7, 8, C. 5. 1. 91; H. 1. 2. 7.

Die Hss der Cāndragrammatik lesen *daśarna* in dem entsprechenden Sūtra (C. 5. 1. 91). Hema. hat *daśarna* (H. 1. 2. 7). — Wegen *praṇa* usw. siehe Anmerkung zum vorangehenden Sūtra — Candra hat *valsara* für *valsatara*, Hema. gibt natürlich beides an — Die Siddhāntak. (S. 19) lost *ṛnārna* so auf: *ṛnasyāpanayanāya yad anyad ṛnam kṛyate tad ṛnārnām* (eine zum Abtragen einer anderen Schuld gemachte Schuld).

91. (Für das *ā* einer Präposition (nebst dem folgenden Vokal wird), wenn *ṛ* (eines Verbums darauf folgt,) *ār* (allein substituiert).

P. 6. 1. 91; C. 5. 1. 93; H. 1. 2. 9

²⁵ Hrsgn. von R. Otto FRANK in den „Indischen Genuslehren mit dem Text usw.“, Kiel 1890.

92 (Die Substitution von *ar* für \check{a} einer Praposition + *r* ist) nicht notwendig wenn (das mit *r* anlautende Verbum) ein Denominativ (ist)

P 6 1 92, C 5 1 94, H 1 2 10 11

Wegen *upaṣṣabhiyati* s. Anmerkung zu 89

93 (Für das \check{a} einer Praposition +) *e* oder *o* (eines Verbums) ausser *i* (gehen) und *edh* (wachsen) wird *e* respekt. *o* (substituiert, doch ist bei Denominativen die Substitution nicht notwendig)

P 6 1 94 + Kas C 5 1 95, H 1 2 19 20

Die Freistellung bei den Denominativen finden wir zuerst in der Kas. (zu P 6 1 94) erwähnt (vgl. *kecid ta supy apisaler* usw.) wenn nicht der Verf. unter *kacit* Candra im Auge hat. Die Stellung des *vā* im unmittelbar vorangehenden Sūtra (C 5 1 94) spricht dafür, doch lässt sich das bei der Abwesenheit eines Kommentars nicht mit Bestimmtheit behaupten. Hema (I 2 20) ebenso wie Vopadeva (2. 4) stellt die *pararūpa* Änderung frei — Von den Vārttikas hat Śakaṭ aufgenommen Va 3 (§ = I 1 87), Va. 5 = (§ I 1 88) Vā 6 fällt aus da es sich auf vedische Formen bezieht Vā 2 hebt Vā. 1 auf Va 4 lässt er fort. In diesem Punkte weicht Śakaṭ von Candra ab der das Vā in seine Sūtras aufgenommen hat (C 5 1 98) Śakaṭ. ebenso wie Hema der ihm in der Ablehnung folgt hat offenbar diese Worte als selbständige Worte betrachtet, die keiner weiteren Zerlegung bedürfen.

94 Für das am Ende eines *pada* stehende *e* und *o* mit dem darauf folgenden *a* (wird *e* respekt. *o* allein substituiert)

P 6 1 109, C 5 1 115, H 1 2 27

[77] 95 Für (das am Ende des Wortes stehende *o* von) *go* kann *o* (substituiert werden wenn darauf *a* folgt)

P 6 1 122, C 5 1 120 H 1 2 31

lakṣṇapratiṭipadokta = Paribh. 105

96 (Für das *o* von *go* kann) vor einem Vokal *a* (substituiert werden jedoch) nicht, wenn *akṣa* folgt

P 6 1 123 C 5 1 121 H 1 2 29

Nach den Erklärern Paṇini's — und übrigens auch nach Candra — sind *goakṣa* und *go kṣa* unstatthaft. Vgl. das Sūtra Candra's (5 1 122) *akṣendri* wonach die Substitution *a* für *o* in *go* *nolu* *endri* ist, wenn *akṣa* folgt, ebenso wie wenn *indra* folgt Kāś. (zu. P 6 1 123) *īyat asthitaḥ bhāṣyam teja gat akṣa ity atra mīyam aṭan bhātati* Vgl. weiter Siddhāntak. 22, Mugdha bodhi 2. 15 Katantra 19 43

97 Vor *indra* (muss *ara* für das *o* von *go* substituiert werden)

P 6 1 124 C 5 1 122 H 1 2 30

98 Vor *akṣa* (muss *ara* für das *o* von *go* substituiert werden wenn das Kompositum) „Fenster“ bedeutet

H 1 2 28

So ist *gavākṣa mitya* nur in der Bedeutung Fenster Hema ist der einzige Grammatiker der diese Lehre in ihrem ganzen Umfang aufgenommen hat. Vgl H I 2 28 31

99 Ein plutierter Vokal (ist vor einem folgenden Vokal), ausser (t von);
iii, (keinen Veränderungen unterworfen die sonst stattfinden würden)

P 6 1 125 129, C 5 1 123, H I 2 32

Hier auch gibt B das Zeichen für die Plutierung mit *nu* wieder, wie in I 1 72 Śākaṭ lässt den *cakravarmāna pratisēdha* weg (P 6 1 130 = C. 5 1 124 = H I 2 33) — In dem Beispiel ist *suśloketi* nur die „Padapāṭha“ — Form * S Anm. zu 104

100 Die mit dem stummen Buchstaben *g* versehenen (Laute sind vor einem folgenden Vokal keinen Veränderungen unterworfen die sonst stattfinden würden)

P I 1 11, 12, C 5 1 125, 126, H I 2 34 35

Z B *gu* und *gi* in I 2 44, 46

101 (Die) aus (einem einzigen) Vokal bestehenden (Partikeln) *ca* usw., mit Ausnahme des mit dem stummen Buchstaben *n* versehenen *a*, (wenn sie kein Wesen bezeichnen, sind vor einem Vokal keinen Veränderungen unterworfen, die sonst stattfinden wurden)

P I 1 14, C 5 1 127, H I 2 36

[78] Der Vers wird in demselben Zusammenhang im MBhāṣya (Bd 1, S 7) und in der Kas (zu P I 1 14) angeführt

102 Eine auf *o* (auslautende Partikel ist vor einem Vokal keinen Veränderungen unterworfen die sonst stattfinden würden)

P I 1 15, C 5 1 128, H I 2 37

103 Ein aus (der Kasusendung) *s* (entstehendes *o*) kann vor *iti* (und verändert bleiben)

P I 1 16, C 5 1 129, H I 2 38

104 Und (für die Partikel) *u* (kann vor *iti* auch) ^u/_u (treten)

P I 1 17, 18 + Va 2 C 5 1 130 131, H I 2, 39

Hier beruht das *ca* auf der von Kāty vorgeschlagenen und von Pat. gestützten Zerlegung des Pāṇinischen Sutra (*yogavibhāga*) Vgl Vā 1 und 2 zu P I 1 17, 18 und Kaiy ebenda. — Diese Substitution hat eigentlich ihre Stelle nur im Padapāṭha. Ihre Aufnahme durch Śākaṭ wird darauf

* 28 Das entsprechende Sutra Pāṇini's lautet *aplutavad upasthite* (6 1 129) Nach dem MBhāṣya heisst *upasthita* hier *anarjā itikaranah* das nicht von den Rjas herrührende (also nicht dem eigentlichen vedischen Texte angehörende) Wort *iti*. Die Kāśikā fugt hinzu *samudayad atacchidyā padam yena svarupe 'asthā pyate* wodurch ein Wort von dem Aggregat getrennt und in seiner eigenen Gestalt hingestellt wird

beruhen dass bei Pan die Substitution als *anarše* gelehrt wird²⁷

105 Nach (einem auslautenden Konsonanten von dem *pratyakara*) *may* (d. h. von Muten und Nasalen ausser *n* kann für die Partikel *u*) wenn ein Vokal folgt *v* (substituiert werden. Diese Substitution ist jedoch als) nicht eingetreten (zu betrachten)

P 8 3 33 C 6 4 16 H 1 2 40

Im *kim u iti* kann der *anusvara* für *m* nur dann substituiert werden wenn das *v* nach der Regel *asve* [I 1 73] für *u* substituiert wird

106 Ein (auslautender) Kon-onant (am Ende eines *pada* kann) vor einem Nasal in den entsprechenden Klassennasal (übergehen)

P 8 4 45 C 6 4 140 H 1 3 1

hal und nicht *gar* (wie in P 8 4 45) ist wegen des Folgenden gebraucht. Diese Änderung konnte gemacht werden da *h* ja doch keinen entsprechenden Nasal hat

107 (Ein auslautender Kon-onant am Ende eines *pada* muss) vor einem (mit Nasal anlautenden) Suffix (in den entsprechenden Klassennasal übergehen)

P 8 4 45 Vā H 1 3 2

108 (Für den Vokal der) dem mit (dem stummen Buchstaben) versehenen *s* oder *r* vorangeht, (wird ein nasaler substituiert)

Cf P 8 3 2 4 C 6 4 6 7 H 1 3 8

109 Für ein nicht am Ende eines *pada* stehendes *m* und *n* wird vor einem folgenden Konsonanten mit Ausnahme der Nasale Halbvokale Sibilanten und *h* (der diesem entsprechende Nasal substituiert)

P 8 3 24 4 58 C 6 4 9 151 H 1 3 39

[79] Das Dvandva *mn* verlangt den Dual oder eigentlich den Singular weil die Dvandvas in den Sutras Śakaṭ s sonst stets als neutr sing erschienen. Der Plural soll andeuten dass die nach der *pāra* Regel [I 1 46] eintretende Verwandlung von *n* in *n* unterbleiben soll. Dies wird bei Pan automatisch durch die Anordnung der Sutras erzielt. Vgl die Kas. zu P 8 4 58 *śa kuraṇti vṛ aṇti ity atra naṭi a* [P 8 4 2] *śyasiddhāntat pī nām nakarasya nūstarah* [8 3 24] *kṛiyate | tasyapi parasaṭarṇa naka'a eṭa bhavati tasyapy asiddhāntat pīnar naṭiam na bhavati*. Man bemerke die Willkür der Śakaṭ schen Bezeichnung. Diese hat unzweifelhaft ihr Vorbild in den Erklärungsversuchen Patanjalis durch *śāpakas*.

110 (Für inlautendes *m* und *n* wird) vor Sibilanten und *h* der *anusvara* (substituiert)

P 8 3 24 C 6 4 9 H 1 3 40

²⁷ Vgl. Erklärung S. 9

111 Für das Nasalinfix *m* und für das am Ende eines *pada* stehende *m* kann beides (d. i. der *anusvara* oder der *anunasika* substituiert werden) wenn ein Konsonant folgt

P 8 4 59 + Vā 2 3 zu 7 4 85 C 6 4 152 H 1 3 14

Nach dem Vārttika 2 zu P 7 4 85 soll das dem Vokal der Reduplikationssilbe des Frequentativum angefügte Augment nicht *n* sondern ein *anusvara* sein. Weil ferner nach dem folgenden Vārttika *padmītaś ca* dieser *anusvara* als am Ende eines *pada* stehend angesehen wird kann dafür der dem folgenden Konsonanten entsprechende Klassennasal eintreten (P 8 4 58). Weil Śakaṭ die Vertretung des Klassennasals durch *anusvara* hier direkt vorschreibt, kann er die Forderung Katyāyana's *padantlavac ca* entbehren.

112 Vor *h* mit folgendem *l v y m* oder *n* (werden der Reihe nach der *anusvara* und der dem auf *h* folgenden Konsonanten entsprechende *anunasika* für ein am Ende eines *pada* stehendes *m* substituiert)

P 8 3 26 + Vā 1 27, C 6 4 11 H 1 3 15

113 (In) *saṁtaṣ* (bleibt das *m* unverändert)

P 8 3 25 C 6 4 10 H 1 3 16

114 Vor den Sibilanten können für die Tenues die Tenues (substituiert werden)

P 8 4 48 Vā 3 C 6 4 158 H 1 3 59

Weil es ein zweckloses Verfahren sein würde für die *k p* usw. dieselben Buchstaben wiederum einzusetzen ist das Sutra wohl so zu verstehen dass vor den Sibilanten die aspirierten Tenues für die homogenen nichtaspirierten eintreten können (und umgekehrt). Das diesem Sutra zugrundeliegende Vārttika lautet unzweideutig *cayo dvitīyah saṁ pauṣkarasadeh* (P 8 4 48 Vā 3). Vor den Sibilanten können nach der Meinung Pauṣkarasadi's die zweiten (d. h. aspirierten Tenues) für die nichtaspirierten eintreten.

[80] 115 Die auf Sibilanten *anusvara visarjanīya jhvamulīya* und *upadhmanīya* folgenden (Tenues oder die auf Tenues folgenden Sibilanten usw.) können verdoppelt werden (aber erst) nachdem (was sonst zu vollziehen ist vollzogen worden ist)

P 8 4 47 Vā 2 C 6 4 143 H 1 3 35 36

Nach der Verdoppelung wird für den ersten Konsonanten ein nichtaspirierter nach der bekannten Regel substituiert. — Die für dieses und das nächste Sutra zugrundeliegenden Vārttikas (P 8 4 47 Vā 1 2) werden von Patanjali ebenfalls doppelsinnig aufgefasst. Der *anusvara* ist freilich in den dort aufgezählten Konsonanten nicht mit embraced²⁸. Dieses ist als eine Neuerung Śakaṭ's zu betrachten. Bei Hema (H 1 3 35) läuft die Regel ebenso

²⁸ Für die Verdoppelung hinter dem *anusvāra* cf. WACKERNAGEL *Altind. Gramm.* 1 § 98

116 Ein auf einen Halbvokal folgender Konsonant, ausser *h*, *ñ* und den Sibilanten (oder umgekehrt, ein auf die Konsonanten ausser *h* usw folgender Halbvokal kann verdoppelt werden aber erst, nachdem was sonst zu vollziehen ist vollzogen worden ist)

P 8 4 47 Va 1, C 6 4 143, H 1 3 33

vrkṣav ist ein Denominativ von *vrkṣa* "Baum" und heisst *vrkṣavṛcān acakṣāno*, nach Hema²⁹ In *pramunava* (perf akt. 1 sing von *ūnu* mit *pra*) wird die Reduplikation zuerst vorgenommen und erst dann die Verdoppelung. Denn nach P 6 1 2 3, werden wenn die zu reduplizierende Silbe vokalisches anlautet für den zweiten Komplex von Lauten, der nur einen Vokal enthält (*ekāc*) zwei gesetzt d. h. es wird dieser zweite Komplex zweimal gesetzt. *n* *d* und *r* werden aber als Anfangslaute einer Konsonantengruppe nicht wiederholt. Die Perfectform von *ūnu* lautet *ūr* + [*nu* + *nu*] + *a*, was nach einigen anderen Änderungen zu *ūnnunava* und dann endlich nach unserer Regel auch zu *ūnnunava* wird. Wird aber die Verdoppelung zuerst vorgenommen, so musste das *abhyasta*³⁰ ebenfalls ein doppeltes *n* enthalten (*ūr* + [*nnu* + *nnu*] + *a*)

117 Nach *r* und *h* kann wenn ihnen ein Vokal vorangeht (ein Laut) mit Ausnahme von *h*, *r* oder einem Vokal (verdoppelt werden)

P 8 4 46, C 6 4 141, H 1 3 31

118 Nach einem nichtlangen Vokal (kann ein Laut, mit Ausnahme von *h*, *r* oder einem Vokal verdoppelt werden)

P 8 4 52, C 6 4 147, H 1 3 32

Die notwendige Ergänzung zu diesem Sutra folgt in 119, 121. Dem Sinne nach umfasst dies Sutra auch das von Pat. als unnötig zurückgewiesene Vārttika *asane ca* (P 8 4 47 Va 3). Śakaṭ um [81] geht den von Kat. gerügten Mangel anders als Pat. Die drei folgenden Sūtras Śakaṭ s hatten in eins verschmolzen werden können. Eben diese Zerlegung — meint der Kom., und ohne Zweifel mit Recht — deutet darauf hin, dass die Verdoppelung auch in der Pause stattfindet. Doch unterscheidet sich die Regel Śakaṭa yana s von der Auffassung des Pāṇini'schen Sutra, die Pat. vorträgt, dadurch, dass Śakaṭ die Verdoppelung nach einem langen Vokal für unstatthaft erklärt. Pat. gestattet also *īakt* und *īak* während Śakaṭ lediglich das letztere zulässt. Hema. verbietet ebenfalls die Verdoppelung nach einem langen Vokal, vgl. *adīghāḍ īramakavjanane* (H 1 3 32)

119 (Die 115 f gelehrte Verdoppelung findet) *nicht* (statt) wenn (auf die betreffenden Laute) eine Konsonantengruppe folgt

P 8 4 50, H 1 3 32

²⁹ Siehe Anm. zu 153

³⁰ Warum die zweite Silbe des *abhyasta* *n* und nicht *ñ* enthält, erklärt die Siddhāntak. (S. 375 unten)

Diese Regel habe ich in der Candra Grammatik nicht gefunden und bin geneigt zu glauben dass sie dort fehlt

120 (Das *t*) von *putra* wird vor *adin* und *putradin* (nicht verdoppelt) wenn mit dem Wort geschmaht wird³¹

P 8 4 48 + Vā 1 C 6 4 145 H 1 3 38

121 (Die Verdoppelung unterbleibt) wenn (auf die betreffenden Laute) ein Vokal folgt

P 8 4 47 C 6 4 142 H 1 3 32

122 Die Sibilanten (werden nicht verdoppelt wenn ein Vokal folgt)

P 8 4 49 C 6 4 146 H 1 3 37

123 *n* *n* und *n* am Ende des *pada* nach kurzem Vokal (werden verdoppelt, wenn ein Vokal folgt)

P 8 3 32 C 6 4 126 H 1 3 27

Zu *kṛṣaṇa* *tha* Die Substitution des *nn* für *n* ist *bahiranga* und zum Zwecke der Substitution des *n* für *n* als nicht vollzogen zu betrachten infolgedessen bleibt das *n* im Auslaut und kann nicht in *n* verwandelt werden

124 Nach einem langen (Vokal am Ende eines *pada*) kann *ch* (verdoppelt werden)

P 6 1 75 76 C 5 1 73 H 1 3 28

125 Nach einem plurierten Vokal (am Ende eines *pada* wenn ihm ein langer Vokal zugrunde liegt kann *ch* verdoppelt werden)

H 1 3 29

Diese Regel vermag ich bei keinem anderen Grammatiker ausser Hema (H 1 3 29) nachzuweisen

[82] 126 Nach einem Vokal (sowie nach den Partikeln) *a* und *ma* (muss *ch* verdoppelt werden)

P 6 1 73 75 C 5 1 73 H 1 3 28 30

In *prach* + *na* (= *praśna*) findet keine Verdoppelung des *ch* statt, weil die Substitution des *ś* für *ch* nach 1 1 115 schon vorher eingetreten ist

127 Diejenigen (auf *at* ausgehenden mehrsilbigen Wortformen) denen das Suffix *ḥac* [= *a*] angefügt wird erleiden Verlust des *at* vor *iti*

P 6 1 98 + Vā 1 C 5 1 102

Nach § 3 4 54 wird *ḥac* nur an mehrsilbige schallnachahmende Wortformen angefügt. Das *anekacāḥ* stammt aus dem Vārttika *ślav anekacāḥa tam śradarthaṁ* (P 6 1 98 Vā.)

128 Wird (die Wortform, der das Suffix *ḥac* [= *a*] angefügt wird) verdoppelt, (so wird das *at* vor *iti*) nicht (elidiert)

P 6 1 99 C 5 1 103

³¹ Die Verdoppelung hängt wohl mit dem Satz des Ictus zusammen anders WACKERNAGEL (*Altind. Gramm.* 1 § 98 a Anm.) der dies in Zusammenhang mit dem Sprechtempo bringt.

Zu *upsayam* usw. Das distributive Verhältnis wird durch Wiederholung des Wortes ausgedrückt. *paṭatpaṭat* ist aber die Nachahmung des mehrfachen Schalles (und drückt kein distributives Verhältnis aus)

129 (Wird die Wortform der das Suffix *ḍac* [= *a*] angefügt wird) verdoppelt (so wird das) *t* (von *at* vor *iti* elidiert)

P 6 1 99 C 5 1 104

130 Folgt (auf die verdoppelte Wortform das Suffix) *ḍac* ([*-a*] so wird das auslautende *t*) in dem zuerst (ausgesprochenen Teil elidiert)

P 6 1 100 - P 6 1 99 Vā 1 C 5 1 105

Dieses Sutra beruht auf einem Varttika Kat s (P 6 1 99 Vā 1). Doch bemerkt er (Vartt 2) dass die Regel entbehrlich sei da man auch von *paṭapaṭa* (einem auf *a* auslautenden Onomatopoetikon) ausgehen kann

131 *ḍh* und *r* (fallen) vor *dh* respektiv *r* (ab)

P 8 3 13 14 C 6 4 18 19 H 1 3 41 42

132 Ein auf einen Konsonanten folgender Halbvokal oder Nasal kann wenn eben derselbe Laut folgt (ausfallen)

P 8 4 64 H 1 3 47

Wenn *yamam* gelesen wird wie es bei Pan steht so wurde infolge der Verschiedenheit des Numerus von *yamam* und *yamī* das *yathasamīkhyā* (s. P 1 3 10) nicht ohne weiteres verständlich sein. Trotzdem setzen die Erklärer Pan. s voraus dass der Ausfall der Konsonanten nur dann stattfindet wenn der gleiche Laut folgt. In der Siddhantak. (p 17) heisst es ausdrücklich *yamam yamūtī yathasamīkhyavipinanā neha | mahatmyam*. Die Gleichheit der Laute wird von Hema (1 3 47) ausdrücklich gelehrt — Zu *aditya* vgl Kas zu P 8 4 64

[83] 133 Eine (auf einen Konsonanten folgende) Muta oder ein Sibilant kann vor einem homogenen Laut (ausfallen)

P 8 4 65 C 6 4 155 H 1 3 48

Der Kom. gibt keinen Aufschluss darüber warum das Wort *tā* hier wiederholt wird wenn es durch die *anuyiti* aus dem vorangehenden Sutra ohne weiteres ergänzt werden konnte.

134 (Die Muta oder der Sibilant) von den auf (der Präposition) *ud* folgenden *sṭha* und *stambh* (werden vor einer Muta oder einem Sibilanten elidiert)

P 8 4 61 C 6 4 154 H 1 3 41

Hier wird die Regel etwas anders formuliert als bei Pṛinī (8 4 61). Śikar lässt das anlautende *s* der Wurzeln ausfallen — so ist die Regel sicher zu verstehen vgl Prakṛyas Sutra 51 *dhātroh sakarasya lug bhavati jani pate* — und die Verdoppelung findet nach *adīrghat* statt (S 1 1 118). Anders bei Pān — Das von Patañjali erforderte *utkardaka* (aus *ut + skand*) als Bezeichnung einer bestimmten Krankheit wird in einen Gana aufgenom-

• Wegen *s* vgl Anm zu dem vorangehenden Sūtra

151 (Für das auslautende *m*) von *pum* (kann *si* [= *s*] substituiert werden) vor einer tonlosen Muta (mit darauffolgendem Vokal, Halbvokal, Nasal oder *h* oder es kann demselben *s* angefügt werden)

P 8. 3 6, C 6 4 2, H 1 3 8

Wegen *s* vgl Anm zu 1 1 149

152 Vor dem *s*, (das) *kṛ* (angefügt wird, kann für das *m*) von *sam* (*si* [= *s*] substituiert oder dem *m* ein *s* angefügt werden) und (es kann dafür) eine Niete ([*gluk*] substituiert werden)

P 8 3 5 + Bh, Cf C. 6 4 1, H 1 3 12, 13

Die Substitution von *gluk* für das *m* von *sam* beruht auf Missverständnis der *īṣṭi* Patañjali's *samo va lopam eka icchanti* (MBhāṣ Bd 3, S 425, Z 8), seitens Śakaṭ. Pat lehrt die Substitution von *lopa* hinter *sam* für den unmittelbar darauf folgenden Laut. Fasst man aber *samah* als *Geneti* auf, wie Śakaṭ getan zu haben scheint, so muss man den *lopa* für das *m* von *sam* eintreten lassen. Also erhalten wir die Bildungen *saskarta* usw. Hema der Śakaṭ auch in diesem Punkte nachfolgt, lehrt ebenfalls den Abfall von *m* in *sam* vor *skṛ* usw. Diese Verwechslung mag man auf den ersten Blick kaum für möglich halten. Es sei aber daran erinnert, dass zwei von KILHORN's besten Handschriften G und A—von der einen (G) sagt er „in settling my text, I have been chiefly guided by the MS G, which is the best of all the MSS of the Mahābhāṣhya that have come under my notice“²¹, und von der anderen (A) „a carefully made and complete copy of the Mahābhāṣhya“²²—tatsächlich als Beispiel *saskartā* [86] anführen. Es ist also gar nicht ausgeschlossen dass die Regel wie sie von Śakaṭ formuliert worden ist, für gewisse Grammatiker und Grammatikerschulen als feste Norm gegolten hat.

153 Für (die am Ende eines *pada* stehenden) *i* und *y* (wird) nach *agho* *bhago* und *bho* oder (wenn den *i* und *y* ein) *a* (kurz oder lang vorangeht,) vor Vokalen und vor tönenden Konsonanten (eine Niete [*gluk*] substituiert)

nicht vor allen Konsonanten ein, sondern nur vor denjenigen des *pratyāhāra* *aś*, wobei zu bemerken ist, dass *aś* bei Pāṇini dem *aś śākaṭ*'s ganz genau entspricht. — Zu *bho vyoma* das *v* von *vyoma* fällt nicht ab

154 Vor einem Vokal ist es freigestellt (die in 153 spezifizierten Konsonanten *y* und *v*) undeutlich (auszusprechen)

P 8 3 18, 19, 20, C 6 4 27, H 1 3 24, 25

Das *aspaśa śākaṭ*'s heisst *laghuprayatnatara* bei Pāṇini (8 3 18)

155 Wenn (den in 153 spezifizierten Konsonanten *y* und *v*) *ā* vorangeht, wird (vor einem Vokal) ausser der Partikel *u* (sowohl der Ausfall als die undeutliche Aussprache als auch der Nichtausfall) freigestellt

P 8 3 18, C 6 4 27, H 1 3 25

156 Für das *ṛ* (= *r*) (wird nach *agho*, *bhago*, *bho* und wenn ihm ein *a* oder *ā* vorangeht vor Vokalen und tönenden Konsonanten) *y* (substituiert).

P 8 3 17, C 6 4 24 26, H 1 3 26

Die hier vorgeschriebene Substitution für das *r*, dem ein *a* oder *ā* vorangeht, ist der Beschränkung durch das folgende Sūtra unterworfen.

157 (Für das *ṛ* [= *r*] wird) nach einem *ā u* (substituiert), wenn ein *ā* oder ein tonender Konsonant folgt

P 6 1 113, 114, C 5 1 119, H 1 3 20, 21

158 Nach dem für *t* (in *tad* und *etad*) substituierten *s* fällt vor einem Konsonanten (das *ṛ* [= *r*]) ab, (wenn die Worte) nicht mit der Negation komponiert sind

P 6. 1. 132, C 5 1 134, H 1 3 46

[87] Warum das *akoh* des entsprechenden Pāṇinischen Sūtra (6 1 132) ausgelassen wird, ist mir nicht klar geworden. Hema. schliesst sich an Paṇ an (H 1 3 46)!

159 (Das *ṛ* [= *r*] fällt nach dem) für *t* in *tad* (substituierten *s* ab), wenn (durch diesen Abfall) der Stollen metrisch vollständig wird

P 6 1 134, H 1 3 45

Der Halbvers *saśa dāsarathī* usw wird in demselben Zusammenhang in der Kāś zitiert (Kāś zu 6 1 134)³³ Zu *aci* des Pāṇinischen Sūtra bemerkt der Vṛttikāra (a. a. O.) *aci vispaśārtham*, „*aci* der Deutlichkeit wegen“ Den der Ausfall des *s* vor einem Konsonanten kann die Vollständigkeit des Metrums nicht beeinflussen, weil die Silbenzahl dadurch nicht verändert wird. Es liegt nahe zu vermuten, dass diese Bemerkung des Verfassers der Kāś Śakaṭ veranlasst hat das *aci* fortzulassen.

160 (Für das *ṛ* [= *r*]) von *ahan* (wird) ein (einfaches) *r* (substituiert), wenn ein Vokal oder tönender Konsonant folgt, jedoch nicht vor

³³ Die Pīḍas *a* und *b* des ersten Verses *saśa* usw und der Halbvers *sa śa bharata* usw finden sich auch in P ein Beweis dafür dass seine Vorlage auch Beispiele enthielt.

men. — Das Vārttika zu P. 8. 4. 61 fällt natürlich weg, weil es sich auf eine vedische Form bezieht.

135 (Eine Muta oder ein Sibilant geht vor einer Muta oder einem Sibilanten in) eine tonlose nicht-aspirierte Muta (über).

P. 8. 4. 55; C. 6. 4. 148; H. 1. 3. 48.

Das nächste Sūtra beschränkt das Gebiet dieses Sūtra's.

136. (Für eine Muta oder einen Sibilanten wird) eine tönende nicht-aspirierte Muta (substituiert), wenn eine tönende Muta folgt

P. 8. 4. 53; C. 6. 2. 115; H. 1. 3. 49.

137.. Wenn *s* oder ein Dental mit *ś* oder einem Palatal (zusammenstößt, werden für *s*) *ś* und (für den Dental) ein Palatal (substituiert).

P. 8. 4. 40; C. 6. 4. 136; H. 1. 3. 60, 61.

138. (Wenn *s* oder ein Dental) mit *ṣ* oder einem Zerebral zusammenstößt, (werden für *s*) *ṣ* und (für den Dental) ein Zerebral (substituiert)

P. 8. 4. 41; C. 6. 4. 136; H. 1. 3. 60, 61.

139 Nach *ś* (findet die in 137 gelehrt Substitution des *ś* und der Palatale) nicht (statt).

P. 8. 4. 44; C. 6. 4. 139; H. 1. 3. 62.

140. Nach einem am Ende eines *pada* (stehenden) Zerebralen (gehen *s* und die Dentale nicht in *ṣ* und die Zerebrale über), mit Ausnahme (der Kasusendung) *nām* und *nagarī* und *navatī*.

P. 8. 4. 42 + Bh; C. 6. 4. 137; H. 1. 3. 63.

141 Vor *ṣ* (geht ein am Ende eines *pada* stehender) Dental (nicht in *ṣ* oder Zerebral über).

P. 8. 4. 43; C. 6. 4. 138; H. 1. 3. 64.

[84] *śaḍika* erklärt Pat zu P. 1. 4. 18 Vā. 1 folgendermassen: *śaḍaṅgulayo yasya sa śaḍaṅgulih | anukampitah śaḍaṅgulih śaḍikah!*

142. (Ein am Ende eines *pada* stehender Dental geht) vor *l* (in) *l* (über).

P. 8. 4. 60; C. 6. 4. 153; H. 1. 3. 65.

143 Für *h* kann nach einer (am Ende eines *pada* stehenden) tönenden nicht aspirierten Muta eine tönende aspirierte Muta (substituiert werden).

P. 8. 4. 62, C. 6. 4. 156; H. 1. 3. 3.

Pin. braucht *ḥay* statt *ḥaś* wegen des Folgenden, welches die tonlosen Mutae verlangt; *ḥaś* (die tönenden Mutae) hätte aber genügt, da in Wirklichkeit die tönenden Mutae zuerst für die tonlosen substituiert werden müssen.

144 Für *l* (kann nach einer am Ende eines *pada* stehenden tönenden nicht aspirierten Muta) *ch* (substituiert werden,) wenn ein Vokal, Halbvokal. Nasal oder *h* folgt.

P. 8. 4 63 + Vā ; C. 6. 4. 157 ; H. 1. 3. 4.

In dieser und den folgenden Regeln ist zu beachten, dass nach 1. 2. 75 für alle Muten am Ende eines *pada* eine nicht aspirierte Media (*jaś*) substituiert wird.

145. An ein (am Ende eines *pada* stehendes) *u* und *u* (kann) *g* respektiv *ḡ* vor einem Sibilanten (angefügt werden).

P. 8. 3. 28 ; C. 6. 4. 12 ; H. 1. 3. 17.

Der Vokal *a* vertritt bei Śākaṭ. fast, wenn nicht ganz ausnahmslos, den, um die Aussprache zu ermöglichen, eingeschobenen normalen Vokal, wie z. B. hier *gak*, *dak*. Bei Pāṇ dagegen übernimmt der Vokal *u* sehr häufig diese Rolle z. B. *kuk*, *ḡuk*. Ich brauche nur an das Sūtra *ūkālo 'j jhrasvadīr-gkaphlutaḥ* (1. 2. 27) zu erinnern, wo man eigentlich nicht begreift, warum der Vokal *u* vorgezogen wird, wenn *a* oder *i* ebensogut den Zweck hatte erfüllen können.

146. (An ein am Ende eines *pada* stehendes) *d* oder *n* (kann) *t* vor *s* (antreten, jedoch) nicht (wenn der Sibilant den ersten Bestandteil) von *śc* (bildet).

P. 8. 3. 29, 30 ; C. 6. 4. 13, 14 ; H. 1. 3. 18.

Den Zusatz *aścaḥ* vermag ich bei keinem anderen Grammatiker ausser Hema (H. 1. 3. 18) nachzuweisen. Er führt als Beispiel *ṣaṭ ścyotati* an.

147. Vor *ś* (kann ein am Ende eines *pada* stehendes) *n* das Augment *j* (erhalten, jedoch nicht, wenn der Sibilant den ersten Bestandteil von *śc* bildet).

P. 8. 3. 31 ; 4. 63 ; C. 6. 4. 15, H. 1. 3. 19.

Wegen *aścaḥ* führt Hema ausdrücklich das Beispiel *bhavāñ ścyotati* an (H. 1. 3. 19). S. Anm. zum vorangehenden Sūtra.

148. Für (das auslautende *n* von) *nīn* kann *ṛi* [= *r*] (substituiert [85] werden) oder (es kann demselben) am Ende ein *r* (angefügt werden), wenn *p* folgt (oder *nīn* kann unverändert bleiben).

P. 8. 3. 10, C. 6. 4. 5, H. 1. 3. 10.

149. (Für das erste *n*) in *kānkān* kann *sī* [= *s*] (substituiert werden, oder es kann demselben) am Ende ein *s* (angefügt werden).

P. 8. 3. 12, C. 6. 4. 4, H. 1. 3. 11.

Ein solches *s* geht nicht in *r* über, weil man sonst eben *r* als Substitut hätte lehren können. Vgl. Prakrīyās S. 16, Anm. 1. *atra śisakoḥ vidhānāt, rīr na syāt | yady atra padāntavartimoh śisakoḥ sajūrahassah [1. 2. 27] ity ādinā nīh syāt tarhi rīrakāv eva vidhīyēyālām*.

150. (Für ein auslautendes *n*) mit Ausnahme des *n* von *praśān*, (wird *sī* [= *s*] substituiert) vor *ch*, *ḡh*, *ḡh*, *c*, *ḡ* oder *t*, mit darauf folgendem Vokal, Halbvokal, Nasal oder *h* (oder es kann demselben *s* angefügt werden).

P. 8. 3. 7 ; C. 6. 4. 3 ; H. 1. 3. 8.

einer Kasusendung und *rupa ratn* und *rathantara*

P 8 2 69 + 68 Va C 6 3 100

161 Für den *visarjanīya* (wird *r* substituiert, wenn ein Vokal oder tonender Konsonant folgt)

P 8 2 66 C 6 3 98

162 In *aḥarpātī* usw. kann (für den *visarjanīya* *r* substituiert werden)

P 8 2 70 Va und Bh, C 6 3 102, H 1 3 58

B liest *gīspātī*. Die richtige Lesart ist sicherlich *gīhpatīh* wie es in der Kielhornschen Ausgabe des MBhaṣya (Vol III S 412 Z 15) und auch bei Hema steht. Die Kaś liest *gīspātīh* wie es übrigens auch in einer MBhaṣya Handschrift steht — Das *va rephad atra* usw. des Kom ist mir nicht klar geworden

163 (Für den *visarjanīya* wird) vor *ch* *ṭh* *th* *c* *ṭ* und *t* *s* (substituiert) wenn (auf jene Konsonanten) kein Sibilant folgt.

P 8 3 34 35 C. 6 4 28 H 1 3 7

164 Vor einem Sibilanten (dem kein Sibilant folgt ist die Substitution von *s* für den *visarjanīya*) freigestellt

P 8 3 36 C 6 4 29 H 1 3 6

aśarpāre im Kom wird wegen der *anuvṛtti* fortgeführt

165 (Folgt dem *visarjanīya* ein Sibilant) dem eine tonlose Muta folgt (so kann der *visarjanīya*) ausfallen

P 8 3 36 Vā 1 C 6 4 30 H 1 3 56

Kat lehrt in dem Varttika zu P 8 3 36 den beliebigen Abfall des *visarjanīya* vor *śar* dem *khar* folgt

166 Vor einem tonlosen Guttural und Labial (auf die kein [88] Sibilant folgt, kann der Reihe nach für den *visarjanīya*) × respektiv ≍ (substituiert werden)

P 8 3 37 C 6 4 31, H 1 3 5

Wegen der Lesung *adbhīḥ psalam* gegen die Hss. siehe MBhaṣ und Kaśikā zu P 8 3 37

167 Für (den *visarjanīya*) der *gatiś tīras* (kann vor einem tonlosen Guttural oder Labial) *s*₁ (= *s*) (substituiert werden)

P 8 3 42 H 2 3 2

Auf Grund dieser Substitution kann ein solches *s* nicht wieder in *visarjanīya* übergehen nach 1 2 65 aber kann *s*(₁) zu *ś* werden

168 Für (den *visarjanīya* in den *gatis*) *namas* und *puras* (wird vor einem tonlosen Guttural oder Labial *s*₁ [= *s*] substituiert)

P 8 3 40 C 6 4 35 H 2 3 1

169 (Für den *visarjanīya*) von *catur nis dus bahis atis* und *prāśas* (wird vor einem tonlosen Guttural oder Labial *s*₁ [= *s*] substituiert)

P 8 3 41, C 6 4 35 H 2 3 9

170 (Für den *visarjaniya*) des (Suffixes) *suc* (= *s*) kann (vor einem tonlosen Guttural oder Labial *s* [= *s*] substituiert werden)

P 8 3 43, C 6 4 36, H 2 3 10

Indem Śākaṭ in der Formulierung der Regeln über die Verwandlung in *ś* von *s* der Präpositionen *nis*, *duś* usw. und der Zahladverbien *duś* usw. (Sūtras 169, 170) von Pāṇ abweicht, schliesst er sich an Candrar an. Die Sūtras Candras lauten *nīdurbahīraṣcatuṣpraduṣpurasām* (6 4 35) und *suco va* (36). Abgesehen davon, dass in dem Sūtra Candrar *s puras* zusammen mit den anderen Adverbien, die auf *is* bez *us* auslauten, aufgeführt wird, stimmen die Sūtras der zwei Grammatiker ganz genau überein. Die Bemerkung Patañjali's, dass der Ausdruck *dvistriscatur* in dem Sūtra *dvistriscatur itī kṛtvō rthe* (P 8 3 43) entbehrlich sei (MBhāṣ Bd 3, S 435, Z 3 f.), dürfte wohl die veränderte Formulierung von Candrar veranlasst haben.

171 (Für den *visarjaniya*) eines auf *is* oder *us* (auslautenden Wortes) kann vor einem tonlosen Guttural oder Labial *s* [= *s*] substituiert werden), wenn (die zusammenstossenden Worte miteinander) in *Korrelation* (stehen)

P 8 3 44, C 6 4 37, H 2 3 11

Bei Pāṇini lautet das entsprechende Sūtra *isusoh samarthye* (8 3 44). Wegen *apeksā* vgl. die Kāśika *samarthyam iha vyapekṣa | na punar ekārthi bhāvah | ubhayaṃ va*. Candrar hat *sambandhe* (6 4 37).

172 (Die in 171 gelehrte Substitution findet) nicht (statt, wenn die mit Guttural oder Labial anlautenden Worte) mit Ausnahme von Zeitwörtern (mit denen auf *is* und *us* auslautenden) im *Kongruenzverhältnis* (stehen)

[89] H 2 3 12

ekārtha ist hier nach dem Kom im Sinne von *samānadhikāraṇa* gebraucht, ebenso bei Hema. (2 3 12). Ein Verbum und ein Nomen können scheinbar *samānadhikāraṇapada* sein. Merke aber, dass hier das Verbum (*kriyate*) *passivisch* gebraucht ist. Dagegen in den Beispielen zu 171 ist es *aktivisch* (*karoti*) gebraucht.

173 In der Komposition (ist die in 171 gelehrte Substitution notwendig), vorausgesetzt (dass das Wort auf *is* oder *us*) kein (zweites Glied) eines Kompositums (bildet)

P 8 3 45, C 6 4 39, H 2 3 13

Nach den Regeln 1 1 171, 172 173 ist die Substitution von *s* für den *visarjaniya*

1 *fakultativ*

a) Wenn die Worte in *Korrelation* stehen e.g. *śarpīṣ karoti, śarpīṣ karoti* (171), selbst wenn das erste Wort das zweite Glied eines Kompositums bildet, z. B. *paramaśarpīṣ karoti paramaśarpīṣ karoti* (171)

β) Wenn die zwei Worte miteinander *nicht* im Kongruenzverhältnis stehen z. B. *śarpīṣ kumbhe, śarpīṣ kumbhe* (172)

γ) Wenn das zweite Wort ein Verbum ist mit dem das erste Wort im Kongruenzverhältnis steht z B *sarpiṣ kriyate sarpiḥ kṛipate* (172)

2 notwendig

Im Kompositum vorausgesetzt dass das erste Wort nicht das zweite Glied eines Kompositums bildet z B *sarpiṣkundaṃ* (173)

3 unstatthaft

α) Im Kompositum, wenn das erste Wort das zweite Glied eines Kompositums bildet z B. *paramasarpiḥkundaṃ* (173)

β) Wenn die zwei Worte miteinander nicht in Korrelation stehen z B *tiṣṭhatu sarpiḥ pība tīam udakam* (171)

γ) Wenn die zwei Worte sowohl in Korrelation als im Kongruenzverhältnis stehen z B *sarpiḥ kalakam* (172)

Die Regeln 1/ und 3γ sind wohl Neuerungen von Śakat. Ich habe bei den älteren Grammatiken nichts entsprechendes finden können. Die Freistellung *paramasarpiṣ karoti paramasarpiḥ karoti* beruht auf der Lehre des MBhaṣ (Bd 3 S 436 Z 6 7)

174 (Im Kompositum wird für den *visarjaniya*) von *adhas* und *siras* (sī [= s]) vor *pada* (substituiert, wenn diese Worte nicht das zweite Glied eines Kompositums bilden)

P 8 3 47 C 6 4 41 H 2 3 4

175 (Für den) auf *a* (folgenden *visarjaniya* eines *pada*) mit Ausnahme eines Indeklinable, (wenn es nicht das zweite Glied eines Kompositums bildet, wird im Kompositum sī [= s] substituiert) wenn (eine Bildung von) *kṛ* und *kam* oder (die Wörter) *kamśa kuśa kam kumbha patra* folgen

[90] P 8 3 46 C 6 4 40 H 2 3 5

pratipadikagrahane usw = Panbh 71 Cf auch MBhaṣ Vol II S 193 Z 6 f

§

176 Vor einem (mit einem tonlosen Guttural oder Labial anlautenden) Suffix (tritt sī [= s] an die Stelle des *visarjaniya*, jedoch nicht nach einem Indeklinable)

P 8 3 38 + V 1 C 6 4 32 H 2 3 6

177 (Für den *visarjaniya* von) auf *r* (auslautenden Worten) und von *ahan* (tritt) vor *kamśa* (sī [- s]) nicht (ein)

P 8 3 38 V 1 2 C 6 4 33 H 2 3 7

178 Vor (einem mit) *t* (anlautenden) einem Nomen angefügten (Suffix wird für den) auf kurzen Vokal folgenden (*visarjaniya* sī [- s] substituiert)

P 8 3 101 + V 1 C 6 4 87 H 2 3 34

Vgl Prakṛyās. S 22 Anm. 2

179 (Für den *visarjaniya*) von *nis* vor *tap* (wird sī [= s] substituiert), wenn nicht von Wiederholung (d. i. von wiederholten Glühen die Rede ist)

P 8 3 102 C 6 4 88 H 2 3 35

tipa sapa usw. — Paribh 120 3 (a *stipa* v 1 für *tipa* c *jalrai*° für *jaccar*° *cana* für *kim cit* d °*luki* für °*sluci*) vgl Prakriyas. S 203 nicht im MBhaṣ. Der Verfasser des Paribhasenduṣ lehnt sie auch ab vgl KIEL HORN Paribhaṣenduṣ Transl S 519 (unten)

180 In *kaska* usw. (wird für den *īsarjanīya* s [= s] substituiert)

P 8 3 48 C 6 4 80 H 2 3 14

Das *pāramasarpīṣkundika* des Kom 1 t bemerkenswert. Pat. erkennt keine solche Form an (s Anmerkung zu 173). Nach der Ansicht einiger Grammatiker enthält der Gana *kaskadī* eine Anzahl Komposita wie *sarpīṣkundika dhanuskapalam yajuspatram* usw. deren § sich sonst nach der allgemeinen Regel *nityaṇi samase nūttarapadaṣṭhasya* (P 8 3 45 — b 1 1 173) ergibt. Die Aufnahme dieser Komposita in dem Gana soll nun andeuten, dass in denselben der *īsarjanīya* in s respectiv c auch dann übergeht, wenn die mit dem *īsarjanīya* auslautenden Worte das zweite Glied eines Kompositum bilden. Dies ist die Ansicht der *Parayanikas*. Vgl die *Kaṇika* zu P 8 3 48 *sarpīṣkundika | dhanuskapalam | bharīṣputram | yajuspatram ity eṣaṇi pāṭha nūttarapadaṣṭhasyaṇi śāṭiṇi yāṭha syad ity | pāramasarpīṣphalam* (so zu lesen!) *ity etamadipratyudaharanad* (d 1 in P 8 3 45) *ity parayanika aḥuḥ* — Demzufolge hat Hema. das Beispiel *pāramayajuspatram* (H 2 3 14). Zu *bharīṣputram* bei Hema. im selben Sutra vgl P 8 3 41 Vā 4 *bharīṣputragrahanam jnapakam ekadesanūmittat śāṭipratīṣṭhasya* und das Bhāṣya dazu *yadayaṇi kaskadīṣu bharīṣputrasabdāṇi pāṭhātī* usw.

[91] Lebenslauf

Ich Vishnu Sitaram Sukthankar brahmanischer Konfession wurde am 4 Mai 1887 zu Bombay (Indien) geboren als Sohn des Ingenieurs Sitaram Vishnu Sukthankar und seiner Frau Dhaklibai bezog nach dem Elementarunterricht in den Hochschulen zu Bombay die Universität zu Cambridge (England) wo ich mich vor allem dem Studium der Mathematik widmete. Als meine Reifeprüfung gilt das *Bakkalaureatsexamen* an der dortigen Universität, das ich im Juni 1906 bestand. Sommer 1911 kam ich nach Berlin und gab mich von da an hauptsächlich dem Studium der *indischen Philologie* hin. Ich besuchte die Vorlesungen der Herren Beckh Erdmann, Immelmann Ed. Lehmann Loeschke, Luders Marquart, Mittwoch Rühl E. Schmidt W. Schulze Thomas, v. Wilamowitz Moellendorf und Wolfilin. Zu der vorliegenden Arbeit wurde ich von Herrn Prof. Luders angeregt, dem ich für sein Interesse an dem Entstehen der Arbeit und darüber hinaus für meine wissenschaftliche Bildung zu grosstem Dank verpflichtet bleibe. Die Promotionsprüfung bestand ich am 18 Juni 1914.

STUDIES IN BHĀSA

I Introduction*

No methodical study¹ has yet been made of the thirteen anonymous dramas issued as Nos XV XVII, XX XXII, XXVI, XXXIX, and XLII of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series and ascribed by their editor, Pandit T Ganapati SĀSTRĪ, to the celebrated playwright Bhāsa. The first attempt at a comprehensive review of the plays—and the only one that has contributed substantially to our knowledge of them—is found in the editor's own introductions to the editio princeps of the *Svapnavāsavadattā* and that of *Pratimantaka* respectively. Opinion may be divided as to whether the learned editor has fully vindicated his claims regarding the age of the dramas or the authorship of Bhāsa but it seems unquestionable that the arguments brought forward by him in support of his case deserve serious consideration. Another approach to a study of these dramas is found in the introduction to a subsequent edition² of the *Svapnavāsavadattā* by Prof H B Bhide. This author replies to the arguments of a scholar who had in the meanwhile published an article in a vernacular journal calling into question the conclusion of Ganapati SĀSTRĪ regarding the authorship of Bhāsa and attempts to re-establish it by adducing fresh proofs in support of it. Mr BHIDE then turns his attention to the question of Bhāsa's age which he endeavours to fix by what may be termed a process of successive elimination. Incidentally it may be remarked that his arguments lead him to assign the dramas to an epoch even earlier than that claimed for them by Ganapati SĀSTRĪ³. While it would be invidious to belittle the work of these pioneers in the field and deny them their meed of praise it must nevertheless be confessed that their investigations are characterised by a narrowness of scope and a certain perfunctoriness of treatment which unfortunately deprive them of all claims to finality. Vast fields of enquiry have been left practically untouched, and, it need not be pointed out, a study of these neglected questions might seriously modify the views on the plays and the playwright based on the facts now available.

* [JOS 10 218-59]

¹ A complete bibliography of the literature Indian (including the works in vernaculars, of which there is a considerable number already) and European bearing on the subject will be the theme of a separate article.

² The *Svapna Vāsavadattā* of Bhāsa edited with Introduction, Notes etc etc by H B BHIDE with Sanskrit Commentary (Bhavanagar, 1916).

³ According to GANAPATI SĀSTRĪ the author of these dramas Bhāsa must necessarily be placed not later than the third or second century B C, according to Mr BHIDE, 475 B C to 417 B C would be the period of Bhāsa.

Nor have the critics⁴ of Ganapati SASTRI who challenge his ascription of the plays to Bhasa attempted—perhaps they have not deemed it worth their while to attempt—to get below the surface their investigations confine themselves to a very restricted field upon the results of which their conclusions are based. Corresponding to the different isolated features of these plays selected by them for emphasis different values are obtained by them for the epoch of these dramas and having shown that these dates are incompatible with the probable age of Bhasa these writers have considered their responsibility ended.

Now whatever opinion may be held regarding the age of these plays it seems undeniable that they are worthy of very close study. Their discovery has given rise to some complicated literary problems which demand elucidation. Their Prakrit which contains some noteworthy peculiarities requires analysis their technique, which differs in a marked manner from that of hitherto known dramas requires careful study their metre with its preponderance of the *śloka* and their *Alamkara* of restricted scope both call for minute investigation. The fragment⁵ *Charudatta* alone of which the *Micchakatika* looks almost like an enlarged version suggests a whole host of problems. Some verses (or parts of verses) from these dramas are met with again in different literary works we find others referred to in critical works of different epochs have they been borrowed or quoted (as the case may be) from our dramas? If so what chronological [250]-cal conclusions follow from these references? Some of these questions have never been dealt with at all before there are others whose treatment by previous writers must be called superficial and unsatisfactory but all of them merit exhaustive investigation. In these Studies I shall try to discuss various problems connected with these plays with all the breadth of treatment they require. I hope that they will in some measure answer the demand.

At first I shall devote myself to collation of material subsequently when I have a sufficient number of facts at my disposal duly tabulated and indexed I shall turn my attention to the question of the age and the authorship of these dramas and consider whether from the material available it is possible to deduce any definite conclusions regarding these topics. From the nature of the case it may not be possible to find for the question of the authorship an answer free from all elements of uncertainty but it is hoped that the cumulative evidence of facts gleaned from a review of the plays

⁴ Prof. PANDEYA in the Vernacular periodical *Sarada* (Vol. 1 No. 1) who assigns the plays to the 10th century A.D. and Dr. L. D. BARNETT in *JRIS* 1919 pp. 233 f. who ascribes them to an anonymous poet of about the 7th century A.D.

⁵ Thereon see my articles "Charudatta"—A Fragment in the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* (Bangalore) 1919.

from widely different angles will yield some positive result at least regarding their age

In conclusion it should be made clear that nothing is taken for granted regarding the author or the age of these plays. It follows, therefore, that the choice of the title 'Studies in Bhāsa' or the expression 'dramas of Bhāsa' if used in the sequel with reference to them, does not necessarily imply the acceptance of the authorship of Bhāsa, the use of Bhāsa's name should be regarded merely as a matter of convenience, unless the evidence adduced be subsequently found to justify or necessitate the assumption involved

I *On certain archaisms in the Prakrit of these dramas*

The scope of this article, the first of the series, is restricted to a consideration of certain selected words and grammatical forms, occurring in the Prakrit of the dramas before us, which arrest our attention by their archaic character. There are many other questions relative to the Prakrit of these plays which await investigation, such as for example, its general sound system its varieties its distribution etc. they will be dealt with in subsequent articles. 'Archaic' and 'modern' are of course relative terms. The words noticed below are called 'archaic' in reference to what may be said to be the standard dialect stage of the Prakrit of the [251] dramas of the classical period, such as those of Kālidasa. No comparative study has yet been made of the Prakrit of Kālidasa and his successors with a view to ascertaining the developmental differences (if any) obtaining between them, marked differences there are none, and we are constrained, in the absence of detailed study, to regard the Prakrits of the post Kālidasa dramas as static dialect varieties showing only minute differences of vocabulary and style.

Methodologically the question whether all these thirteen anonymous plays are the works of one and the same author should have been taken up first for investigation. But even a cursory examination of these plays is enough to set at rest all doubts regarding the common authorship; moreover the point has already been dealt with in a fairly satisfactory manner by the editor of the plays whose conclusions have not hitherto evoked adverse comment. The question will however, in due course receive all the attention and scrutiny necessary.

Meanwhile we will turn to the discussion of what I regard as archaisms in the Prakrit of these plays.

AN ALPHABETICAL LIST OF SELECTED ARCHAISMS

1 *amhām* (= Skt *asmakam*)

Svapna 27 (twice, Ceṭi) 28 (Ceṭi) Pañca 21 (Vṛddhagopālaka) Avī 25 (Dhātṛi), 29 (Vidūsaka)

Amhām is used in the passages just quoted, but in other places the very same characters use the later form *amhānam*, which is formed on the

analogy of the thematic nominal bases of *Ceti* in *Svapna* 24 32 *Vṛddha gopalaka* in *Pañca* 20 21 and *Dhatrī* in *Avī* 23. The latter form occurs moreover in *Caru* 1 (*Sutrādhara*) 34 (*Ceti*). The form *amha(k)am* may be remarked is neither mentioned by grammarians⁶ nor found in the dramas hitherto known. But Pali it will be recalled has still *amhakam* and *Asvaghōṣa*'s dramas (LUDERS^{6a} 58) have preserved the corresponding *tum(h)ak(am)*. Owing to the simultaneous occurrence in our dramas of both the forms in the speech of one and the same character we are not in a position to decide at this stage whether the *amhaam* of our manuscripts is a genuinely archaic use of the word or whether there is a contamination here with the Skt *asmakam*. It may again be that the promiscuous use of the doublets points to a period of transition.

2 Root \sqrt{arh}

Svapna 7 (*Tapasī*) *Abhū* 5 (*Tara*)

Twice the root appears in Prakrit passages in these dramas with unassimilated conjunct. Once as a nominal base *arha* (*Svapna* 7) and again as a verbum finitum *arhadī* (*Abhū* 5). In the latter case the editor conjecturally amends the reading of the manuscripts to *arihadī*. A priori the conjunct *rh* seems hardly admissible in a Prakrit dialect⁷ and one is tempted to follow the editor of the dramas in regarding it as a mistake of the scribe. In the *Sauraseni* of later dramas an epenthetic *i* divides the conjunct *arh* (PISCHEL § 140). Of this form we have two instances in our dramas *arihadī* in *Pratima* 6 (*Avadātika*) and *anarīham* in *Abhū* 15 (*Sita*). In another place however the word appears with an epenthetic *u*⁸. *Abhū* 60 (*Sita*) we have *anaruhami* (instead of *anarīham*) in a passage which is otherwise identical with *Abhū* 15 quoted above. Thus an emendation would have seemed inevitable in the two isolated instances containing the conjunct had not the Turfan manuscripts of *Asvaghōṣa*'s dramas with which our manuscripts will be shown to have a number of points in common testified to the correctness of the reading by furnishing a probable instance of the identical orthographic peculiarity. In a passage from a

⁶ Thus, for instance Markandeya in his *Prakṛtasamāśa* (ed Grantha pradarsanī Vāzagapatam 1912) IX 95 lays down specifically that the gen. plu. of the pers. pron. in *Sauraseni* is *amham* or *amhanam*.

^{6a} Here and in similar references LUDERS stands for LUDERS, *Bruchstücke Buddhistischer Dramen* (Kleinere Sanskrit Texte Heft I Berlin 1911).

⁷ The actual reading of the text is *a(rha > rīha)dī* meaning apparently that the MS. reading is *arhadī* and that the editor would amend to *arihadī*.

⁸ See PISCHEL *Grammatik d. Prakrit-Sprachen* (Abbreviated in the sequel as PISCHEL) § 332.

⁹ PISCHEL (§ 140) remarks that the Devanagari and South Indian recensions of *Śakuntala* and *Mālavikā* and the *Priyadarśikā* have *aruhadī* in *Sauraseni* according to him it is an incorrect use.

speech placed in the mouth either of the Courtesan or the Vidūsaka (and therefore Śaurasenī) occurs a word that is read by Prof LÜDERS as *arkessi* (LÜDERS 49). Unfortunately the portion of the palm leaf which contains the conjunct *rk* is chipped, and the reading therefore, [253] cannot claim for itself absolute certainty. However, that may be, Prof LÜDERS appears to have in his mind no doubt regarding the correctness of the reading adopted by him. Should this restoration be correct, we should have a precedent for our seemingly improbable reading. It is not easy to explain satisfactorily the origin of this anomaly. We can only conjecture, as Prof LÜDERS does, that the conjunct *rk* was still pronounced without the svarabhakti or was at any rate written¹⁰ in that manner. Assuming that our reading of the word *ark-* in both sets of manuscripts is correct, this coincidence, which is a proof as positive as it is fortuitous of the affinity between our dramas and those of Aśvaghōṣa, has an importance which cannot be overrated.

3 *ahake* (= Skt *aham*).

Caru 23 (Śakāra)

Occurs in these dramas only once in the (Māgadhī) passage just quoted Śakāra uses only in two other places the nominative case of the pronoun of the first person namely Cāru 12 (which is a verse), and 15, in both these instances, however, as elsewhere in our dramas occurs the ordinary Tatsama *aham*. The derivation of *ahake* is sufficiently clear and since in Śaurasenī and Magadhī the *svārthe* suffix *ka* may be retained unaltered (PISCHEL § 598), the form is theoretically, at any rate, perfectly regular. It has more over the sanction of the grammarians being specifically noticed in a Prakrit grammar, namely the *Prakṛta prakāśa* (11.9) of Vararuci which is the oldest Prakrit grammar preserved (PISCHEL § 32). In his paradigm of the 1st pers. pron. PISCHEL encloses this form in square brackets indicating therewith that there are no instances of its use in the available manuscripts. Probably this view represents the actual state of things in PISCHEL's time. It would be wrong on that account to regard its occurrence here as a pedantic use of a speculative form which is nothing more than a grammarian's abstraction. For we now have in Aśvaghōṣa's dramas an authentic instance of the use of a still older form *ahakam* in the 'dramatic' Māgadhī of the Duṣṭ [254] (Bosewicht), LÜDERS 36. The *ahake* of these dramas and of Vararuci stands midway and supplies the necessary connecting link between the *ahakam* of Aśvaghōṣa and the *hake*, *hag(g)e* of later grammarians and dramatists. The legitimacy and archaism of *ahake* may, therefore be regarded as sufficiently established. Incidentally the correspondence with Vararuci is worthy of note. The occasion for the use in this

¹⁰ It would be worth while examining the Prakrit inscriptions to ascertain whether they contain any instances of this usage and if so to determine its epochal and topographical limits.

instance, of the stronger form *ahake*,¹¹ instead of the usual *aham*, appears to be that the context requires an emphasis to be laid on the subject of the sentence *ahake dāta tañcīde* 'Even I¹¹ have been duped'. The later forms *hake*, *ha(g)ge* occur neither in the preserved fragments of Aśvaghōṣa's dramas nor in our dramas, a fact which is worthy of remark

4 āma

Svapna 45 (Vidūṣaka), 80 (Padmāvatī) etc., Cāru 4 (Natī), 20 (Śākāra), etc etc

An affirmative particle occurring very frequently in these dramas and used in all dialects alike. This word which is met with also in the modern Dravidian dialects, where it has precisely the same sense seems to have dropped out of the later Prakṛit. It need not on that account be set down as a late Dravidianism introduced into the manuscripts of our dramas by South Indian scribes for its authenticity is sufficiently established by its occurrence in Pālī on the one hand and in the Turfan manuscripts of Aśvaghōṣa's dramas on the other (LUDERS 46)

5 kara (= Skt kṛtā)

Svapna 52 (Vidūṣaka), 63 (Vāsavadattā), 70 (Pratihārī), Pratijñā 10 11, and 15 (Hamsaka), 41, 45, and 50 (Vidūṣaka), etc etc

The regular Śaurasenī form is *kadua* (PISCHEL 581, 590). But Hemacandra (4 272) allows also *kara*. While this rule of the grammarian is confirmed by the sporadic occurrence of *kara* (y)a in manuscripts, it is interesting to remark that it is met with also in a Śaurasenī passage in Aśvaghōṣa's dramas (LUDERS 46) [255]. According to PISCHEL (KB 8 140 quoted by LUDERS in *Bruchstücke Buddhistischer Dramen*, p 48, footnote 3) the use of *kara* is confined exclusively to the Nāgari and South Indian recensions of Śakuntala and Mālavikā. But its occurrence in the Turfan manuscripts of Aśvaghōṣa's dramas shows that it is a genuinely archaic form and not a vagary of South Indian or Nāgari manuscripts. *Kadua* does not occur in our dramas nor in the preserved fragments of Aśvaghōṣa's dramas. Incidentally we may note our plays also furnish instances of the use of the parallel form *gacchia* (Skt *gatā*) of which the regular (later) Śaurasenī form is *gadua*, see Caru 1 etc etc

6 kīssa, kīśā (= Skt kasya)

Avi 16 (Vidūṣaka), 20 (Nalinikā), 71 and 73 (Vidūṣaka), Pratimā 6 (Sitā), Cāru 24 (Śākāra)

The dialects are Śaurasenī (*kīssa*) and Magadhi (*kīśā*). Formally these words represent the genitive singular of the interrogative pronoun but here as elsewhere they are used exclusively in the sense of the ablative *kas*

¹¹ [Editorial note. The suffix *ka* cannot, in my opinion, have this meaning. Here it is very likely pitying (poor unlucky I) or it may be *svārthe* — P E]

māt 'why', wherefore? Neither of these words—in this stage of phonetic development—occurs in the Prakrit of the grammarians and other dramatists (with but one exception), which have *kisa* (*kīṣa*) instead (PISCHEL § 428) *kissa* occurs frequently in Pali *kīṣa* is used by the Duṣṭa ('Bose whict') in Aśvaghoṣa's dramas (LÜDERS 36) in both these instances the words have precisely the same sense as here Like *ahake* (above no 3), *kissa* (*kīṣa*) corresponds exactly to the theoretical predecessors of forms in use in the Prakrit of later dramas *kisa* occurs once in these plays also Svapna 29 (Ceṭi)

Unless a period of transition be assumed *kissa* would appear to be the right form to use here For *kisa* may represent the spurious correction of a learned transcriber but were *kisa* (*kīṣa*) the original reading in all these places it would be difficult to explain the deliberate substitution of an archaic *kissa* (*kīṣa*) in its place In other words I assume the principle of progressive correction that is the tendency of successive generations of scribes to modernise the Prakrit of older works so as to bring it in line with the development of the Prakrit of their own times Unless therefore as already remarked it is assumed that the simultaneous use of the two forms be regarded as indicating a period of transition *kissa* (*kīṣa*) would appear to be the form proper to the dialect [256] of our dramas In passing it may be pointed out that *kissa* (*kīṣa*) cannot be arrived at by the Prakritization of any Sanskrit form therefore a question of contamination does not rise in this case

7 *khu* (= Skt *khalu*)

Svapna 5 (Vasavadatta) 7 (Tapasī) 11 (Padmāvatī) 12 (Ceṭi) etc. etc.

Written almost throughout without the doubling of the initial Now the rule deduced from an observation of the usage of manuscripts appears to be that after short vowels and after *e* and *o* (which then are shortened under those circumstances) we should have *kkhu* after long vowels however, *khu* (PISCHEL 94) This rule applies to Śauraseni and Magadhi alike But in the manuscripts of Aśvaghoṣa's dramas the initial is never doubled and in our text of the present plays there are only two instances of the doubling both of which are spurious and due to mistakes of copyists We will turn our attention to these first They are —(1) Abhi 23 (Sita) *aho akaruna kkhu issara*¹² and (2) Pratiṃ 22 (Sita) *nam saha dhamma aruṃ kkhu aham* It is quite evident that the doubling in these instances which takes place after the long finals *a* and *i* is contrary to every rule and is nothing more than a mistake of some transcriber It may therefore be assumed that at the stage in which the dialects of our dramas find them

¹² But note Svapna, 27 (Vasavadatta) *aho akaruna khu issara* Of course the retention of the intervocalic *k* is unjustifiable

selves the doubling of the initial in *khu* had not yet taken effect. We notice here, however, the first step taken to its treatment as an enclitic. In the dramas of Aśvaghoṣa *khu* remains unaltered throughout with undoubled initial¹³ but in our dramas we find frequently *ku* substituted for it in the combinations *na khu* and *kim nu khu*: Svapna. 23 (Vāsavadattā) 58 (Vidūṣaka), 63 (Vāsavadattā), etc.; Pratijñā 9 (Hamsaka), Pañca. 20 (Vṛddha-gopālaka); Avī. 79 (Nalinikā), 82 (Kuraṅgi), 92 (Nalinikā), etc. etc. Sporadically *khu* is retained unaltered even in these combinations¹⁴

[257] 8 *tava* (= Skt. *tava*).

Svapna 17 (Tāpasī), 40 (Padmāvatī), 78 (Dhātṛī); Pratimā 8 (Avadā-tikā); etc. etc.

This is the usual form of the word in our plays in all dialects alike; in addition, of course, the old enclitic *le* (*de*) is also in use. The Śaurasenī of Aśvaghoṣa's dramas furnishes also an example of its use in the Prakrit of dramas (LÜDERS 46), and it is common enough in Pāli. On the other hand the later forms *tu(m)ha*, and *tujjha* are unknown alike to the Prakrit of Aśvaghoṣa and these plays. According to Prakrit grammarians and the usage of the manuscripts of later dramas *tu(m)ha* (and not *tava*) is proper to Śaurasenī;¹⁵ evidently this represents the state of things at a later epoch. The use of *tava* seems later to be restricted to Māgadhī, Ardhamāgadhī, and Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī (PISCHEL 421)

9. *tuvam* (= Skt. *tvam*)

Svapna, 37 (Padmāvatī), 38 (Vāsavadattā), 53 (Padmīnikā), 54 (Padmīnikā), 55 (Padmīnikā); Pratijñā, 40 (Vidūṣaka), 42 (Vidūṣaka), Avī. 72 (Vidūṣaka), 77 (Vidūṣaka), 79 (Kurāṅgi), Ūru 104 (Durjaya), Cāru 2 (Naṭī), etc., etc.

This form, in which the assimilation has not yet taken effect, disappeared from the Prakrit of later dramas, which substitute *tumam* in its place. But it is mentioned by Prakrit grammarians (PISCHEL § 420), and it is the regular form of the nominative case of the 2nd pers. pron. in Pāli and inscriptional Prakrit. It was, moreover, in use still in Aśvaghoṣa's time (LÜDERS 46), which is significant from our viewpoint. The later form *tumam* occurs sporadically in our dramas also Svapna 78 (Dhātṛī), Pratijñā 58 (Bhaṭṭa and Gātrasevaka), 62 (Bhaṭṭa), Avī. 29 (Vidūṣaka), 92 (Vasumitrā). In respect to the references from the Pratijñā (58, 62)

¹³ Prof. LÜDERS does cite *i-*kkhu* in Aśvaghoṣa's dramas, but, as he himself points out, it is far from certain that we have the particle *kkhu* before us (LÜDERS 51, footnote 3).

¹⁴ For instance, *kim nu khu*, Svapna 63 (Vāsavadattā).

¹⁵ See PISCHEL § 421 for a discussion of the merits and use of the different Prakrit equivalents of Skt. *tava*.

it should be remarked that the manuscripts upon which our text is based are just at this place defective and full of mistakes consequently the readings adopted in the text cannot by any means be looked upon as certain Twice *tuvam* is used in the accusative case Ūru 105 (Durjaya) Caru 71 (Ganika) [258] But the usual form of the accusative case in our plays as in later Prakrit is *tumam* e.g. Svapna 27 and 32 (Ceṭi)

10 *dissa diśa* (= Skt *dīśya*)

Svapna. 70 (Pratihar) Avī 22 (Nalinika) 70 (Viduṣaka) Pratijna 58 (Bhaṭa) Bala 50 (Vṛddhagopalaka) Madhyama 4 (Brahmaṇi) Ūru 101 (Gandhar) Abhi 54 (Sita) Cāru 16 (Śakara) Pratuma 5 (Sita) etc .

In the above instances we have the root form *dissa* On the other hand in a number of other places the later form *diśa* with the simplification of the conjunct, has been used The relation *dissa diśa* is the same as that of *kissa kiśa* discussed in paragraph 6 According to PISCHEL *dissa* occurs in the Ardhamāgadhī of the Jaina canon but not in the dramas which substitute *diśa* instead (PISCHEL § 541) This later form *diśa* is met with in our dramas only in Avī 28 (Viduṣaka) 91 (Vasumitra) Pratijna 54 (Viduṣaka) Caru 16 (Śakara) It is worth noting that in one instance (Caru 16) the two forms occur on the same page and are placed in the mouth of the same character (Śakara) The remarks made in paragraph 6 on the relation of the forms *kissa kiśa* are also applicable here It is interesting to note that the passive base *dissa* is in use not only in Pali but also in Aśvaghoṣa's dramas (LUDERS 58)

11 *vaam* (= Skt *vayam*)

Svapna. 31 (Viduṣaka) Avī 93 (Vasumitra) Caru 49 (Viduṣaka)

In Svapna (p. 31) the word is spelt *vayanī* but in conformity with the orthography of the manuscripts of our dramas, which omit the intervocalic *y* the reading *vaam* should be adopted also in this instance The form proper to Śauraseni to which dialect all the above passages belong is *amhe* (PISCHEL 419) But it is interesting to note that Vararuci (12 25) and Markaṇḍeya 70 according to PISCHEL § 419 permit the use of *va(y) am* in Śauraseni And again in the dramas of Aśvaghoṣa we do actually meet with an instance of the use of *vayam* in a dialect which is probably Śauraseni (LUDERS 58) The form *amhe* does not occur in the preserved fragments of Aśvaghoṣa's dramas And in our plays it occurs as far as my

¹⁰ In the paradigm of the pronoun of the 2nd pers. PISCHEL gives the form *tam* for the nom. and acc. sing., but he encloses it in square brackets.

¹¹ It should be remarked that *amhe* is the regular base of the oblique cases of this pronoun and that *amhe* accus. is regular in all dialects

observation goes only three times twice, curiously enough in the sense of (the nom. [259] native case of) the dual *avam* (Abhi 48, Pratima 58) and once in the accusative¹⁷ case (Pratima 35) *va(y)am* may therefore be regarded as a form peculiar and proper to the older Prakrits

SUMMARY

Above have been set forth a number of peculiarities of vocabulary and grammar in which the Prakrit of our dramas differs from that of the dramas of Kalidasa and other classical playwrights. Every one of these peculiarities is shared by the Prakrit of Asvaghōṣa's dramas. In some instances the archaic and the more modern form are used side by side in our dramas e.g. *amhaam* and *amhanam* *tutam* and *tumam* *kissa* and *kisa*, *dissa* and *disa*, *arih* *arih* and *aruh*. But in other instances the archaic forms are used to the exclusion of the later forms for example *ahake* (later *hage*) *va(y)am* (later *amhe* Nom. Plu.) *tata* (later *tumha*), *kana* (later *kadua*) and *ama* (obsolete). The absence of doubling of the initial of the particle *khu* and *ē* and *ō* may be taken to indicate an epoch when the shortening of the final *e* and *o* had not yet taken effect. Worthy of special note are the forms *ahake* and *ama* which not only are unknown to later Prakrit, but are not the regular tadbhavas of any Sanskrit words. It should also be remembered that *ahake* and *va(y)am* (used in our plays practically to the exclusion of *hage* and *amhe* respectively) are noticed in Vararuci's *Prakṛtaprakāśa* which is believed to be the oldest Prakrit grammar extant.

The affinities with Asvaghōṣa's Prakrit pointed out above have a bearing on the age of our dramas which will receive our attention in due course. Meanwhile it will suffice to note that these affinities go far to prove that below the accretion of ignorant mistakes and unauthorised corrections for which the successive generations of scribes and diaskeuasts should be held responsible there lies in the dramas before us a solid bedrock of archaic Prakrit, which is much older than any we know from the dramas of the so-called classical period of Sanskrit literature

II. ON THE VERSIFICATION OF THE METRICAL PORTIONS OF THE DRAMAS*

The following notes are the result of an attempt to study intensively certain characteristics of the versification of the metrical portions of these dramas which seemingly distinguish the latter from those of the works of the classical period, and which, moreover, appear to suggest points of contact with the epic literature. The present investigation deals mainly with the metres and the metrical solecisms of Sanskrit passages. The analysis of the metres comprises, besides a review of the metres conducted with special reference to the preponderance of the Śloka, a tabular conspectus of the metres (arranged in the order of frequency) showing the number of occurrences of each according to the dramas in which they are found, and secondly, a list showing specifically the distribution of the verses in each metre in the several plays. The section dealing with the solecisms has a twofold purpose firstly, to ascertain their exact number and nature, and secondly to discuss their significance. Other aspects of versification, such as Alliteration, Rhyme, and Figures of Speech, will be considered in a separate article dealing with the Alamkāras.

ANALYSIS OF METRES

Specifically, the verses¹ in each metre occur in the several plays as follows:

Śloka, Svapna I. 2, 7, 10, 15, IV 5, 7-9, V 6-11, VI 3, 6, 7, 9, 11-14, 16-19. *Pratijñā* I 1, 2, 7, 9, 10, 15-17, II 5²-7, 10, 11, 13, III 3, 7-9, IV 9, 11, 15, 16, 18, 20-22, 24-26. *Pañca*. I 2, 7, 8, 11, 12, 15, 16, 24, 26, 32, 33, 35, 36, 41, 42, 44, 48-54, II 4, 6, 8, 12-14, 16, 17, 19-21, 23, 25, 28, 34, 36-38, 41, 47-50, 52, 53, 55-59, 61-69, 71, III 9, 10, 13, 15, 17-21, 23-26. *Avi* I 4, II 4, 10, IV 7, 14, V 3, VI 3, 6-8, 12-14, 17, 22. *Bāla* I 3, 11-13, 15-17, 20, 25-27, II 8, 9, 11, 13-19, 25, III 7-10, 12, [109] 13, 16, IV 10, 12, V 14, 16-20. *Madhyama* 2, 7, 12-23, 28-31, 33-40, 42-45, 47, 49, 50. *Dūtav* 1, 2, 7, 8, 16, 17, 20, 25-27, 29-31, 33, 34, 36, 38, 43, 46, 50, 55, 56. *Dūtagh*. 6, 7, 15, 17, 18, 21, 24-26, 28, 29, 31, 32, 37-40, 42, 44, 48-50. *Kama*, 2, 7, 12, 25. *Ūru* 33, 37, 41-44, 46, 49, 50, 62, 64, 65. *Abhi* I 3, 8, 12, 15, 18-21, 23, 24, II 3, 7, 12, 13, 15, 16, 18-20, 23, 24, III 5, 6, 8-11, 13-15, 18, 20, 22, 24-26, IV 4, 8-11, 14, 16, 19-22, V 2, 5, 8-10, 12, 14, 17, VI 8-10,

* [JAOS, 41:107-130]

¹ Prakrit verses are marked with an asterisk (*).

² In verse 5 of the second Act of the *Pratijñā*, b is defective.

[108] TABLE OF METRES

	Svapna.	Pratijñā.	Panca.	Avi.	Bala	Madhyama.	Dātav.	Dutagh.	Karna.	Uru.	Abhi.	Cāru.	Pratimā.	Total.
1 Śloka	26	29	76	15	37	33	22	22	4	12	68	17	75	436
2 Vasantatilaka	11	8	9	27	26	6	13	8	6	16	15	12	22	179
3 Upajāti ³	2	4	19	23	19	3	7	7	2	6	10	7	12	121
4 Sārdulavikridita ..	6	5	9	5	4	1	2	8	2	21	15	5	9	92
5 Mālīni .....	...	5	7	3	6	4	7	2	6	7	11	4	10	72
6 Puspitāgrā	2	3	4	11	2	3	2	...	...	...	22	2	4	55
7 Vamśastha ⁴ .....	...	3	12	1	1	1	1	2	4	1	1	4	4	35
8 Sālīni	3	4	6	2	1	...	...	1	...	...	1	1	3	22
9 Śikhariṇi	2	1	6	3	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	5	19
10 Praharsini ⁵ .....	...	...	3	2	2	...	...	1	1	...	4	1	3	17
11 Aryā	3	1	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	2	11
12 Śragdharā .....	...	...	...	3	1	...	1	...	...	...	2	...	1	8
13 Harini	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	2	...	...	4	8
14 Vaiśvadevi ⁶	1	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	5
15 Svadānā ⁷ .....	...	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	2	4
16 Upagiti ⁸ .....	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
17 Dandaka ⁹ .....	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
18 ¹⁰ .....	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1
19 Drutavilambita ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1
20 Pṛthvi .....	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
21 Bhujangaprayāta ¹¹	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1
22 Vaitāliya ¹² .....	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
23 ¹³ .....	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Total	57	67	152	97	103	51	56	52	25	68	154	55	157	1092

18, 20, 22, 23, 25-29, 35 : Cāru. I. 7, 19, 22, 24, 25, 27, 28 ; III. 12, 14-17, 19 ; IV. 2, 3, 5, 7 : Pratimā. I. 4, 6, 9-13, 15-17, 19-21, 23, 24, 26-28, 31 ; II. 3, 5, 6, 8-12, 15-18, 20 ; III. 4-6, 8, 10, 12, 14, 16, 19, 20, 23, 24 ;

³ Including Indravajrā and Upendravajrā Schema : 2-----

⁴ Schema : -----

⁵ Schema : -----

⁶ Schema : -----

⁷ Schema : -----

⁸ Schema : a and c 12 moræ, b and d 15 moræ

⁹ Schema : ----- 7 amphimacra.

¹⁰ 'Abbreviated Dandaka' (24 syllables), its schema : ----- + 6 amphimacra. See below

¹¹ Schema : ----- or four consecutive bacchil.

¹² See below, footnote 18.

¹³ Undetermined Prākrit metre. Its schema is

-----	-----

(a and c 12 moræ, b and d 14 moræ).

IV. 3-5, 11, 12, 14, 15, 19, 26, 28; V. 6, 8, 9, 12-15, 20-22; VI. 5, 9-11, 13-15; VII. 5, 8, 13, 15.

Vasantatilaka, Svapna. I. 4, 6, 11; IV. 2; V. 1-3; VI. 2, 4, 5, 15; Pratiññā. I. 4, 6; II. 2, 9; III. 4; IV. 5, 7, 8; Pañca. I. 18, 29, 34, 37, 39; II. 27, 31, 42; III. 22; Avi. I. 2, 6, 11; II. 1, 2, 7, 13; III. 1, 7, 8, 10, 12, 15-17, 19; IV. 1, 5, 8, 13, 18, 22; V. 2, 7; VI. 1, 11, 19; Bāla I. 5, 8, 23; II. 1-4, 6, 7, 10, 21, 22; III. 2, 5, 14; IV. 6, 8, 11, 13; V. 1, 3, 6, 8, 10, 11, 15; Madhyama. 1, 3, 8, 11, 27, 48; Dūtav. 3-5, 11-14, 23, 41, 42, 44, 49, 54; Dūtagh. 1, 5, 11, 14, 23, 35, 45, 52; Karma. 4, 6, 9, 16, 21, 24; Ūru. 2, 3, 7, 9, 11, 12, 19, 22, 31, 32, 36, 40, 54, 59, 60, 66; Abhi. I. 1, 4, 9, 11; III. 21, 27; IV. 7, 13, 23; V. 4, 7, 13, 16; VI. 1, 7; Cāru. I. 2, 5, 8*, 9, 11, 18; III. 1, 2, 5, 10, 18; IV. 4; Pratimā. I. 7, 8, 22; II. 2, 4; IV. 1, 2, 16, 22, 24; V. 10, 11; VI. 4, 6, 7, 12; VII. 4, 6, 7, 9-11.

Upajāli (including *Indravajrā* and *Upendravajrā*), Svapna. V. 5, 13; Pratiññā. I. 5, 12; II. 1, IV. 3; Pañca. I. 1, 10, 13, 19, 23, 27, 31, 40, 43, 46, 47; II. 9, 11, 30, 60, 70; III. 3, 12, 14; Avi. I. 3, 9, 10; II. 8, 9, 12; III. 6, 18; IV. 2, 6, 15-17, 21; V. 1, 5; VI. 2, 5, 10, 15, 16, 20, 21; Bāla. I. 2, 4, 7, 21¹⁴, 22, 24, 28; II. 5, 12, 20, 23, 24; III. 4, 6; IV. 4, 5, 9; V. 2, 7; Madhyama. 9, 41, 51; Dūtav. 9, 18, 19, 22, 28, 52, 53; Dūtagh. 2, 9, 10, 16, 19, 30, 36; Karma. 13, 17¹⁵; Ūru. 30, 38, 45, 47, 48, 55; Abhi. I. 26; II. 14; III. 3, 19; IV. 6; V. 1, 11; VI. 14, 21, 32; Cāru. [110] I. 4, 10¹⁶, 12*, 23*; III. 3, 7; IV. 1; Pratimā. I. 1, 29; III. 15; IV. 9, 13, 25; V. 3-5; VI. 16; VII. 3, 14.

Sārdūlavikrīḍita, Svapna. I. 3, 8, 12; IV. 1; V. 4, 12; Pratiññā. I. 8; III. 5, 6; IV. 13, 17; Pañca. I. 4, 5, 9, 55; II. 26, 29, 39; III. 6, 7; Avi. III. 3, 20; IV. 4, 10, 11; Bāla. I. 1; III. 3; IV. 1, 7; Madhyama. 26; Dūtav. 24, 32; Dūtagh. 3, 8, 12, 22, 27, 34, 41, 51; Karma. 10, 15; Ūru. 1, 4, 13-18, 21, 23-25, 28, 29, 34, 35, 51-53, 58, 63; Abhi. I. 5; II. 4, 6, 10, 22; III. 1; IV. 1, 2; V. 6; VI. 3, 16, 19, 30, 31, 34; Cāru. I. 6; III. 6, 8, 11, 13; Pratimā. I. 3, 5; II. 2, 19; IV. 23, 27; V. 1, 16; VI. 3.

Mālinī, Pratiññā. I. 11, 14; II. 3; IV. 4, 14; Pañca. I. 38, 45; II. 5, 15, 45; III. 2, 4; Avi. II. 5; III. 2; IV. 9; Bāla. I. 9, 10; III.

¹⁴ Pāda a of verse 21 of the first Act of the Bāla, is a Vamśastha line.

¹⁵ Pāda b of verse 17 of the Karma, is a Vamśastha line.

¹⁶ Pāda a of verse 10 of the first Act of Cāru, is defective. Perhaps we have to read *anubandhaanti* instead of *anubandhaanti* of the text; cf. the (Prakritic) loss of the initial of *adhi* in epic verse and that of *api* in the compound (a) *pīhita* (from *api* + *dhā*) even in classical Sanskrit. Or better still, in view of the position of the caesura, delete the final syllable *hi* of *amēhi* and read *amhe' anubandhaanti*, *amhe* being the shorter form of the Instr. Plu., cf. PISCHEL, *Grammatik d. Prakrit-Sprachen*, § 415.

11, 15, IV 3, V. 12 · Madhyama 5, 6, 32, 46 Dūtav 10, 35, 39, 40
45, 47, 48 · Dutagah 43, 46 Karna 1, 3, 14, 18-20 Uru 6, 20, 26, 27,
39, 56, 57 Abhi I 16, 25, II 8, 9, 21, 26, IV 15, V 15, VI 4, 6 11
Cāru I 13, 14, 17, 29 Pratimā I 14, 25, III 9, 21, IV 10, 21,
V 7, VII 1, 2, 12

Puṣpitaṅrā, Svapna I 5, VI 1 Pratijñā II 12, IV 6, 10 Pañca
I 17, 30, II 35, 51 Avī II 11; III 4, 9, 11, 13, IV 12, 20, V 4,
VI 4, 9, 18 Bala I 14, V 9 Madhyama 4, 24, 25 · Dutav 6, 37
Abhi I 6 14, 22, II 2, 5, 11 17, 25, III 2, 16, 23, IV 3, 5, 12, 18,
V 3, VI 2 12, 13, 17, 24 33 Caru I 16 20 Pratima. II 21, IV
18, V 19, VI 8

Vamsastha, Pratijñā III 2, IV 19, 23 Pañca I 20, 25, II 1,
18, 32, 33, 43, 44, III 1, 8, 11, 16 Avī IV 23 Bala I 18 Madhyama
10 Dutav 21 Dutagh 13, 33 Karṇa 8 11, 22 23 Uru 8 Abhi
I 2 Cāru I 3, 15*, 26, III 4 Pratimā III. 13, IV 20, VI 1, 2

Śalini, Svapna I 13, IV 6, VI 10 Pratijñā I 13, 18, II 14,
IV 12 Pañca. I 22, 28, II 2, 10 40, 46. Avī I 7, III 5 Bala.
I 29 Dūtagh. 20 Abhi I 13 Cāru III 9 Pratima II 13, III
18, V 17

[111] Śikarini, Svapna I 14, 16 Pratijñā II 4 Pañca. I 3, 14
21, II 7, 22 24 Avī I 5, II 3, III 14, Uru 61 Abhi IV 17
Pratima II 14, III 1, 2, 22, IV 7

Prahaṣṇi, Pañca II 3, 54, III 5 Avī I 8, IV 3 Bala I 6,
V 13 Dutagh. 4 Karṇa 5 Abhi I 7, 10, 17, III 17 Cāru IV
6 Pratimā I 30, IV 6, V 18

Arya Svapna I 1, IV 3, 4 Pratijñā IV 1* Bala I 19*, III 1*,
V 4* Cāru I 1*, 21 Pratima I 2; II 7

Sragdhara Avī I 1, 12, IV 19 Bala IV 2 Dutav 51 Abhi
III 7, 12, Pratima IV 17

Harini, Svapna VI 8 Dutagh 47 Ūru 5, 10 Pratimā I 18,
III 17, IV 8, V 2

Vasuvadevi, Svapna I 9 Pratijñā I 3, II 8 Abhi II 1, VI 5
—Suvadamā, Pañca I 6 Dutav 15 Pratima III 7, 11—Upagiti, Bala
V 5*—Dandaka, Avī V 6—Abbreviated 'Dandaka', Pratimā III 3
—Drutaślambita Abhi III 4—Pīthi, Avī II 6—Bhujamgapravata,
Abhi VI 15—Vatāliya¹⁷, Pratijñā III 1*—? (Undermined Prakrit metre),
Pratijñā IV 2*

¹⁷ See p 112 below

¹⁸ Read b as pāda-upadēdum utatthi(d)a The Vatāliya stanza should
have 14 more in a and c, and 16 in b and d, all the pādas, moreover, should end

author Out of a total of 1092 verses (Sanskrit and Prakrit) included in the dramas there are 179 Vasantatilakas² and 121 Upajatis³ Among the metres of the Sanskrit verses the five metres Bhujangaprayata the 24 syllable Daṇḍaka the 27 syllable Dandaka Drutayāmbita and Pṛthivī [113] occur only once each Worth noting is perhaps the fact that there are no examples of these five metres in the preserved fragments of Aśvaghōṣa's dramas⁴ for it shows at any rate that they did not figure very conspicuously in them.

A metre which deserves special mention is the Suvadana one of the metres which these dramas have in common with the Aśvaghōṣa fragments Our list includes four instances of this uncommon metre two in the Pratima (III 7 11) and one each in the Panca. (I 6) and the Dutav (verse 15) The Suvadana⁵ (a metre of twenty syllables) differs from the Sragdhara (twenty-one syllables) only in its final foot the first fifteen syllables of both have the identical schema yet there are far fewer instances of the Suvadana in Sanskrit literature than of the Sragdhara Until the discovery of the fragments of Aśvaghōṣa's plays there was only one solitary example known of its use in a drama that was *Mudrārākṣasa* IV 16 which by the way was mistaken by STENZLER⁶ for Sragdhara But now we have besides quite a number of instances in Aśvaghōṣa's dramas to which Prof LÜDER⁷ has drawn attention in his remarks on the versification of those plays

The Ārya which must originally have been a Prakrit metre, and its varieties, are used very sparingly by our author though they figure so prominently in the *Mṛcchakaṭīka* and the dramas of Kālidāsa In our plays there are only eleven Āryas (of which five are Prakrit) and one (Prakrit) Upajati Compare with this Kālidāsa's *Vikramorviśī* which has as many as 31 Āryas out of a total of 163 verses and the *Malatīkagnimitra* with 35 Āryas out of a total of 96 verses.

There are in this group of plays thirteen Prakrit verses of which five are Āryas one Upajati three Upajātis one Vamśastha a (defective) Vaitulya and lastly an undetermined Prakrit measure the last may be only a piece of rhythmic prose The versification of the Prakrit verses does not call for any special comment

We shall now turn to the consideration of a unique feature of the versification of these dramas namely the preponderance of the Śloka The analysis of the metres shows that out of 1092 verses which these dramas contain 436 are Ślokas in other words the Śloka forms nearly forty per cent. of the total which it [114] will be admitted is a remarkable high proportion

² Including one in Prakrit.

³ Of which three are in Prakrit.

⁴ LÜDER, *Bruchstücke Buddhistischer Dramen* Berlin 1911

⁵ Its schema is - - - - -

⁶ Kuhanan ZDMG 44 1 ff

Indeed in many individual dramas of this group the proportion rises still higher : in some it is as high as fifty per cent. and in a few it is higher still. In the *Svapnavāsavadattā* there are 26 Ślokas out of a total of 57 verses, in the *Dūtaghaṭṭhaca* 22 out of 52 ; in the *Pañcarātra* 76 out of 152, and in the one-act play *Madhyamavyāyoga* there are as many as 33 Ślokas out of a total of 51 verses. Notably the proportion of this metre is very low in the *Aṣṣmāraka*,²⁸ where there are only 15 Ślokas out of a total of 97 verses.

It is well known that works of the epic, Purāṇic, devotional, and Śāstric or didactic order formed the field par excellence of the Śloka. The dramatists made use of this unpretentious metre rather sparingly, they must have found it too commonplace. The later fixed syllabic metres with their sonorous and complicated rhythms were more suited to their flamboyant style. The greater the number of these in a play the greater the *camatkāra*, the greater the skill of the playwright. For this reason, it seems to me, the simple Śloka epicus lost ground in the drama, where it must have once figured prominently in favour of the fancy metres. The old *Trīṣṭubh* of the vedic and epic literature, however, maintained its popularity even in the classical period. A few figures are quoted to show the actual proportion, in different dramas, of the Ślokas to the total number of verses.²⁹ Bhavabhūti is the only dramatist of the classical period who employs the Śloka on a large scale in two of the three plays attributed to him. Out of a total of 395 verses in the *Mahātīra carita*, 129 are Ślokas ; while in the *Uttararamacarita* the ratio is 89 : 253, the Śloka thus forms about a third of the total number of verses in these dramas. This is the highest proportion reached in any one drama or a group of dramas by the same author, except the dramas which are the subject of these Studies. In the *Malatīmādhava* the ratio drops to 14 : 224. In the plays of Kalidāsa the Ślokas are few and far between. For the *Mālavikāgnimitra* the figures are 17 : 96, for *Śakuntalā* 36 : 230, for the *Vikramorvaśī* 30 : 163. We may further compare the figures for other dramas. In the *Ratnāvalī* [115] the ratio is 9 : 85, in the *Nāgānanda* 24 : 114, in the *Mudrārākṣasa* 22 : 163, in the *Veṇūsamhāra* 53 : 204, in the *Prabodhacandodaya* 36 : 190, in the *Mṛcchakaṭikā* 85 : 336. In these dramas the Śloka thus forms on an average about 20-25 per cent. of the whole. These figures make abundantly clear that the preference for the Śloka is a feature of metrical technique in which our plays differ from all dramas of the classical age.

As to the structure of the Śloka it may be remarked that the posterior *pada* has invariably the duambic close, sometimes even at the sacrifice of grammar as in *Pratimā* III 8 *pratimām kim na prcchase* where the final

²⁸ In the other non-epic dramas of this group the proportion is not so low, in *Svapna*, it is 26 : 57. *Pratijna*, 29 : 67. *Cāru* 17 : 55.

²⁹ The figures have been computed from the data of STENZLER's collections, *loc. cit.* They will be of course different for the different recensions and editions.

is as a matter of fact, a syllable anceps. The prior pada ends as a rule with the pathya foot $\cup _ _ _ \simeq$ occasionally however it ends with one of the vipula forms. Concerning the vipulas the following particulars will be found to be of interest. There is a complete absence of the fourth vipula and comparative rarity of the second. Noticeable is also a partiality for the first vipula which is used about twice as frequently as the third variety. In the third vipula the caesura is without exception after the fifth syllable, which usually follows $_ \cup _ _ _$. The precedent foot of the first vipula is commonly $_ _ _ _$ or $\simeq \cup _ _ _$ and only occasionally $\cup _ _ _$ of which latter as is well known the post-epic style has increasingly fewer cases.³⁰

The analysis given above shows that the Śloka of our drama is of the refined type, not different at all from the classical model. The percentage of vipula forms in these Ślokas is somewhat lower than in the classical epics like the *Raghuvamśa*, *Kumarasambhava*, *Kirātarpuniya* and *Sisupalavadha*. One reason for the low proportion may be the following. In epic and lyric poetry where the Ślokas (whenever they form the running metre of a whole adhyaya or chapter) follow each other in scores and hundreds the vipula forms crept in inevitably and may even have been introduced as an agreeable change from the monotonous rhythm of an immutable octosyllabic scheme. With the limited number of the Ślokas occurring in a drama it was comparatively easier to produce a larger proportion of good Ślokas moreover owing to the intervening prose and the sprinkling of fancy metres the need for variation was not as keenly felt.

In connection with this predilection for the Śloka epicus I [116] may draw attention briefly here to certain passages individualised by containing shorter or longer runs of Ślokas. Here the prose is unimportant, while the verses with fancy metres are mostly lyrical. The Śloka is in these passages the dynamic element. A typical instance is the section of the Madhyamavya yoga from verse 12 to verse 45. This passage, containing 34 verses, includes as many as 28 Ślokas, and only 6 fancy metres. Moreover it will be noticed the dialogue is carried on in simple unadorned Ślokas the contents of which are not at all lyrical but include just what is necessary for the progress of the action of the drama. The prose cannot be entirely dispensed with, but it makes the distinct impression of being secondary in importance. Another such passage is Pañca Act II from verse 47 to the end. It includes 25 verses of which as many as 21 are Ślokas and only four fixed syllabic metres. A piece shorter still is Pratimā Act I from verse 9 to verse 28 which includes a group of 16 Ślokas punctuated with 4 fancy metres. These passages rather suggest to my mind rudimentary attempts at dramatisation which are not quite emancipated from the limitations of the epic prototype.

The following list of set phrases and conventional comparisons (the number of which can easily be increased³¹) borrowed by our author directly from the epics illustrates in a striking manner how deeply he is indebted to the epic sources for his inspiration

- (i) *acireṇaiva kalena Pratima IV* 26 c with the variation *sucireṇaiva kalena ibid* 26 a *acireṇaiva kalena MBh* 9 2 58 *Rām* 5 26 23 6 61 20 etc
- (ii) *kampayann iva medinam Panca II* 21 *kampayann iva medinam MBh.* 2 29 7 8 34 58 9 18 26 etc, *Rām.* (Gorr) 6 37 101 *Rām* 6 56 13 67 115 and variations, *MBh* 3 78 3 9 30 60 *Rām* (Gorr) 3 62 31 *Rām.* 3. 67 13 Also compare such expressions as *nadayann iva medinam purāyann iva medinam* and *darayann iva medinam* occurring in the epics.
- [117] (iii) *saktiḥ kalantakopama Abhi VI* 8 *sakṣat kalantakopamah MBh* 3 157 50 *Rām* 6 88 2 *Rām* (Gorr) 6 45 19 Cf also *kalantakayomopamah*, *MBh* 3 22 31 27 25 4 33 25 (Gorr) 3 32 5 6 49 36 etc
- (iv) *nayami Yamasadanam Pratima V* 22 *anayad Yamasadanam MBh* 6 54 81 7 19 15 *Rām* (Gorr) 3 34 31 75 28 Compare also *yayasur Yamasadanam MBh* 1 163 10 *Rām.* (Gorr) 6 57 23
- (v) *prasadam kartum arhasi Panca II* 68 *prasadam kartum arhasi MBh* 9 35 72 *Rām.* 4 8 19 *Rām* (Gorr) 2 110 7 etc
- (vi) *madasalahitagāmi mattamatangaḥ laḥ, Abhi II* 9 and *mattamatan gal laḥ, Abhi IV* 15 *mattamatangagaminam MBh* 3 80 14 277 9 *Rām.* 2 3 28 *Rām* (Gorr) 6 37 61 etc.
- (vii) *sambhramotphullalocana, Dutav* verse 7 *Cāru IV* 3 *vismayophullalocanah, MBh.* 1 136 1 13 14 386 *Rām.* 7 37 3 29 *Rām* (Gorr) 4 63 10 etc
- (viii) *sucireṇaiva kalena Pratima IV* 26 a (See above the references under no i)

And lastly (ix) with the following phrases from the *bharataśakya* imam ap mahim kṛtsnam in *Pratijna. Panca., Avī* and *Abh mahim ekatapetraṅgam in Svapna. Bala.* and *Dutav raja bhumam praśastu naḥ Pratima*

³¹ Only such passages have been enlisted below as occur in both the epics, and occur there very frequently

³² In this 1st *MBh* refers to the Bombay edition of the *Mahabharata Rān.* to the Bombay edition of the *Ramayana* GORRISIO's edition is distinguished from the latter by the addition of Gorr in parentheses.

compare the hemistich from the Mahabharata

ya imam pṛthivīm kṛtsnam ekacchatram prasasti ha.—MBh 12 321 134

In conclusion I shall add a few words on the structure of the verses. The style of the author is notably simple and vigorous. The lucidity of the verses is due as much to the absence of long and complicated compounds as to the arrangement of words and phrases chosen with due regard to the position of the cæsura almost invariably the cæsura falls at the end of a complete word. The half verse is in general independent of the rest of the verse in sense but often it is connected with it syntactically. Inside the half verse the padas are sometimes even euphonicly independent for instance Bala. II 4 there is hiatus between a and b *vigahya ulkam* a phenomenon common in the epics³³ but rare in the [118] works of the classical period. On the other hand metre requires the sandhi³⁴ in Panca I 19 (a and b) *itrany acaryam*³⁵. Without the sandhi we should have a superfluous syllable in a and a metrically faulty line with the sandhi we have a perfect Upajati line. Pratima IV 24d which commences with the enclitic *re* shows again that c and d are to be treated as a single sentence for an accentless word cannot stand at the beginning of a pada any more than at the beginning of a sentence. Instances of the sacrifice of grammar are discussed in a separate section. Here it will suffice to draw attention to the rhythmic lengthening in *anukarṣa* (Panca II 7) and the use of the uncommon *parṣm* (with the long final) in Svapna V 12 and *mauli* in Ūru verse 59 (see PW s. v.) the form *parṣm* it should be added is not metrically conditioned. Similar lengthening of the stem vowel is to be observed in *nyati* (Pratima I 21) in the sense destiny of which only the form with the short *i* is cited in the dictionaries³⁶.

METRICAL SOLECISMS (SANSKRIT)

The list of solecisms in the language of these dramas appended by Pandit Ganapati Śāstrī to his edition of the Pratimanāṭaka (Trivandrum Sanskrit Series No. XLII) is a contribution to literary history of which the full import appears not to have been generally realised. The significant thing is not the fact that some solecisms have been found in these dramas. Every Sanskrit work, I suppose, if submitted to a rigorous examination by a competent critic, will yield at least a few grammatical errors, which is not to be wondered at in view of the history of the language and the intricacies of its grammar. The interest about the solecisms in our dramas lies principally in their character and their number. I am persuaded that it will not be pos-

³³ See HOPKINS, *The Great Epic of India*, pp. 197 f.

³⁴ Seldom in the *Ramayana*.

³⁵ Compare a very similar instance in *Malatī madhava* X 1 (a and b) *vise śaramyany aceṣṭitaḥ*.

³⁶ To the word with the long final a different meaning is assigned by lexicographers.

sible to name a reputable author of the classical period whose work or works could be shown to contain a proportionate number of grammatical 'mistakes' of the same order as those about to be discussed

[119] The first requisite in this connection was to ascertain exactly the points in which the language of these dramas differs from the literary Sanskrit of the classical period. Admirable as the list prepared by the learned Pandit is it seemed to me that it needed for the purpose in view, revision and rearrangement in certain respects. The list of Ganapati ŚASTRI includes on the one hand certain items which do not strictly belong there, on the other hand it omits certain others which have an important bearing on the subject. For instance the Prakrit examples to which the rules of Pāṇini's grammar cannot be expected to apply have been palpably misplaced. It seemed to me also best to separate the solecisms occurring in the verses of which the form is fixed by the metre from those occurring only in the prose passages which are more liable to be mutilated in the course of transmission. Again certain details in the Pandit's list refer only to metrical³⁷ irregularities and have no connection with grammatical solecisms as such. Lastly certain positive solecisms which were explained away by the editor in the footnotes of the text editions of the various dramas³⁸ and therefore not considered at all subsequently had to be added to the list. Through these additions and omissions a new list resulted. This list appended below includes only such metrical forms as offend against the literary Sanskrit as represented in the works of the classical age. It may be added that the dramas contain a few more irregularities in the non metrical portions which by their nature are not as certain and in their character not as important. They will be dealt with later in another connection.

Few scholars, if any will be prepared to accept Pandit Ganapati ŚASTRI's chronological scheme in which a date is assigned to the author of these dramas prior to the period of Pāṇini for whom the now commonly accepted date is ca 500 B.C. The posteriority of these dramas with reference to the *Asadhyaya* is I may say axiomatic. Taking our stand on this assumption we have to understand and explain the solecisms as best as we can. It has been surmised that when grammar has been sacrificed we have in the vast majority of cases to do with metrical necessity obviously the corresponding correct forms would not otherwise have been found in other passages where metrical considerations [120] do not interfere. What has perhaps been lost sight of is that these solecisms are not arbitrary but that they belong to a well defined class of irregularities irregularities which are common enough in certain branches of Sanskrit literature but which now for the first time have been shown to exist in the drama also.

³⁷ See Pratima, IV 24 Bala II 4 Abha, VI 30

³⁸ See Bala II 11 and Svapna, V 5

The category of works in which similar deviations have hitherto been met with are of the epic Puranic and Śāstric order. These works are known to contain abundant instances of ungrammatical and almost promiscuous use of the *Ātmanepada* and *Parasmaipada* forms, examples of irregular feminine participles, absolutives and a variety of other abnormalities like those met with in our dramas. Such violations of (Sanskrit) grammar are particularly common in the epics; they have accordingly been regarded as forming epic Sanskrit. The free use of the epic solecisms in a drama is as already observed a new factor in our knowledge of the Hindu drama and is particularly worthy of our attention in connection with the theory concerning the part that epic recitations have apparently played in the evolution of the Hindu drama at least of its epic variety.³⁹

It is plain that our dramatist derives his authority for the use of the irregular forms from epic usage. Such being the case the question naturally arises whether the author in exercising this licence, went so far as to invent new and spurious forms as occasion demanded them or whether he had availed himself merely of such solecisms as were sanctioned by epic usage. The correspondence, if proved, would bring to a sharper focus the dependence of our author upon the epic source. As the following analysis will show the solecisms of our dramas can indeed with but insignificant exceptions be specifically traced back to the epics. Quotations from the epic sources have been added in order to facilitate reference and comparison.

The solecisms have been arranged under the following heads: (i) Irregular sandhi; (ii) use of *Ātmanepada* for *Parasmaipada* and (iii) vice versa; (iv) change of conjugation; (v) irregular feminine participle; (vi) irregular absolutive; (vii) simplex for the causative; (viii) irregular compounds; (ix) irregular syntactical combination; and (x) anomalous formations.

[121] LIST OF SOLECISMS

Irregular Sandhi

1 *putrah + iti putreṭi*

jñāyatām kasya putreṭi—Bala. Act II Verse 11

Here *metri causa* the hiatus (between *a* and *i*) required by Skt. grammar has been effaced. The emendation suggested by the editor *putro bhūt* for *putreṭi* is uncalled for. This is a clear case of epic sandhi. Instances of the effacement of the hiatus effected by the combination of the remaining final *a* with the following vowels are exceedingly common in epic Skt. a common example is *tatohaca* (= *tatah + utaca*) quoted by WHITNEY *Sarv*.

³⁹ LÜDERS, *Die Saubhikas. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des indischen Drama*. *Sitzungsberichte d. königl. preuss. Akademie d. Wissenschaften* 1916.

kṛit Grammar § 176b for examples from the *Rāmāyana* see BOHTLINGK *Bemerkenswerthes aus Ramajana* 40 Cf also no 2 below It should be noted that this solecism could not be an accidental slip it must be the result of a conscious effort It is needless to add that there are no examples of such a sandhi in the prose of the dramas

2 *Avantyaḥ + adhipateḥ = Avantiyadhipateḥ*

smaramy Avantyadhipateḥ sutayaḥ—Svapna V 5

Here again we have a conscious effacement of the hiatus between *a* and *a* The editor tries to circumvent the assumption of a 'mistake' by explaining *Avantiyadhipati* as a compound of *Avanti + a + adhipati*: evidently an unsatisfactory explanation Instances of such effacement are exceedingly common in the epics and the earlier texts See WHITNEY's *Sanskrit Grammar* § 177b HOLTZMANN⁴¹ cites the instances from the *Mahabhārata* and BOHTLINGK from the *Rāmāyana*⁴² which need not be reproduced here This is the only instance in these dramas of the effacement of similar hiatus

[122] Use of Ātmanepada for Parasmaipada

3 *gamīṣye*

gamīṣye vibudhāvasam—Bala V 19

Metri causa the Ātm. form is used in order to save a syllable though as is well known in classical Skt the root *gam* is used exclusively with Parasm terminations of course in prose passages where metrical considerations do not interfere the Parasm. is regularly used by our author The Parasm form (*gamīṣyasi*) occurs also in Madhyama verse 47 In his list of Skt. roots WHITNEY marks *gamīṣyate* with E An epic example is

Ram 5 56 29 gamīṣye yatra Vaiḍehi

4 *garjase*

kum garjase bhujagato mama govṛṣendra—Bala III 14

As in the preceding instance the Ātm. form is used metri causa here in order to secure a long final In classical Skt the root *garj* when used as root of the first class takes exclusively Parasm terminations PW quotes a number of instances of the use of the middle pres part. from the epics but not any of the middle pres ind Where the pres part. is used the middle pres. ind could be used with equal justification if the necessity arose I therefore explain the solecism on the ground of epic usage.

⁴⁰ For four books of the *Ramajana* *Berichte d phil hist Cl d konigl sachs Gesell. d Wiss* 1887 p 213

⁴¹ See HOLTZMANN *Grammatisches aus dem Mahabharata* p 4

⁴² BOHTLINGK *op cit*

8. *ruhyate*

kāle kāle chidyate ruhyate ca.—Svapna. VI. 10.

Here *chidyate* is passive; but *ruhyate* (‘thrives’) should be active. The classical Skt. admits only *rohati*. Now the whole phrase *chidyate ruhyate ca* is parallel to *bhraṣyate vardhate vā*, Pratiñā. I. 3. It seems to me therefore better to emend the text reading to *rohate*, for which PW cites Brhatsaṃhitā 54. 95 : *rohate sasyam*. But the pass. *ruhyate* is quoted with the mark E. against it in WHITNEY’s list of Skt. roots and is therefore not absolutely inadmissible. Either form (*ruhyate* or *rohate*) is repugnant to classical usage; and *rohati* is unsuitable here for metrical reasons.

[124] 9. *śroṣyate*

katham apuruṣavākyaṃ śroṣyate siddhavākyaḥ.—Pratiñā. I. 11.

Metri causa for *śroṣyati*. In classical Skt. the root *śru* is used exclusively with Parasm. terminations; but in the epics the Ātm. forms are remarkably common. The Parasm. form (*śroṣyasi*) occurs in Avī. II. 5. Epic examples of Ātm. are

Rām. (Gorr.) 5. 23, 18 : Rāmasya dhanuṣaḥ śabdaṃ śroṣyase ghoranīśvanarā,

Ibid. 5. 69. 26 : na cirāc chroṣyase dhvanim. (Note that the final of *śroṣyase* is prosodically long here.)

Other examples are : MBh. 9. 105, 107 ; 7. 2725 ; 13. 1119 ; 14. 424 ; Rām. (Gorr.) 2. 120. 22 ; 5. 23. 18.

Use of Parasmaipada for Ātmanepada

10. *āprccha* (Imp. 2nd pers. sing.)

āprccha putrakṛtakān hariṇān drumarś ca.—Pratimā. V. 11.

Metri causa for *āprcchasva*, the only form possible in classical Skt. Even in the epics the only Parasm. form used is apparently the Imp. 2nd pers. sing. The epic example quoted in PW. is

MBh. 14. 403 : āprccha Kuruśārdūla gamanaṃ Dvārakāṃ prati. Svapna. 16 *āprcchāmi* occurs in a prose passage. It is to be noted that the sentence containing this word rests on the authority of one ms. only, and is not essential to the context; it may therefore be corrected or deleted, as deemed advisable.

11. *upalapsyati*

taṃ hatvā ka ihopalapsyati cirāṃ svair duṣkṛtair jīvitam.—Dūtagh. verse 8.

In classical Skt. the root *upa + labh* is never used with any but Ātm.

terminations. The epics contain examples of Parasm. The Mahabharata examples are

MBh. 7 3070 na te buddhivyabhucaram upalapsyanti Paṇḍavah
Ibid 1 1046 tatha yad upalapsyāmi

12 14 *paṇṣvaja paṇṣvajatī paṇṣvajamī*

- (a) gaḍham paṇṣvaja sakhe—Avi VI 1
- (b) dr̥ṣṭir na tpyatī paṇṣvajatīva saṅgam.—Avi III 17
- (c) putram piteva ca paṇṣvajatī prahr̥ṣṭaḥ—Avi IV 9
- (d) paṇṣvajamī gaḍham tvam.—Bala. II 9

[125] Examples a, b and d are metrically conditioned, in example c the Parasm. appears to have been used on the analogy of the other forms. The present reading in example c is based on the authority of two mss. Compare example d with Madhyama verse 22 *paṇṣvajasva gaḍham mam* where metre does not stand in the way of the Atm. form. Only epic examples are available for the use of Parasm.

MBh. 4 513 *paṇṣvajatī Pāncalī madhyamam Paṇḍunandanam*
Ram. 3 38 16 *Sīta yam ca hr̥ṣṭa paṇṣvajet.*

Change of Conjugation⁴³

15 16 *vijantī vijantaḥ* (pres. part.)

snehal lumpatī pallavan na ca punar vijantī yasyam bhayat
vijanto malayanilā apī karair aspṛṣṭabaladruma—Abhi III 1

Metri causa for classical *vijayantī* and *vijayantaḥ* from *vij* to fan or to cool by fanning. Epic examples of the use of *vij* as a root of the first or sixth class are

Hariv. 13092 *vijantī balavyajanaiḥ*
MBh. 7 307 *jalenatyarthhasītena vijantaḥ punyagandhina*

Irregular Feminine Participle

17 *rudantī*

svairasano Drupadarajasutam rudantim.—Dutav. verse 12

The classical form is *rudatī*. But in the epics the form *rudantī* is particularly common whenever metrical conditions call for it.

MBh. 2 2249 *tatha bruvantim karuṇam rudantim*
Ram. 2 40 29 *śusruve cagrataḥ strīnam rudantīnam mahasvanah*
Ibid 2 40 44 *tatha rudantim Kausalyam.*

Other examples are MBh. 3 2686 Ram. 2 40 29 3 51 42 5 26

⁴³ This may be regarded as the use of the simplex for the causative.

Irregular Absolutive

18 *grhya*

vyādhāmoṣmam grhya cāpam kareṇa — Dutagh verse 20

It is unthinkable that this form could be used by any poet of the classical period. In the epics, however, it is regularly substituted [126] for *grhitva* whenever metre requires it. See WHITNEY's *Sanskrit Grammar*, § 990a. Other irregular absolutives like this used in the epics are . *arcya*, *ikṣya*, *uṣya*, *lajya*, *plāvya*, etc. Of these *grhya* is the commonest. HOLTZMANN cites thirteen examples from the Mahābhārata, adding that there are many more. BOHTLINGK (op cit.) mentions nearly twenty examples from the Rāmāyaṇa.

Simplex for the Causative

19 *śravati*

śarais channā mārگاḥ śravati dhanur ugram śaranadīm.—Pañca. II 22

In epic Skt. the simplex is frequently used for the causative stem. HOLTZMANN (see WHITNEY's *Sanskrit Grammar*, § 1041) mentions *vetśyāmi* (for *tedayśyāmi*), *veda* (for *vedaya*), *ramantī* (for *ramayanti*), *abhivādata* (for *abhivādayata*), *cuḍita* (for *codita*), etc. I have not been able to trace a specific use of *śravati* for *śrāvayati*.

20 *vimoktukāmā*

bhūyaḥ paravyasanam etya vimoktukāmā—Avi I 6

Metri causa for *vimocayitukama*. See the preceding. Specific use is not traceable elsewhere.

Irregular Compounds

21 *sarvarājñah* (Acc. plu.)

utsadayisyann iṣa sarvarājñah—Dūtav verse 9

Used irregularly for *sarvarājñam*, though not conditioned metrically. The reading is based apparently on the authority of three mss. The epics contain quite a considerable number of similar formations. Thus, MBh. 4 527 *Matsyarājñah*, ibid 1 169 *Matsyarājñā*, ibid 9 2756 *Yakṣarājñā*, ibid 14 1997 *Dharmarājñā*—Avi p 110 we have *Kaśīrājñā* instead of the grammatically correct *Kaśīrājñā*. This must be set down as the error of a copyist, for we have in the very same play the correct compounds *Sauśīrājñā*, and *Sauśīrārāja Kaśīrājñā* (Avi p 11), and there is nothing, as far as I can see, that can be added in justification of the use of an incorrect form in a prose passage.¹²⁴

¹²⁴ [Except that the language was, to this author, too much a living thing to be compressed in a grammarian's straight jacket. F. E.]

[127] 22 *vyūḍhoras*

vyūḍhorā vajramaddhyo gajavṛṣabhaḡatir lambapināmsabahuḥ—Madh yama. verse 26

Metri causa for *gyūḍhoraska*, which is required according to Pān 5 4 151, and found used in Raghu 1 13 and Kumāra 6 51, as also in the MBh and Ram. But the MBh supplies itself a precedent for the use of the unaugmented stem *vyūḍhoras* cf MBh. 1 2740 4553

23 *tulyadharmā*

evam lokas tulyadharmo vananam.—Svapna VI 10

All three mss. of the drama read *tulyadharmo*. According to Pān 5 4 124 *dharma* at the end of a Bahuvrīhi compound becomes *dharman*, a rule which is strictly observed in classical Skt. But in epics *dharman* is used freely also in Tatpuruṣa compounds and, vice versa *dharma* in Bahuvrīhi compounds. HOLTZMANN cites

MBh 12 483 *rājan viditadharmo si*

The emendation *tulyadharmā* suggested by the editor is uncalled for

Irregular Syntactical Combination

24 Use of *yadī* with *ced*

iṣtam ced ekacittānam yady agnīḥ sādhaṛṣyatī—Avi. IV 7

This pleonasm (of which I have not seen any instances in classical Skt.) is, I think, to be traced also to the epics from which here are two instances

Rām. 2 48 19 *Kaikayyā yadī ced rājyam*,

MBh. 1 4203 *yady astī ced dhanam sarvam*.

This combination of *yadī* and *ced* recurs in a prose passage of another drama of this group (Pratijñā p 70). And though the reading of the text is based on the concordant readings of three mss., the combination seems harsh, and hardly appropriate in prose.

Anomalous Formations

We shall now proceed to consider certain anomalous formations for which there seems to be neither grammatical justification nor literary authority

[128] *pratyāyati*

na pratyāyati śokartā—Abhi II 24

GAṆAPATĪ SASTRI explains it as *prati+ā+ayati* (from Rt. *ay* to go). To me it seems to be merely a confusion between the simplex *pratyeti* and the causative *pratyajayati*, or rather a haplological contraction of *pratyajayati* with the meaning of the simplex. A similar ungrammatical contraction appears to be the one to be discussed next.

Lankām abhyupayāmi bandhusahitāḥ Sītām samāśvāsītum—Abhū
VI 19

This is a clear case of a poet's compromise between *samāśvāsītum* and *samāśvāsayītum*

The irregularity to be discussed next appears to be as arbitrary as the last two

27 *Stem yudh* as masc

mahārnāvābhe yudhi nasayāmi Svapna V 13

As the adjective *mahārnāvābhe* in this pāda shows, the author treats the word *yudh* as a masculine noun. But it always appears as a feminine word in literature, and is quoted as such by lexicographers

In addition to the above, Pandit Gaṇapati ŚĀSTRĪ mentions three other metrical forms as irregular. They are indeed irregular in so far that the formations are ungrammatical. But they appear to have been accepted in the literary dialect as good Sanskrit. The Pandit objects to the Ātm use of *ruṣyate* (Pañca. II 45). The Parasm. occurs, as a matter of fact, in Pañca I 38 and II 58, 67 in verse and in Madhyama p 18 in prose, moreover in Pañca I 38 the Parasm. form is not metrically necessary. In spite of all this the Ātm form is not wrong. WHITNEY cites it with E+ in his list of Sanskrit roots, and according to APTE's dictionary (s. v. *ruṣ*) the form *ruṣyate* does occur, though 'rarely'. It is thus plain that it was a current form. The Ātm of *abhikāṅkṣe* (Pratijñā II 4) is common in the epics but even for the classical dialect, the dictionaries cite the root as Ubhayapadin. The imp 2nd sing *unnāmaya* (Pratimā IV 16=VII 7) is also included by the editor in his list of solecisms. But *nāmayaṭi* is cited by WHITNEY with the mark U S +, while PW quotes both *namayaṭi* and *namayati*, adding 'mit präpp angeblich nur *nāmayaṭi*'

[129] Index of verses that have been shown to contain solecisms **

Svapna. V 5 13, VI 10

Pratijñā. I 3 11

Pañca II 22, 48

Avi I 6, III 17, IV 7, 8, VI 1

Bāla II 9, 11, III 14, V 19

Madhyama v 26

Dūtav. vv 9, 12

** It should be noted that the solecisms occur not only in the dramas which derive their plot from the epics and the Purāṇas, but also in the dramas of which the plot is drawn from other sources. No solecisms have been found in Kāraṇa, Cūla and Cūla.

Dutagh vv 8, 20

Abhl. II 24, III 1, VI 19

Pratima III 9, V 11

Of the twenty seven solecisms dealt with above, three (nos 25 26 and 27) are anomalous and peculiar to these dramas two (nos 19 and 20) belong to a class not unrepresented in the epics, but the remaining twenty two were shown to be specifically traceable to the epics themselves. Now of these twenty two some may again be nothing more than instances of individual caprice, others may be the results of lapsus memoriae in other words pure and simple blunders. But it would be in my opinion, quite wrong to hold that they are all of a form purely arbitrary. And what is of moment is that for the majority of them it would be impossible to find authority in classical works. It seems to me beyond all doubt certain that the author derives his sanction for their use from a class of works different from the dramas of the classical epoch they involve the deliberate exercise of a liberty which may justly be regarded as the prerogative of the rhapsodists.

Here follows a list of solecisms selected from the above and arranged in the order corresponding to the degree of certainty with which it can be said of them that they lie outside the range of the license enjoyed by classical dramatists the effacement of hiatus in *putrelī* and *Avantyaḥpateh* the absolute *grhya* the *Ātmanepada* of *gamīṣye* the compound *sarvaramah* the *Ātmanepada* of *pricchase* the *Parasamāpala* of *apriccha paṇṣṭaja(tī)* and *paṇṣvajamī* and the fern part. *rudanīm*

[130] I am not oblivious of the fact that the classical rule allowed the use of *maṣa* for *maṣa* provided that metrical norm was observed but I am fully persuaded that no playwright of the classical age, who aspired not to pass for an ignoramus would, to such a degree, indulge in a license which was little more than an unequivocal confession of incompetence. If therefore, we attempted to find for our group of plays a place within the framework of the classical drama we should first have to account for this apparent reaction from the tradition of the classical drama implied by the occurrence of the solecisms pointed out above.

SUMMARY

The foregoing investigation leads to the inevitable conclusion that the Sanskrit of the verses included in these dramas which differs in certain minute particulars from the Sanskrit of the classical drama reflects a stage of literary development preceding the classical drama which culminates in the works of Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti. But our conclusions regarding the Prakrit of these dramas, which formed the subject of the first Study converged to the same point. They revealed in an equally forcible manner a stage of development of the Middle Indian dialects older than that preserved

in the classical drama While the Prakrit betrays its affinities with the Prakrit of the fragments of Aśvaghōṣa's dramas, the Sanskrit of the metrical portions of our plays is found to be linked with the language of the epics

I will not venture to draw any definite chronological conclusions regarding the dramas from these divergences and affinities, nor attempt to account for them here. I shall content myself for the present with having stated the facts of the case

Post scriptum It should have been made clear that the references to the Svapnavāsavadattā follow the pagination and the text of the *second* edition of the play, Trivandrum 1915

III* ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE CĀRUDATTA AND THE MRCCHAKATIKA.¹

THE CLOSE CORRESPONDENCE between the anonymous fragment² *Carudatta* and the celebrated *Mṛcchakatika*³ attributed to King Śudraka inevitably necessitates the assumption of a genetic relationship and indisputably excludes the possibility of independent origin.

It is commonly taken for granted⁴ that the *Carudatta* is the original of the *Mṛcchakatika* a relation which does not however necessarily and immediately follow from the terseness or brevity of one nor from (what amounts to the same thing) the length and prolixity of the other for in adaptation abridgment is as common and natural a determining principle as amplification⁵. In view of the intrinsic importance of the question it seemed [60] therefore, desirable to undertake an unbiased and exhaustive investigation so as to remove (if possible) the haze of uncertainty surrounding the subject.

Only the resemblances between the two plays appear hitherto to have attracted any attention,⁶ the differences between them, are, however equally remarkable and much more instructive. A careful comparative study of the two versions produces highly valuable text-critical results which help further the understanding of the plays and throw unexpected light on the subject of our inquiry.

Regarding their relationship there are only two logical possibilities either one of the plays has formed directly the basis of the other or else both of them are to be traced to a common source. In the former case we

* [JAOS 42 59-74]

¹ A paper presented at the One Hundred Thirty third Meeting (Baltimore, 1921) of the Amer. Or. Soc. under the title *The Cārudatta and the Mṛcchakatika their mutual relationship*.

² See thereon my article *Charudatta — A Fragment* in the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* (Bangalore) 1919.

³ Ed. N. B. GODBOLE, Bombay 1896.

⁴ For instance Gaṇapati ŚASTRI in the Introduction to his editions of the *Śvapnavasavadatta* (p. xxxviii) and the *Carudatta* (p. 1) LINDENAU *Bhasa Studien* (Leipzig 1918) p. 11 and BARNETT (hesitatingly) *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* vol. I part III (1920) pp. 35 ff.

⁵ Some attempt has already been made in India to discredit the authenticity of the *Carudatta* see, for instance, Rāṅgacārya RAOPI *Vividha-māna-śāstra* (Bombay) 1916 and P. V. KANE, *ibid* 1920. Bhaṭṭanātha SVAMIN *Indian Antiquary* vol. 45 pp. 189 ff.

⁶ See particularly Gaṇapati ŚASTRI *Śvapnavasavadatta* Introduction pp. xxxviii xlii.

are called upon to answer the question which of the two plays is the original in the latter which of them is closer to the original

We cannot be too careful in deciding what is original and what is not. The original may have been concise and well proportioned and later clumsy attempts at improvement may have introduced digressions tiresome repetitions and insipid elaborations on the other hand the original may have been prolix and loose and subsequent revision may have pruned away the redundancies. Again one may feel justified in assuming that the inaccuracies and inconsistencies of the original would be corrected in a later revised version but one must also readily concede that a popular dramatic text like the *Mṛcchakaṭika* after it had been written down during its migrations through centuries over such a vast territory as India may have undergone occasional distortion and corruption

Every change however minute presupposes a cause even the worst distortion was ushered in with the best of intentions and though it may not always be possible to trace a given change to its proper cause we are safe in assuming that in a limited number of favourable instances the intrinsic character of the passages under consideration may spontaneously suggest the cause for the change and readily supply a clue to the relative priority and posteriority of two variations. In isolated [61] instances we could say no more than that the change in a certain direction appears more probable than a change in the contrary direction. But the cumulative force of a sufficient number of analogous instances all supporting one aspect of the question would amply justify our giving precedence to that particular alternative and treating it as a working hypothesis. The problem therefore before us is to collect such instances in which the motive for the change is directly perceptible and capable of objective verification. The cumulative effect of the indications of these scattered traces should not fail to give us the correct perspective. This digression was necessary in order to explain the methodology underlying the present investigation.

The textual differences between the two versions comprise a large mass of details of varying importance. The selection presented below though conditioned on the one hand by the requirements of the present inquiry is by no means exhaustive for lack of space only a few typical examples have been singled out for discussion.

A SELECTION OF SIGNIFICANT TEXTUAL DIFFERENCES

We shall now proceed to a discussion of the textual variations roughly classified here under four headings 1 Technique 2 Prakrit 3 Versification and 4 Dramatic incident.

1 Technique

In point of technique the *Carudatta* differs from the *Mṛcchakaṭika* (as from other classical dramas) in two striking particulars. In the first place

the usual *nandī* is missing, in both the available manuscripts of the *Carudatta* in the second place there is no reference to the name of the author or the play in the *sthapana* which does not contain even the usual address to the audience.

The *Mṛcchakaṭika*, as is well known begins with two benedictory verses the name of the play is announced in the opening words of the *sutradhara* then follow five verses which allude to the play the playwright⁷ and other details not directly connected with the action

[62] Elsewhere⁸ I have tried to show that the *Carudatta* is a fragment. I hold accordingly that we should not be justified in basing our conclusions regarding the technique of termination on the data of the fragment preserved

Worth noting appears to be the fact that in the stage directions of the *Carudatta* the hero is never called by his name or his rank but merely by the character of the role he plays *nayaka* Professor LUDERS⁹ has already drawn attention to two other instances of this usage (if it may be called a usage) namely a drama belonging to the Turfan fragments and the play *Nagānanda* attributed to Harṣa Prof LUDERS sees in it an archaism intentionally copied by the author of the *Nagānanda* At present we can it seems to me do nothing more than record this third instance of its occurrence in a play of uncertain age and authorship

2 Prakrit

In the first article of this series it was shown in a general way that the Prakrit of the whole group of plays under consideration was more archaic than the Prakrit of the classical plays.¹⁰ This statement holds good also in the particular case of the *Carudatta* and the *Mṛcchakaṭika* A comparison of parallel passages in the two plays shows that the *Mṛcchakaṭika* invariably contains 'Middle-Prakrit'¹¹ forms in place of the Old Prakrit forms of the *Carudatta* Here are the examples

The Absolutive of the roots *gam* and *kr* Caru has the Old Prakrit *gacchia* and *karia* (*kaṭṭa*) Mṛccha *gadua* and *kadua* Cf in particular Caru 1 *geham gacchia janamī* with the corresponding passage Mṛccha 7 *geham gadua janamī* The form *gadua* which never occurs in the Cāru is used uniformly in the Mṛccha—For the absolute of *kr*¹² *karia* [63] (Śaura

⁷ The verses in the prologue which refer to the death of the alleged author are palpably later additions This self-evident fact does not however necessarily justify the assumption that there was no reference whatsoever to the author in the prologue of the original draft.

⁸ See above footnote 2

⁹ *Bruchstücke Buddhistischer Dramen* (Kleinere Sanskrit Texte Heft 1) Berlin 1911 p 26

¹⁰ Above vol 40 pp 248 ff

¹¹ LUDERS *op cit* p 62

¹² See above vol 40 p 254

enī) Cāru 46, *kaḥa* (Māgadhi) Cāru 23 *kadua* (Śaurasenī and Māgadhi) Mṛccha 53, 212, 213, etc. In the Cāru *kadua* never occurs, conversely *kaḥa* is never met with in the Mṛccha.

Pronoun of the 1st Person, nom sing. Cāru. 23 we have the Old Māgadhi *ahake*¹³ (but never *hage* or *hagge*) Mṛccha. (passim) *ha(g)e* (but never *ahake*) Noteworthy is the following correspondence Cāru 1. 12c *ahan tumam ganha* Mṛccha I 29c *ese hage genha*—Nom plu Cāru 49 has the Old Prakrit *vaam*¹⁴ Mṛccha (passim) *amhe* The form *amhe* (nom plu) is never met with in the Cāru, and conversely *vaam* never occurs in the Mṛccha

Pronoun of the 2nd Person, nom sing Caru (passim) we have Old Prakrit *tuvam*¹⁵ Mṛccha. (passim) *tumam* Cf especially Cāru 34 *kim tuvam* etc., with the corresponding passage Mṛccha 79 *haije tumam mae aha*, etc.—Gen. sing Cāru. uniformly *tata*¹⁶ Mṛccha. sometimes *tuha* Cf in particular Caru 25 *tava geham paviffha* with Mṛccha 59 *tuha gelam paviffa*

The Neuter plu of nom. and acc. of thematic stems ends in the Cāru invariably in *ām* (*am* in the Asvaghōṣa fragments) in the Mṛccha it ends in *-am*

Treatment of the assimilated conjunct. Retained in Cāru. 16 *diṣṣadi*¹⁷ (as in the Turfan fragments) simplified in Mṛccha [64] 41 *diṣanti* The root form *diṣ* (*diss*) is never met with in the Mṛccha which shows uniformly *dis* (*dis*)

Vocabulary Caru uniformly *geha* (Skt. *gṛha*) Mṛccha. 39 *ghala* Cf especially Cāru 16 *edam tassa geham* with Mṛccha 39 *vamado taṣṣa ghalcm*—The Old Prakrit affirmative particle *āma*,¹⁸ which occurs in Pālī and the Turfan fragments and which figures so conspicuously in Cāru (e g pp 4 20, 64 etc.), is never met with in the Mṛccha.—There is one other thing

¹³ See above vol 40 p 253 Dr Truman MICHELSON has drawn my attention to an article of his (*Indogermanische Forschungen*, vol. 23 p 129) in which he points out that the Māgadhi *ahake* occurs several times in the Devanagari recension of the Śakuntala. The paragraph on this word in my article cited above needs modification in view of this fact. The statement that *ahake* is archaic is none the less correct.

¹⁴ See above vol. 40 p 258.

¹⁵ See above vol 40, p 257 In the references under no 9 the last item 'Cāru 2 (Naṭi)' is a mistake Here *tuvam* is used for the acc sing., and not for the nom sing. as implied. Accordingly, on the same page, in 1 6 from bottom, read thrice instead of twice, and add this instance 'Cāru instances of *tuvam* (nom sing) are Cāru 34 (Gaṇikā), 47 (Ceṭi), etc.

¹⁶ See above vol. 40 p. 257

¹⁷ See above vol 40 p 258—The form *diṣ*, with the simplified conjunct is met with on the same page (Cāru 16), spoken by the same character, Śakara

¹⁸ See above, vol 40 p 254

to be noted about the difference in the vocabulary of the two versions. While the Mṛccha contains a number of Deśi words (not found in the Cāru) the vocabulary of the Cāru consists notably of pure tatsamas and tadbhavas. Here follow some of the Deśi words which occur in the Mṛccha. Mṛccha 17 *chivā*, 'having touched,' from root *chiv* (Hem 4 182) with the reflexes in the Tertiary Pkts, Hindi *chūnā*, Marathi *suṇe*, 'to touch', Mṛccha 104 *ḍhakkehi*, 'shut,' from *ḍhakka*, *ḍhakke*, traced by PISCHEL (*Grammatik* 221) to a root **sthak*, with reflexes in the Tertiary Pkts, Hindi *ḍhaknā* Marathi *ḍhāknē*, 'to cover', Mṛccha 134 *uḍḍhehi*, 'open,' for which in the corresponding passage of the Cāru (p 19) we have a tadbhava of the root *apā + vṛ*,¹⁹ and which for that reason is particularly worthy of note, Mṛccha 207 *karaḷa ḍannī*, 'malevolent ogress' (cf Marathi *kāraḷā* a term of abuse, and *ḍākin* 'ogress')

3 Versification

In the verses common to the two plays the *Mṛcchakatika* almost always offers better readings, of which a few are cited below

For Caru I 3 b *yathandhakārad iva dīpadarsanam*, we have Mṛccha I 10 b *ghanāndhakāreṣu iva* etc, in which *ghana* is substituted for the tautologous *yatha*.

Similarly, instead of the Prakrit line Cāru I 10 b *jaha sīgaḷi va kukku lehi*, containing the same fault, we have Mṛccha I 28 b *vane staḷi tīa kukku lehin* in which *vane* takes the place of *jaha*

[65] For Caru I 3 c *yo yaṭi dasām daridrātam*, we have Mṛccha I 10 c *yo yaṭi nara daridrātam*. It is correct to say *dasam daridrām* but *dasām daridrātam* is clumsy, to say the least.

Cāru I 23 a begins *esa hi vasu*, instead, we have Mṛccha I 41 a *esa si vāśu*. The *si* which takes the place of *hi* eliminates the expletive *hi* and adds moreover another sibilant to the row of alliterating syllables. In the same verse, for *kujahi kandaḥi* of the Cāru we have *akkoṣa vikkosa* in the Mṛccha which serves better the purpose of the anuprasa, the dominating alamkāra of this verse. Similarly in d, instead of *mahesṣaḷam* of the Caru we have *śambhum sīvam* in the Mṛccha, which latter reading contains an additional sibilant as well as a pleonasm.²⁰ These are minor details, but they all tend in the same direction.

For Cāru. I 25 a *akama hrīyate smabhīḥ* we have Mṛccha I 44 a *sakāmānviṣyate smabhīḥ*. The reason for the change is not obvious, as in

¹⁹ The text reading is *aīaṭuḍa*, imp 2nd sing which is evidently incorrect. What the correct form should be I am unable to say. The initial letters *aīaṭu* of the word show unmistakably that the root is *apā + vṛ*

²⁰ According to Lalla Dikshita, commentator of the *Mṛcchakatika* *vyarthai kartham apartham bhavati hi vacanaṃ sakarasya* (Mṛccha. 28)

the foregoing instances. But a closer examination of the context will show that the reading of the *Mṛccha* marks a distinct improvement, in so far as it implies a more minute analysis of character. In the *Cāru* the ingenuous *Viṭa* inculpates *Śākura* and himself by admitting that they were engaged in carrying away forcibly an unwilling maiden. In the *Mṛccha* the artful *Viṭa* readily inventing a plausible lie and explaining that they were following a girl who was willing offers undoubtedly a much better excuse.

Cāru I 29a describes the moon as *klinnakharjūrapāṇḍu* 'pale as the moistened fruit of the date'. *Mṛccha* I 57a has *kammigaṇḍapāṇḍu*, 'pale as a maiden's cheek'. The former is original and naive the latter polished but hackneyed, the latter harmonizes better with the sentiment of *śṛṅgāra* which pervades the last scene of the first act, and is more in keeping with the tradition of the later enervated *rasa* theory.

For *Cāru* III 3d *viśanakolīva nimaṣṣamāṇa*, 'like the tip of a tusk sinking in the water', the *Mṛccha* (III 7d) has *tiṣṇam viśānagṛām uatā sṛṣṭam*, 'like the sharp tip of a tusk that alone remains visible'. As far as the sense goes there is not much to choose between them, but the line from the *Caru* [66] contains one serious defect. In classical Skt. the root *ni maṣṣ* is used exclusively with Paras terminations, *nimaṣṣamāṇa* is in other words, nothing less than a gross grammatical blunder.²¹

With *Cāru* III 6b *śauryam na kārkaṣyatā*, cf. *Mṛccha* III 12b *cauryam na śauryam hi tat kārkaṣyatā* of the *Cāru* is an anomalous word being a double abstract formation. The *Mṛccha* eliminates this anomaly by substituting instead *caurya*, which, incidentally, rhymes with the succeeding *śaurya*.

These few instances must suffice to illustrate the statement made above, that the *Mṛccha* verses are largely free from the flaws of the corresponding verses of the *Caru*. It should however be remarked that in a vast number of cases it is not possible to assign an adequate reason for the change the different readings appear to be just arbitrary variations.

4 Dramatic Incident

The *Mṛcchakatika* shows a marked improvement in the selection and arrangement of the incidents of the action.

The action of the *Cārudatta* begins with a soliloquy of the *Vidūṣaka* followed by a lengthy dialogue between the *Nayaka* and the *Vidūṣaka*. The hero is conversing with his friend deploring his poverty. This dialogue is brought to an abrupt end by the scene introducing *Vasantasenā* who appears on the street outside pursued by the *Śākara* and the *Viṭa* (*Caru* 10).

²¹ Similar solecisms, met with in other dramas of this group are discussed by me in the second article of the series (above vol 41, pp 121 ff.)

²² It may be remarked that there are no verses in the second act of the *Caru datta* and only seven in the fourth act.

In the *Mīrchakatīka* (p. 25) the abruptness of the change of scene is skilfully avoided by the addition of the following words placed in the mouth of Carudatta

bharatu | tiṣṭha tavat | aham samadhiṃ nirartayami

'Very well. Wait awhile and I will finish my meditation

These words of Cārudatta serve admirably to adjust the time relation of the different events. The playwright here unmistakably indicates that the succeeding scene which introduces the offers of love by Śakara their indignant rejection by Vasantasena, and her subsequent escape, develops during Carudatta's [67] samadhi. Furthermore, as indicated by the subsequent words of Carudatta (Mīrcha. 43) *īyasya samaptajapo smi* Friend my meditation is over Vasantasena's reaching the door of Cārudatta's house coincides exactly in point of time with the emergence of Cārudatta from his samadhi. The words of Cārudatta quoted above which serve to link together these various groups of incidents are missing in the *Carudatta*.

Here is another example. In the fourth act of the *Carudatta* (p. 72) Sajjalaka comes to the house of the Ganika to buy Madanika's freedom. He stands outside the house and calls out for Madanika. Madanika who is waiting on the heroine hears him and seeing that her mistress is musing on other things, slips away and joins Sajjalaka. The defect of this arrangement is obvious: it is inconsistent and illogical. With stolen goods in his possession Sajjalaka sneaks to the house of the heroine with the object of secretly handing over the spoils of his theft to Madanika. Under these circumstances it is the height of indiscretion to stand outside the house of the heroine and shout for his mistress at the top of his voice. Again if Madanika is able to hear Sajjalaka so should Vasantasenā who is sitting close by be able to hear him. Apparently she fails to do so owing to her preoccupation but this is a circumstance that could not have been foreseen even by a scientific burglar like Sajjalaka. The situation in the *Mīrchakatīka* (p. 169) is much more realistic. On reaching Vasantasena's house Sarvalaka instead of calling out for Madanika hangs about outside the house waiting his opportunity. The meeting of the lovers is brought about in the following manner. Soon after Sarvalaka reaches the house of Vasantasenā the latter sends away Madanikā on an errand on her way back Madanika is discovered by Sarvalaka whom she thereupon naturally joins.

One more instance, which is the last. A time analysis of the first three acts of the *Carudatta* will show that the incidents developed in these acts are supposed to take place on three consecutive days the sixth seventh and eighth of a certain lunar fortnight. Here are the specific references. *Carudatta* 7. Viḍuṣaka in speaking of the Nāyaka applies the adjective *saptī kīdādetakayya* to him which incidentally shows that that day was the sixth. Later on in the same act (Cāru. 30) addressing the Ceti the Viḍuṣaka says

[68] *saṭṭhīe saṭṭamīe a dhārehi | ahaṃ aṭṭamīe aṇaddhāe dhāraisaṃ.*

The arrangement he proposes is that the Ceṭī should guard the jewels of the Gaṇikā on the sixth and the seventh, and that he should take over the charge of them on the eighth. In the third act we have a confirmation of the same arrangement. Cāru. 53, Ceṭī remarks :

imā suvaṇṇabhāṇḍāni saṭṭhīe saṭṭamīe (pariveṭṭhāmi?) | aṭṭhami khu ajja.

The Ceṭī, appearing before the Vidūṣaka, with the jewels, on the night of the eighth, points out that she has guarded them on the sixth and the seventh, and adds that that day being the eighth it is the turn of the Vidūṣaka. Later on in the same act (Cāru. 65), the Brāhmaṇī, the hero's wife, incidentally mentions that she was observing on that day the Fast of the Sixth,²³ to which the Vidūṣaka pointedly retorts that that day was the eighth and not the sixth.²⁴ These various references leave no doubt that the events that form the action of the first three acts are supposed to take place within the span of three consecutive days.

There are in the plays some further chronological data, which we must also take into consideration. They comprise two lyrical stanzas which describe respectively the rising and the setting of the moon. In that elegant verse (Cāru. I. 29) beginning with

udayati hi śaśāṅkaḥ klīnnakharjūrāpāṇḍulā

the moon is described as rising, late in the evening, after the lapse of a short period of darkness following upon sunset, during which Vasantasenā escapes from the clutches of the evil Śakāra. In the third act, on his way home from the concert, Cārudatta, in a lyrical mood, recites another verse (Cāru. III. 3), beginning with

asau hi dattvā tīmirāvākāśam

astam gato hy aṣṭamapakṣacandraḥ,²⁵

and having for its theme the setting moon.

[69] This is the chronological material of the *Cārudatta*. Let us turn for a moment to the *Mycchakaṭika* and examine its data. Here also apparently the same conditions prevail. Apparently the events of the first three acts take place on three consecutive days, but only apparently so. There is nothing in the play itself from which the duration of the action could be precisely computed.

To begin with, the reference to the *ṣaṣṭhī* is missing from the opening words of the Vidūṣaka in the first act. In place of *saṭṭhīkidaḍevakayya* of

²³ The words of the Brāhmaṇī are, *ṇaṃ saṭṭhiṃ uvavasāmi.*

²⁴ The Vidūṣaka observes : *aṭṭhami khu ajja.*

²⁵ Translation : 'For yonder the Moon of the Eighth, giving place to darkness, has sunk behind the western mount.'

the *Cārudatta*, we have the reading *siddhikīdādevakajja*, in which *siddhi* takes the place of *saṭṭhi*. Likewise we find that all subsequent references to the lunar dates are missing from the succeeding speeches of the *Vidūṣaka* and the *Servant*. An entirely different scheme has been adopted for the division of labour between the *Vidūṣaka* and the *Servant*. The *Servant* explains in the third act (*Mṛccha* 137) the arrangement arrived at as follows

ajja mittea edam tam śuvannabhaṇḍaam mama divā tuha lattim ca,
 'Maitreya, here is the golden casket, that's mine by day and yours by night',
 no reference here to the *saṭṭhi*, *sattam* and *aṭṭham* of the *Cārudatta*. This is not all. The verse from the third act of the *Cāru.* cited above, containing a reference to the date, has also been substantially modified. *Cāru.* III 3 b specifically states the date to be eighth: *astam gato hy aṣṭamapakṣacandrah*. In the *Mṛcchakaṭika* version the line reads (*Mṛccha* III 7 b) *astam vṛjati unnatakoṭṭi induh*. The phrase *unnatakoṭṭi* has taken place of *aṣṭamapakṣa*, which brought in its train, naturally, the change of *gato* to a word like *vṛjati*.²⁶ It is true that later on, in the same act of the *Mṛcchakaṭika* (p. 159), the *Vadhū*, *Cārudatta*'s wife, refers to *saṭṭhi*, saying that she is observing the *raatasaṭṭhi* (*raatasaṭṭhi*).²⁷ But here also a significant omission confronts us. The *Vidūṣaka*, instead of correcting her, accepts her statement with the necklace, and there the matter rests.

[70] As remarked above, apparently the joint duration of the first three acts of the *Mṛcchakaṭika* is also three days. But I have grave doubts whether any strict proof can be brought forward to support such an assumption. I have read the drama carefully and I have failed to find any allusion that necessitates such a time scheme. However that may be, it is absolutely certain that the specific references of the *Cārudatta* to the lunar dates are conspicuous by their absence in the other play.

At this place it may be observed that the tithi scheme of the *Cārudatta* taken in conjunction with the references to moon rise and moon set in the verses already cited involves a chronological inconsistency so minute and so latent as to be hardly noticeable. But the inconsistency is, nevertheless, an undeniable fact. For the rising of the moon late in the evening and the setting of the moon at or about midnight²⁸ are phenomena that inherently belong to two different lunar fortnights. Only in the dark fortnight does the moon rise late in the evening and only in the bright fortnight does the moon set at or shortly after midnight. In other words, if the moon is seen rising late in the evening on any particular day, it is nothing less than a physical

²⁶ The present tense *vṛjati* gives better sense than the past *gato* in regard to the simile contained in lines c and d.

²⁷ Instead of the vague *saṭṭhi* of the *Cārudatta* we have the more specific *raatasaṭṭhi* in the *Mṛcchakaṭika*.

²⁸ According to the words of the hero just preceding the verse *asau hi dattisa*, etc. (*Cāru.* III 3) *uparudho rākaratrah* (*Cāru.* 50)

impossibility that after an interval of forty-eight hours the moon should be seen setting at or about midnight

The general time-scheme of the *Cārudatta* has thus been shown to contain a latent contradiction from which the *Mṛcchakatika* is wholly free owing to the absence therein of any specific references to the days on which the action takes place

Are these variations arbitrary, or are they directly or indirectly related, and if so how?

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Briefly summarized, the significant differences between the two versions discussed above are the following. Firstly, in point of technique, the *Cārudatta* differs conspicuously from the other play in the absence of the *nāndī*, and in having a rudimentary *sthapanā*. Secondly, the Prakrit of the *Cārudatta* is more archaic than that of the *Mṛcchakatika*, in so far that the [71] former contains a number of Old Prakrit forms not found in the latter. Thirdly, as regards versification, the text of the *Mṛcchakatika* marks an advance upon the other play in the following directions: rectification of grammatical mistakes, elimination of redundancies and awkward constructions, and introduction of other changes which may be claimed to be improvements in the form and substance of the verses. Fourthly and lastly, because of suitable additions and omissions the *Mṛcchakatika* presents a text free from many of the flaws, such as unrealities and inconsistencies in the action of the *Carudatta*.

These are the facts of the case. Do these facts enable us to decide the question of priority and anteriority?

Let us assume first, for the sake of argument, that the *Carudatta* contains older material (at least in respect of the passage discussed above) which was worked up later into the *Mṛcchakatika*.

The differences in the technique neither support nor contradict definitely such an assumption. The *nāndī* for all we can say, may have been lost. The words *nāndyante tataḥ pravṛtati sūtradhārah* do not militate against such a supposition: they could be used with or without a *nāndī* appearing in the text. Moreover, we cannot, in the present state of our knowledge, rightly evaluate the absence of all reference to the name of the play and the playwright in the *sthāpanā*.²⁹ To say that in pre-classical times that was the practice is begging the question. The only technique of introduction with which we are familiar is the well known classical model. Again the only play which is definitely known to antedate the classical plays is the Turfan fragment of Aśvaghōṣa's drama. Unfortunately, as the beginning of the

²⁹ The references in the text books of rhetoric and dramaturgy are obscure and partly contradictory.

Cārudatta may be said to be not irreconcilable with the general priority of the *Mṛcchakaṭīka* version

It is much more difficult to explain why the *Mṛcchakaṭīka* should consistently offer better readings of the verses. Some of the discrepancies could perhaps be explained away as the result of misreading and faulty transcript, but not all. We could not explain, for instance, why the excellent pāda *tikṣnam viśānagaram ivāśiṣṭam* should have been discarded, and another, *viśānakoṣṭha nimajjamānā*, be substituted, forsooth with the faulty *nimajjamānā*. Why should there be a change in the first place, and why should the change be consistently for the worse? We could not reasonably hold the copyists guilty of introducing systematically such strange blunders and in excusable distortions.

Let us combine the archaisms of the Prakrit with the imperfections of the Sanskrit verses. On the assumption of the posteriority of the *Carudatta* we are asked to believe that while the compiler of the *Carudatta* had carefully copied out from older manuscripts all the Prakrit archaisms, he had systematically mutilated the Sanskrit verses, which is a *reductio ad absurdum*!

Let us proceed to the fourth point. The theory of the priority of the *Mṛcchakaṭīka*, which could with difficulty be supported in the case of the divergencies already considered breaks down altogether when we try to account for the inconsistencies in the action of the *Cārudatta* in general, and in particular the presence of the tithi scheme which latter serves no purpose, aesthetic or didactic, but on the other hand introduces gratuitously an indisputable incongruity. The deleting of the whole tithi scheme admits of a simple, self-evident explanation, acceptable to every impartial critic. But, assuming [74] that the original play contained no trace of it, can any one pretend to be able to give a satisfactory reason for the deliberate introduction of the tithi scheme?

Taking all things into account we conclude we can readily understand the evolution of a *Mṛcchakaṭīka* version from a *Carudatta* version, but not vice versa. The special appeal of this hypothesis lies in the fact that it explains not merely isolated variations, but whole categories of them: it implies the formulation of a single uniform principle to explain divers manifestations.

It may be that I have overlooked inconsistencies and flaws in the *Mṛcchakaṭīka* version, absent from the other, which could be better explained on the contrary supposition of the priority of the *Mṛcchakaṭīka* version. If so the problem becomes still more complicated and will need further investigation from a new angle. I merely claim that I have furnished here some *prima facie* reasons for holding that the *Carudatta* version is on the whole older than the *Mṛcchakaṭīka* version, hence (as a corollary) if our *Carudatta* is not itself the original of the *Mṛcchakaṭīka* then, we must assume, it has preserved a great deal of the original upon which the *Mṛcchakaṭīka* is based.

IV. A CONCORDANCE OF THE DRAMAS¹

Gaṇapati ŚĀSTRĪ and other scholars after him, who uphold the theory of the authorship of Bhasa have sought to justify their ascription of the entire group of thirteen dramas to one common author on the strength of some stray similarities of expression and analogies of thought to which they have drawn attention in their writings.² The evidence that has hitherto been adduced must however, be said to be inadequate to prove the claim in its entirety. The recurrent and parallel passages collected by them although they show in a general way that this group of thirteen anonymous plays contains a number of ideas and expressions in common do not suffice to establish the common authorship. It has not been realized by these scholars that the ascription of common authorship has to be justified and proved rigorously in the case of each drama separately.³ Only intensive study of the diction and idiosyncracies of the dramas taken individually, will enable us to pronounce an authoritative opinion on the question.

[168] There is no doubt that every poet or dramatist of note has not merely a settled style but a settled diction of his own. This is particularly true of writers who are natural and who do not strain after the unnatural poignant and high flown. The natural or ordinary element in the diction will recur, and recur frequently, in different works by the same author. It must however, be borne in mind that the mere recurrence, in different works of a limited number of ideas, phrases and expressions would not necessarily be sufficient evidence of common authorship. Such recurrence might after all be the result of conscious or even unconscious imitation. It is in final analysis the number and character of these repetitions and analogies that will count and enable us to decide the question.

The period of development of ancient Hindu literature was a period of communal art. Repetitions and analogies of thought and expression are therefore quite common. Particularly in the case of a cramped literary form like the Sanskrit drama, it is to be expected that works of even different dramatists will betray a certain amount of family resemblance. Here we must be prepared for the recurrence of certain stock similes and metaphors, and for the reappearance of the familiar figure of the Vidūṣaka and his stock witticisms. We must be prepared for the exploitation of low level

poetic conventions regarding certain trees such as the asoka, regarding certain birds such as the cakravāka, of certain well-worn dramatic situations such as the rescue of the hero or the heroine from the clutches of the infuriated elephant. We must expect to find here verses and verse portions culled from epic narrative and even didactic literature of the day that have been bodily reproduced, or that have been assimilated and have served as the nucleus of further inspiration. All this was common property, the literary stock in trade of every poet and dramatist who cared to make use of it. This and much else besides will be naturally ruled out as irrelevant in any careful examination, based on recurrence and analogy merely, of the question of the authorship of any anonymous Sanskrit drama.

[169] At the time of the discovery of these plays the novel technique implied by the position of the stage direction *namdante tatak pratisati, sūtradhārā* at the head of the plays and the use of the technical term, *sthāpanā* (employed in these plays instead of *prastāvanā* to denote the prologue), were regarded as decisive factors. But since then quite a number of plays by different authors have been discovered in South India that show some of the same technical peculiarities.² These factors therefore, lose all significance now in this inquiry, and can no longer be adduced as evidence of common authorship.

Intensive study of details is the only right method to be adopted in this instance. In such an intensive study it is evidently essential to make a most careful comparison of sentences and turns of expressions, and even of words and phrases occurring in these dramas. The case will not be decided on the testimony or the presentation of isolated facts however material they may appear to be, but a conclusion can be made highly probable through the preponderance of evidence. We have to adopt the rigorous method of quantitative analysis if we are to get reliable results. To facilitate such comparison and such investigation I have prepared the present list of parallelisms and recurrences.

The scope of the article has been restricted to the presentation of material, which falls into the following six categories —

- (a) Entire stanzas,
- (b) Entire pādas of verses,
- (c) Longer prose passages,
- (d) Short passages,
- (e) Set phrases and rare words,
- (f) Echoes of thought.

The list records all instances of recurrence and parallelism that I have been able to trace in these dramas, except that, in order to avoid unnecessary expansion, I have as a rule omitted notice of unimportant expressions recur-

² See WINTGENITZ, *Orientalische Zeitschrift* Jk. IX. pp. 285 ff.

ring in one and the same drama [170] but not found elsewhere for the list was formed primarily for the sake of comparing the diction of the different dramas. A second list is appended which is a conspectus of the same material arranged on a different plan—it is in fact an analysis of the foregoing list. Here the recurrences and parallelisms have been arranged under the heads of the dramas in which they occur. This supplementary list will be especially serviceable when we undertake a critical examination of the claims of individual plays, a theme which will form the subject of a subsequent article of the series.

(1) LIST OF RECURRENCES AND PARALLELISMS¹*a Entire Stanzas*

- 1 *īmam saḡaraparyantam hūmavadvīndhyakunḡalam |*
mahum ekātapatrakam rajasūmhaḡ praśastu naḡ ||
 Svapna VI 19 Bala V 20 Dutav v 56
- 2 *bhavantv arajaso gavaḡ paracakram praśamyatu |*
īmam apī mahum kṛtsnam rajasūmhaḡ praśastu naḡ ||
 Pratijña IV 26 Avī VI 22 Abhī VI 35
- 3 *līmpatīva tamo nganī varṣatīvanjanam nabhaḡ |*
asatpuruṣaseveva dṛṣṭīr nūṣphalatam gata ||²
 Bala I 15 Caru. I 19
- 4 *vakṣaḡ prasaraya kavaṭaputaḡpramaṇam*
alīnga mam suvīpulena bhujadvayena |
unnamayanānam īdam śaradīndukalpam
prahladaya vyasanadagḡdham īdam śarīram ||
 Pratima IV 16 ibid VII 7

[171] *b Entire padas of Verses*

- 5 *īmam saḡaraparyantam*—Svapna VI 19 Bala V 20 Dutav v 56 Cf *catussagaraparyantam*—Bala. IV 10 (See 1)
- 6 *īmam apī mahum kṛtsnam | rajasūmhaḡ praśastu naḡ*—Pratijña IV 26 Pañca III 26 Avī VI 22 Abhī VI 35 (See 2 and 17)
- 7 *katham tīṣṭhatī yatv ītī*—Pañca II 58 Pratima IV 5 (*var tīṣṭhatī* instead of *tīṣṭhatī*)

¹ In the citations the roman and the arabic figures refer to the Act and the verse respectively. A single arabic figure refers to the page of the edition used unless otherwise indicated. The second edition of the Svapna has been cited throughout.

² This stanza occurs also in the *Mṛcchakatika* (ed. GODDOL I 26) and is quoted in Dandin's *Kavyadarśa* (II 233). See F. W. THOMAS, *Kaṭīndratācaṡa samuccaya* (*Bibliotheca Indica* 1911) p. 105, and FISCHER'S Introduction to *Rudraṡa's Sṅgaratūlaka* pp. 16 ff.

8. kiṃ vakṣyatīti hṛdayaṃ paṛiṣankitaṃ me—Svapna VI. 4, 15; Abhi. IV. 7

9. gadāpātakacagrahe—Ūru. vv. 41, 62.

10. candralekheva śobhate—Dūtav. v. 7; Cāru. I. 27. Cf. vidyulekheva śobhate—Abhi. II. 7. (See 120)

11. tvaṃ pāṇḍavānāṃ kuru samvibhāgam—Pañca. I. 31, 47

12. dharmasnehāntare nyastā—Pratijñā II. 7; Abhi VI. 23

13. ŋrpā bhūṣmādayo bhagnāḥ—Pañca. II. 41, 61

14. bhāratānāṃ kule jātaḥ—Svapna VI. 16; Pratijñā, IV. 18

15. maṇiviracitaṃaulis⁴ cārutāmrāyatākṣaḥ | ... mattamātāṅgalilāḥ
Abhi. II. 9; IV. 15

16. yadī te' sti dhanuṣślāghā—Abhi. III. 22; Pratimā I. 20

17. rājasiṃhah praśastu naḥ—Svapna. VI. 19; Pratijñā IV. 26; Pañca. III. 26; Avi. VI. 22; Bāla. V. 20; Dūtav. v. 56; Abhi. VI. 35. Cf. bhūmim ekaḥ praśastu naḥ—Karma. v. 25, and rājā bhūmim praśastu naḥ—Pratimā. VII. 15. (See 1 and 2)

18. śatrupakṣam upāśritya—Abhi III. 24, 25 (var. *upāśrītam* instead of *upāśrītya*)

19. sambhramotphullalocanā⁶—Dūtav. v. 7; Cāru. IV. 3.

e. Longer Prose Passages

20 atipāti kāryam idaṃ | śighram nivedyatām—Pañca 24 Abhi. 27 (repeats *nivedyatām*)

[172] 12. ayam akramaḥ | ... atha kaḥ kramaḥ—Pañca. 7; Pratimā. 35

22. āpas tāvat ... yad ājñāpayati mahārājaḥ | niṣkramya praviśya) ... imā āpaḥ—Pañca. 10. 43; Abhi 11; Pratimā. 38. Cf. Madhyama. 20; Pratimā. 67. (See 28 and 44)

23. evaṃ āryamiśrāṇ vūñāpayāmi | aye kum nu khalu mayi vijñāpana-vyagre śabda iva śrūyate | anga paśyāmi | (nepathye)—in the prologues of Svapna. Pañca. Bāla. Madhyama. Dūtav. Dūtagh. Karma. Ūru. and Abhi; of the remaining, in Pratijñā Avi and Pratimā, a naṭī is introduced

24. kadācid anṛtaṃ noktapūrvam | rājā : ā asty etat—Pañca 30; cf. Pratijñā. 32 (var. *na ... anṛtam abhīhitapūrvam*). Cf also anṛtaṃ rūbhihitapūrvam | —Bāla. 27

25. kim edaṃ | ... edaṃ | idaṃ | idaṃ edaṃ | ... bhaṇādu bhaṇādu ayyo bhaṇādu—Svapna. 50; cf. kiṃ edam | ... idaṃ | ... bhaṇādu bhaṇādu ayyo bhaṇādu—Pratijñā 17

⁴ Cf. viṣmayotphullalocana—Mbh. I. 136. 1; 13. 14. 386; Rām. (Bom. ed.) 7. 37. 3. 29; Rām. (Gorr.) 4. 63. 10, etc.

26. kim gūhase | māma khalu prāṇaḥ śāpitaḥ syāḥ | yadi satyaṁ na brūyāḥ—Abhi. 37 f.; cf. kim gūhase | svargaṁ gatena mahārājapādamūlena śāpitaḥ syāḥ | yadi satyaṁ na brūyāḥ—Pratimā. 95

27. kim te bhūyah priyaṁ upahārami | .. yadi me bhagavān prasannaḥ kim ataḥ paramaham icchāmi—Avi. 110; and (with variation in) Pratijñā. 73; Dūtav. 48; Abhi. 75; Cf. Bāla. 67 (in which the answer to the query is in verse form)

28. kutaḥ khalv āpah | ... āpas tāvat | hanta sravati | (ācamya . .) —Madhyama. 20; Dūtav. 43. (See 22 and 44)

29. gaccha | bhūyo jñāyatāṁ vṛttāntaḥ—Pañca. 30, 31. Bāla. 58; Abhi. 30, 59.

30. jayatu svāmī | jayatu bhadramukhaḥ | jayatu mahārājaḥ | jayatu rāvaṇāntakaḥ—Abhi. 73; cf. Pratimā. 113 (var. in different order)

31. (tataḥ praviśati ...)... ka iha bhoḥ kñicanatoraṇadvāram aśūnyaṁ kurute | (praviśya) pratihāri : ayya ahaṁ vijaā | kim [173] kariadu | ... nīvedyatām nīvedyatām—Svapna. 69 (ms. kha); Abhi. 26; Pratimā. 90. Cf. also Abhi. 52

32. paritājantīva mām prāṇāḥ | imā gaṅgāprabhṛtayo mahānadyah | etā 'urvaśyādayo' psaraso mām abhigatāḥ | eṣa sahasrahaṁsaprayukto viravāhī vimānaḥ kālena preṣito mām netum āgataḥ | bhavatu | ayam ayam āgacchāmi | (svargaṁ gataḥ)—Abhi. 12 (ms. ka); cf. speech of the dying Rājā in Ūru. 114

33. praviśa tvam abhyantaram ... na khalu na khalu praveṣṭavyam—Svapna. 83; Pañca. 42

34. sītā : satto si | rāvanah : hahaha | aho pativratāyā tejaḥ—Abhi 20; Pratimā. 86 (var. addition of a stage direction)

35. hī hī śuṭṭhu naccidaṁ | śuṭṭhu gāidaṁ | jāva ahaṁ pi naccemi—Pañca. 22; cf. 42 (var. hī hī śuṭṭhu idaṁ[†] | śuṭṭhu vāidaṁ | śuṭṭhu naccidaṁ | jāva etc.). In both cases spoken by the character Vṛddhagopālaka

d. Short Passages

36. aṇṇaṁ ca (dāṇi) acchari(ṇi)ṇaṁ—Pratijñā. 14, Cāru 7, 49; and aṇṇaṁ ca idaṁ acchariaṇaṁ—Bāla. 36; as also, ekaṁ pi tahiṁ acchariaṇaṁ—Avi. 20

37. atisnigdham anurūpaṁ cābhihitāṁ—Svapna. 78; Pañca 46.

38. aho a(k)aruṇā (k)kkhu issarā—Svapna 27, 62; Abhi. 23

39. aho balavāṁś cāyam andhakāraḥ | sariprati hi—Bāla. 7; Cāru. 17

40. aho pariṇaṣṣa pamādo—Svapna. 63; Avi. 54

[†] Read here also *gāidaṁ*?

- 41 aho hāsyam abhūdhanam—Pratijñā 67, 71, Pañca 48, Dūtagh. 66
- 42 alam daṇi bhavam adimattam samtappia—Svapna. 72 Cāru 8 (var *samtapidum* instead of *samtappia*), cf mā dānum bhāṭṭā adimattam samtappidum—Svapna 77, and alam adimattam samdavena—Avi 83
- 43 āḥ kasya mahārājah—Pañca 39, Bala 61
- [174] 44 apas tāvat—Pratijñā. 21, Pañca. 10, 43, Madhyama 20, Dūtav 43, Abhi 11, Pratimā 38 67 (See 22 and 28)
- 45 āsramapadavaramātram api sambhāvayīyamaḥ—Madhyama 25, Pratimā. 73 (with var in the last word)
- 46 ussaraha (ussaraha) ayya ussaraha—Svapna 1, 2, 3, Pratijñā 63, 65, Ūru. 99
- 47 ete smo bhoḥ | ete smaḥ—Ūru 88, Abhi 62
- 48 evam iva (Pkt. *evam via*), as whispered in the ear, Svapna 51, Pratijñā 17, 71, Avi 40, 51, Caru. 38 (twice), 76 [Read Caru 85 (1 13) likewise *evam via* instead of *evam* of the text.]
- 49 esa gacchāmi mandabhāṣā—Svapna 9, Pratijñā 17, Bala. 6, Abhi 6 Cf Ūru 193, gacchāmi mandabhāṣā
- 50 kā gatiḥ (Pkt. *kā gau*)—Svapna. 9, 45, Pratimā 49, 95
- 51 ko kālo—Svapna. 27, 32, Pratijñā 56, 58, Caru 49 (See 52)
- 52 ko kalo tumam aṅṅesāmi—Svapna. 27, 32, Pratijñā 58 (See 51)
- 53 gacchatu punardarśanāya (Pkt. *gacchadu puṇodamsanā*)—Svapna 17, Avi 67, Bāla 67, Madhyama. 24, Dūtav 48, Cāru 44 It is followed by yad ājnāpayatu bhagavān nārayaṇaḥ, in Bāla 67 and Dūtav 48
- 54 na me saddha (in the speech of the viduṣaka)—Avi 72, Cāru 18, 30
- 55 tattahodī padumāvadi iha ācchia ṛiggada bhaye—Svapna. 40 59
- 56 na śakomi roṣam dharayitum—Dutagh 69, Abhi 19, Pratimā 20
- 57 pīam de ṇivedemi—Svapna. 82, Caru. 60
- 58 bāḍham prathamāḥ kalpaḥ—Svapna 52, Pañca. 19, Avi 26, Bala. 55 Madhyama. 24, Ūru 9, Abhi. 69, Pratimā 90
- 58a. bhūyo jāyatan vṛttantaḥ—See 29)
- 59 mahārājasya pratyantariḥbhavāmaḥ—Ūru. 96, Abhi 53 (var *bhātīyāmi*)
- [175] 60 vaktukāmam iva tvām lakṣaye—Pratijñā 25, Abhi. 43
- 61 śantī hodu śantī hodu amhī(ṇ)am godhanaṣṣa a—Pañca. 20, 21, Bāla 35

- 62 sarvaṃ tavat tiṣṭhatu (Pkt savvaṃ dāva ciṭṭhadu or ṣavvaṃ etc)
Pratijñā. 58 Avī 85 Bala 38, Cāru 4 66
- 63 savvaṃ aṇedu (bodhi) vajña bhoṇaṃ—Svapna. 32, Cāru. 80
- 64 sthito madhyahnaḥ (Pkt thido majjhaṇho)—Svapna. 10 Pra
tijñā 46
- 65 sthūrikriyatam atma—Pratijñā 17 52

e Set Phrases and Rare Words

- 66 abhyantaracatussala (Pkt. abbhantaraccaussala)—Svapna 30
Caru 20 26 53 Cf Mṛccha act VI (See 74)
- 67 asambhogamālinataya (Pkt asambhoamālinadae)—Cāru 18 84
- 68 ama. An affirmative particle frequently used in these dramas
see references given in JAOS 40 254 Outside the group of these dramas
found generally in old Pāli texts and a few times in the Turfan dramatic
fragments Prof WINTERNITZ draws attention (*Ostasiatische Zeitschrift* Jg
IX p 290) to its use in the *Bṛhatkathaslokasaṃgraha* 5 114 and 9 70
- 69 ekatapatra—Svapna. VI 19 Avī I 1 Bala V 20 Dutav v
5b Pratima VII 1
- 70 kanakaracita—Pratijñā IV 4 Abhi II 2 5 VI 6 11 Cf
kanakakhacita—Dutav v 47
- 71 kamalayataḥṣa—Bala V 15 Dutav v 42 Cf kamalamalayatkṣa
Bala V 9
- 72 kṛtottariya—Pratijñā IV 3 Dutav v 3
- 73 kauḍumbika* (Pkt koḍumbia)—Pratijñā. 46 Cāru 84
- 74 catuṣṣala¹⁰ (Pkt. caussala)—Svapna. 26 30 67 Avī 23 42 86
Caru 20 26 53 Pratima 96
- [176] 75 tatkaladurlabha (Pkt. takkaladullaha)—Pratijñā 15 Avī 6
- 76 dattamulya—Uru 98 Caru I 4
- 77 dahupṇḍapaṇḍara—Panca. 22 Avī 28
- 78 daruparvataka (Pkt darupavvadaa)—Svapna 39 Avī 47
- 79 dūtasāmpata (Pkt. dūdasāmpada)—Svapna 6 Avī. 12
- 80 devasuravigraheṣu—Bala. I 4 21
- 81 paṇṣpanda (Pkt. paṇipphanda)—Panca 32 Caru 45
- 82 purobāda—Svapna 44 Caru 32 Not cited in lexica
- 83 bhavanasya vinyasaḥ—Abhi 15 bhavanavinyasa—Caru. 57
- 84 bhāgyaścalanḥ—Svapna I 3 VI 4
- 85 māṇubhumi(ka)—Svapna 27 Pratijñā 37

* Generally used in the sense paterfamilias (see sub voce APTE'S dict on
ary) here probably equivalent to servant retainer

¹⁰ Occurs also often in the *Mṛcchakaṭika*

- 86 mallaa¹¹—Pratijñā 39, 41, 57; Cāru 7
 87 lahitagambhīrākṛti—Bāla 61, Dūtagh 64
 88 vyāghrānusūracakita—Madhyama v 3 (read so); Cāru I 9
 89 sajalada—Madhyama v 32, Abhi IV 5 Cf sajalajaladhara
 —Abhi IV 3
 90 samudraghaka (Pkt. samuddagihaka), 'oceanic pavilion'—Svapna
 54, 56, 57, Pratimā 27
 91 sumanāvāṇṇaa—Svapna 32, Avi 20, 40, 54 (twice)
 92 suraḥ sūsurah—Ūru v 29, sāsuraṇām surāṇām—Pratimā IV 17,

f Echoes of Thought

93 ajja evva kīla sobhaṇam nakkhattam | ajja evva koduamangalam—
 kādavvam Svapna 24, and adyaiva khalu guṇavān nakṣatram | adyaiva
 vivaho 'syāḥ pravartatām—Pañca (p 98 of the 1917 edition)

94 aṇeṇa mama bhāda hado | aṇeṇa mama pida | aṇeṇa mama sado
 mama vaassa—Pratijñā 13, and asyāḥ kāraṇeṇa bahavo bhrātaraḥ sutāḥ
 suhrdaś ca me nihatāḥ—Abhi 60

[177] 95 abhujanassa sadisam mantidam—Svapna 46 and abhujana
 yuktam evābhūtam—Avi 106

96 abhujanena na sileṇa [gaṇa]—Caru 37, Cf jatyā rākṣasī na samu
 dacāreṇa—Madhyama 23

97 astādrimastakagataḥ pratisamhṛtamsuḥ—Abhi IV 23 and

ravir apī ca samkṣiptakīraṇaḥ |
 ratham vyāvṛtyāsau pravīṣatī śanair astaśikharam ||
 —Svapna I 16

98 asyah kāraṇeṇa bahavo bhrātaraḥ, etc—Abhi 60 See 94

99 imām sagaraparyantām—Svapna VI 19, etc See 104

100 kāñcanastambhasadṛsa—Madhyama. v 42, and yah kañcanaṣtam
 bhasamapramāṇaḥ—Ūru v 45

101 kim etad bho bhayam nama | bhavato' dya mayā śrutam—Bala
 III 8, and śāpāmu satyena bhayam na jāne | jñātum tad icchāmu bhavat-
 samīpe—Madhyama v 41

102 gajaśvanarendrayaudha—Ūru v 3, and hayaṇāganarendrayaudha
 —Ūru v 12

103 gīṇṭakathināmsāv eva bāhū mamaitau
 praharaṇam aparam tu tvāḍṣām durbalānām |

—Bāla III 11

¹¹ PW cites only lexicographical references for the meaning cup which is required in the present context

.... and

sahajau me praharaṇam bhujau pīnāmsakomalau |
tāv āśritya prayudhyeyam durbalaṁ gṛhyate dhanuḥ ||

—Pañca II 55

104 catuṣṣāgaraparyantām—Bāla IV 10, and imam sāgaraparyantam
—Svapna. VI 19, Bala V 20; Dūtav v. 56

105 ciṭṭha ciṭṭha vaśaṇaśeṇa ciṭṭha—Cāru 10, together with nāgiva
yāsi patagendrabhayābhūbhūṭā—Cāru I 11, and bhoḥ brāhmaṇa tṣṭha
tṣṭha—Madhyama. 3 and kum yaśi madbhayavinaśitadhairyaśārāḥ—Madh-
yama. v 8

106 jatyā rakṣaśi na samudācāreṇa—Madhyama 23 See 96

107 tantriṣu ca svaragaṇān kalahāms ca loke—Avi VI 11, and tantriś
ca vairān ca ghaṭṭayam—Bāla I 4

[178] 108 devāḥ sendrādayo bhagnāḥ—Abhi II 18, and devāḥ
sendra jita yena—Abhi V 12

109 nagaraparicito 'ham rakṣiṇo jñātasārāḥ
tūmragahanabhumam vartate cārdharātram |

—Avi III 2

and

paricatatimurā me śiladoṣeṇa rātriḥ
bahalatimurakālās tūmapūrvā vighaṭṭāḥ |
vipariṣu hataśeṣā rakṣmaḥ sāksṇo me ||¹²

—Cāru I 13

110 naṣṭa śatiraḥ kratubhir dharante—Pañca I 23, and hateṣu deheṣu
guṇā dharante—Karma v 17

111 nāgiva yāsi patagendrabhayābhūbhūṭa—Cāru I 11 See 105

112 paricatatimurā me, etc—Cāru I 13 (See 109)

113 paribhraṣṭo dūrād ravir api ca samkṣiptakīraṇaḥ—Svapna I 16
See 97

114 pariṣvajāmi gāḍham tvām—Bāla II 9 and pariṣvajasva gāḍham
mām—Madhyama v 22

115 bhumam ekah prasāstu naḥ—Karma v 25, and rājā bhūmam
prasāstu naḥ—Pratimā. VII 15 (See also 17)

116 bho brāhmaṇa tṣṭha tṣṭha, etc—Madhyama. 3 See 105

117 mocayāmi na rājānam | nāsmi yaugandharāyaṇaḥ—Pratiṇā I
16, yadi tām na hared rāja | nāsmi yaugandharāyaṇaḥ—ibid III 8, naha

¹² Note that both the stanzas are in the Mālinī metre, and that the recurring words *paricita rakṣmaḥ tūmra* and *rātri (rātra)* occur in the corresponding halves of the respective padas.

PAÑCARĀTRA

Entire pādas 6 Pañca III 26 Pratijñā IV 26, Avī VI 22, Abhi VI 35 —7 Pañca II 58 Pratimā IV 5 —11 Pañca I 31: ibid I 47 —13 Pañca II 41 ibid II 61 —17 Pañca III 26 Svapna VI 19, Pratijñā IV 26, Avī VI 22, Bala V 20, Dūtav v 56, Abhi VI 35

Longer prose passages 20 Pañca 24 Abhi 27 —21 Pañca, 7 Pratimā 35 —22 Pañca 10, 43, Abhi 11, Pratimā 38 —23 The sthāpanā of Pañca Svapna Bāla Madhyama Dūtav Dūtagh Karmā Ūru and Abhi —24 Pañca 30 Pratijñā 32, Bala 27 —29 Pañca 30 f Bala 58, Abhi 30 59 —33 Pañca 42, Svapna 83 —35 Pañca 22 Bala 42

Short passages 37 Pañca 46 Svapna 78 —41 Pañca 48 Pratijñā 67, 71, Dūtagh 66 —43 Pañca 39 Bala 61 —44 Pañca 10, 43 Pratijñā 21, Madhyama 20, Dūtav 43, Abhi [182] 11, Pratimā 38, 67 —58 Pañca 19 Svapna 52, Avī 26, Bala 55, Madhyama 24, Ūru 96, Abhi 68, Pratimā 90

Set phrases etc 77 Pañca 22 Avī 28 —81 Pañca 32 Caru 45

Echoes of thought 103 Pañca II 55 Bala III 11 —110 Pañca I 23 Karmā v 17

AVIMĀRAKA

Entire stanzas 2 Avī VI 22 = Pratijñā IV 26 Abhi VI 35

Entire pādas 6 Avī VI 22 Pratijñā IV 26, Pañca III 26, Abhi VI 35 —17 Avī VI 22 Svapna VI 19, Pratijñā IV 26, Pañca III 26, Bala V 20, Dūtav v 56, Abhi VI 35

Longer prose passages 27 Avī 110 Pratijñā 73, Dūtav 48, Abhi 75

Short passages 36 Avī 20 Pratijñā 14 Bala 36, Caru 7 49 —40 Avī 54 Svapna 63 —48 Avī 40, 51 Svapna 51, Pratijñā 17, 71, Cāru 38 (twice), 76 —53 Avī 67 Svapna 17, Bala 67, Madhyama 24, Dūtav 48, Cāru 44 —54 Avī 72, Caru 18 30 —58 Avī 26 Svapna 52, Pañca 19, Bala 55, Madhyama 24, Ūru 96 Abhi 68, Pratimā 90 —62 Avī 85, Pratijñā 58 Bala 38 Cāru 4 66

Set phrases etc 69 Avī I 1 Svapna VI 19, Bala V 20, Dūtav v 56, Pratimā VII 1 —74 Avī 23 42 86 Svapna 26, 30 67, Cāru 20 26 53, Pratimā 96 —75 Avī 6 Pratijñā 15 —77 Avī 28 Pañca 22 —78 Avī 47, Svapna 39 —79 Avī 12 Svapna 6 —91 Avī 20 40, 54 Svapna 32

Echoes of thought 95 Avī 106 Svapna 46 —107 Avī VI 11 Bala I 4 —109 Avī III 2 Caru 1 13

BALACARITA

Entire stanzas 1 Bala. V 20 = Svapna VI 19 Dutav v 56—
3 Bala I 15 = Cāru I 19

[183] *Entire padas* 5 Bala V 20 Svapna VI 19 Dutav v 56—
17 Bala V 20 Svapna VI 19 Pratijña. IV 26 Panca III 26 Avī
VI 22 Dutav v 56 Abhi VI 35

Longer prose passages 23 The sthāpana in Bala Svapna. Panca
Madhyama Dutav Dutagh Karna Uru and Abhi—24 Bala 27 Pratijña
32 Panca 30—27 Bala 67 Pratijñā 73 Avī 110 Dutav 48 Abhi
75—29 Bala 58 Panca. 30 31 Abhi 30 59—35 Bala 42 Panca 22

Short passages 36 Pratijña 14 Avī 20 Caru 7 49—39 Bāla. 7
Caru 17—43 Bala 61 Panca 39—49 Bala 6 Svapna. 9 Pratijña
17 Abhi 6 Uru 103—53 Bāla 67 Svapna. 17 Avī 67 Madhyama
24 Dutav 48 Cāru 44—58 Bala 55 Svapna 52 Panca 19 Avī 26
Madhyama 24 Uru 96 Abhi 68 Pratijña 90—61 Bāla. 35 Panca 20
21—62 Bala. 38 Pratijña 58 Avī 85 Cāru 4 66

Set phrases etc 69 Bala. V 20 Svapna VI 19 Avī I 1 Dutav v
56 Pratijña VII 1—71 Bala V 9 15 Dutav v 42—80 Bala I 4
ibid. I 21—87 Bala. 61 Dutagh 64

Echoes of thought 101 Bala III 8 Madhyama v 41—103 Bala
III 11 Panca II 55—104 Bala. IV 10 Svapna. VI 19 Dutav v
56—107 Bala. I 4 Avī VI 11—114 Bala II 9 Madhyama v 22

MADHYAMA

Longer prose passages 23 The sthāpana of Madhyama Svapna
Panca. Bala. Dutav Dutagh Karna. Uru and Abhi—28 Madhyama 20
Dutav 43

Short passages 44 Madhyama. 20 Pratijña 21 Panca. 10 43
Dutav 43 Abhi 11 Pratijña 38 67—45 Madhyama 25 Pratijña 73—
53 Madhyama 24 Svapna 17 Avī. 67 Bala 67 Dutav 48 Caru 44
—58 Madhyama 24 Svapna 52 Pañca 19 Avī 26 Bala. 55 Uru
96 Abhi 68 Pratijña 90

[184] *Set phrases etc* 88 Madhyama v 3² Cāru I 9—89 Madhy
ama. v 32 Abhi IV 5

Echoes of thought 86 Madhyama. 23 Cāru 37—100 Madhyama.
v 42 Uru. v 45—101 Madhyama. v 41 Bala. III 8—105 Madhya
ma 3 and v 8 Cāru 10 and I II—114 Madhyama. v 22 Bala. II 9

DUTAVAKYA

Entire stanzas 1 Dutav v 56 = Svapna. VI 19 Bāla. V 20

rami nṛpam caiva | nasmī yaugandharayapaḥ—ibid III 9 yadī na patasi
bhūmau nasmī damodaro haṁ—Bala. III 11

118 raja bhumim praśastu naḥ—Pratīma VII 15 See 115

119 vijaya khalv aśi—Pratīma 17 sajjalakaḥ khalv ahaṁ—Caru 57,
and radapīka khu ahaṁ—Caru 26

120 vidyullekheva śobhate—Abhi II 7 and candralekheva śobhate—
Dutav v 7 Caru I 27

[179] 121 śapamī satyena bhayam na jāne—Madhyama v 41 See 101

122 sajjalakaḥ khalv ahaṁ—Cāru 57 (See 119)

123 sahaṃ me praharaṇam bhujau pinamsakomalau—Panca II 55.
See 103

124 sopasnehataya vanantarasyabhītaḥ khalu kiśkindhaya bhavitavyam
—Abhi. 3 and sopasnehataya vṛkṣaṇam abhītaḥ khalv ayodhyaya bhavitav
yam—Pratīma 42

125 hateṣu deheṣu guṇa dharante—Karmā v 17 See 110

126 hayaṇaganarendrayaudha—Ūru v 12. See 102

127 ha vatsa sarvajagatam jvarakṛt kṛtastra

ha vatsa vasavajid anatavairicakra |

ha vatsa vira guruvatsala yuddhaśaunḍa

ha vatsa mam iha vihaya gato si kasmāt ||

—Abhi V 13

and

ha vatsa rama jagatam nayanabhīrama

ha vatsa lakṣmaṇa salakṣaṇasarvagatā |

ha sadhvi māthilī patisthūtacittavṛtē

ha ha gataḥ kila vanam bata me tanujah ||

Pratīma II 4

(11) A CONSPECTUS OF RECURRENCES AND PARALLELISMS

This list has been arranged according to the dramas in which the recur
rences and parallelisms occur. The right figures refer to the serial numbers
of the foregoing list.

SVAPNA

Entire Stanzas 1 Svapna VI 19 = Bala V 20 Dutav v 56

Entire padas 8 Svapna VI 4 15 Abhi IV 7 —14 Svapna VI
16 Pratīma IV 18 —17 Svapna VI 19 Pratīma IV 26 Panca III
26 Avī VI 22 Bala V 20 Dutav v 56 Abhi VI 35

[180] *Longer prose passage* 23 The sthāpana of Svapna Panca
Bala Madhyama Dutav Dutagh Karmā Ūru and Abhi—25 Svapna 50
Pratīma 17 —31 Svapna. 69 (ms kha) Abhi 26 Pratīma 90 —33
Svapna 83 Pañca 42

Short passages 37 Svapna. 78 Panca 46—38 Svapna 27 Abhi 23—40 Svapna 63 Avi 54—42 Svapna 72 77 Avi 83 Cāru 8. 46 Svapna 1 2 3 Pratijña 63 65 Uru 99—48 Svapna 51 Pratijña 17, 71 Avi 40 51 Caru 38 (twice) 76—49 Svapna 9 Pratijña. 17 Bala 6 Uru 103 Abhi 6—50 Svapna 9 45 Pratijña 49 95 51 Svapna. 27 32 Pratijña. 56 58 Cāru 49—53 Svapna. 17 Avi 57 Bala 67 Madhyama. 24 Dutav 48 Cāru 44—55 Svapna 40 ibid 59—57 Svapna 82 Caru 60—58 Svapna 52 Panca 19 Avi 26, Bala. 55 Madhyama. 24 Uru 96 Abhi 68 Pratijña 90—63 Svapna 32 Cāru 80—64 Svapna 10 Pratijña 46

Set phrases etc 66 Svapna 30 Cāru 20 26 53—69 Svapna VI 19, Avi I 1 Bala V 20 Dutav v 56 Pratijña VII 1—74 Svapna 26 30 67 Avi 23 42 86 Caru 20 26 53 Pratijña 90—78 Svapna 39 Avi 47—79 Svapna. 6 Avi 12—82 Svapna 44 Cāru. 32—84 Svapna I 3 ibid VI 4—85 Svapna 27 Pratijña 37—90 Svapna 54 56 57 Pratijña 27—91 Svapna 32 Avi 20 40 54 (twice)

Echoes of thought 93 Svapna 24 Panca (p 98 of 1917 edition) — 90 Svapna 46 Avi 106—97 Svapna I 16 Abhi IV 23

PRATIJÑA

Entire Stanzas 2 Pratijña IV 26—Avi VI 22 Abhi VI 35

Entire padas. 6 Pratijña IV 26 Pañca III 26 Avi VI 22 Abhi VI 35—12 Pratijña. II 7 Abhi VI 23—14 Pratijña IV 18 Svapna VI 16—17 Pratijña IV 26 Svapna VI 19 Pañca III 26 Avi VI 22 Bala V 20 Dutav v 56 Abhi VI 35

[181] *Longer prose passages* 24 Pratijña 32 Pañca. 30—25 Pratijña 17 Svapna. 50—27 Pratijña. 73 Avi 110 Bala 67 Dutav 48 Abhi 75

Short passages 36 Pratijña 14 Avi 20 Bala 36 Caru 7 49—41 Pratijña. 67 71 Pañca. 48 Dutav 66—44 Pratijña 21 Pañca 10 43, Madhyama. 20 Dutav 43 Abhi 11 Pratijña 38 67—46 Pratijña 63 65 Svapna. 1 2, 3, Uru 99—48 Pratijña. 17 71 Svapna 51 Avi 40 51 Cāru 38 (twice) 76—49 Pratijña 17 Svapna 9 Bala 6 Abhi 6, Uru 103—51 Pratijña. 56 58 Svapna 27 32 Cāru 49—60 Pratijña 25 Abhi 43—62 Pratijña 58 Avi 85 Bala 38 Caru. 66—64 Pratijña 46 Svapna 10

Set phrases etc 70 Pratijña IV 4 Abhi II 2, 5 VI 6 11—72 Pratijña IV 3 Dutav v 3—73 Pratijña 46 Cāru 84—75 Pratijña 15 Avi 6—85 Pratijña 37 Svapna 27—86 Pratijña 39 41 57 Cāru 7

Echoes of thought 94 Pratijña 13 Abhi 60—117 Pratijña I 16 Bala III 11—119 Pratijña 17 Cāru 26 57

Entire pādas 10 Dūtav v 7, Cāru I 27—17 Dūtav v 56, Svapna VI 19, Pratijñā IV' 26, Pañca III. 26, Avī VI 22, Bāla V 20, Abhi VI 35—19 Dūtav v 7 Cāru. IV 3

Longer prose passages 23 The sthāpanā of Dūtav Svapna Pañca Bāla Madhyama Dūtagh. Karna Ūru and Abhi—27 Dūtav 48 Pratijñā 73, Avī 110, Abhi 75—28 Dūtav 13, Madhyama 20

Short passages 44 Dūtav 43 Pratijñā 21, Pañca 10, 43, Madhyama 20, Abhi 11, Pratimā 38 67—53 Dūtav 48 Svapna 17, Avī 67, Bāla 67, Madhyama 24, Cāru 44

Set phrases etc 69 Dūtav v 56 Svapna VI 19, Avī I 1, Bala V 20, Pratimā VII 1—70 Dūtav v 47 Pratijñā IV, 4, Abhi II 2 5, VI 6 11—71 Dūtav v 42 Bāla V 9 15—72 Dūtav v 3 Pratijñā IV 3

Echoes of thought 104 Dūtav v 56 Svapna VI 19, Bāla IV 10, V 20—120 Dūtav v 7 Abhi II 7, Cāru I 27

DŪTAGHAṬOTKACA

Longer prose passages 23 The sthāpana of Dūtagh Svapna Pañca Bāla Madhyama Dūtav Karna Ūru and Abhi

Short passages 41 Dūtagh 66 Pratijñā 67, 71, Pañca 49—56 Dūtagh 69 Abhi 19, Pratimā 20

Set phrases etc 87 Dūtagh. 64 Bala 61

[185] KARṆABHĀRA

Entire pādas 17 Karna v 25 Svapna VI 19, Pratijñā IV 26, Pañca III, 26, Avī VI 22, Bala V 20, Dūtav v 56, Abhi VI 35

Longer prose passages 23 The sthāpanā in Karna Svapna Pañca Bala Madhyama Dūtav Dūtagh Ūru and Abhi

Echoes of thought 110 Karna v 17, Pañca I 23—115 Karna v 25 Pratimā VII 15

URUBHANGA

Entire padas 9 Ūru^v v 41 ibid. v 62

Longer prose passages 23 The sthāpana of Ūru Svapna Pañca Bāla Madhyama. Dūtav Dūtagh. Karna and Abhi—32 Ūru 114 Abhi 12 (ms ka)

Short passages 46 Ūru 99 Svapna. 1, 2 3, Pratijñā. 63 65—47 Ūru 88 Abhi 62—49 Ūru 103 Svapna. 9, Pratijñā. 17, Bala 6, Abhi 6—58 Ūru 96 Svapna 52, Pañca 19 Avī 26, Bāla 55, Madhyama 24, Abhi 68, Pratimā 90—59 Ūru 96, Abhi 53

Set phrases etc 76 Ūru 98 Cāru I 4—92 Ūru v 29 Pratima IV 17

Echoes of thought 100 Ūru v 45 Madhyama. v 42

ABHIṢEKA

Entire stanzas 2 Abhi VI 35—Pratijna IV 26 Avī VI 22

Entire padas 6 Abhi VI 35 Pratijna IV 26 Panca III 26 Avī VI 35—8 Abhi IV 7 Svapna VI 4 15—10 Abhi II 7 Dutav v 7 Caru I 27 12 Abhi VI 23 Pratijna II 7—15 Abhi II 9 ibid IV 15—16 Abhi III 22 Pratima I 20—17 Abhi VI 35 Svapna VI 19 Pratijna. IV 26 Panca III 26 Avī VI 22 Bala V 20 Dutav v 56

[186] *Longer prose passages* 20 Abhi 27 Panca. 24—22 Abhi 11 Panca 10 43 Pratima 38—23 The sthapana in Abhi Svapna. Panca. Bala Madhyama Dutav Dutagh. Karma and Ūru—26 Abhi 37 f Pratima. 95—27 Abhi 75 Pratijna. 73 Avī 110 Dutav 48 Bala 67—29 Abhi 30 59 Panca. 30 f Bala 58—30 Abhi 73 Pratima. 113—31 Abhi 26 Svapna 69 Pratima 90—32 Abhi 12 (ms ka) Ūru 114—34 Abhi 20 Pratima 86

Short passages 38 Abhi 23 Svapna 27—44 Abhi 11 Pratijña 21 Pañca 10 43 Madhyama. 20 Dutav 43 Pratima 38 67—47 Abhi 62 Ūru 88—49 Abhi 6 Svapna 9 Pratijna 17 Bala 6 Ūru 103 56 Abhi 19 Dutagh 69 Pratima 20—58 Abhi 69 Svapna. 52 Panca. 19 Avī 26 Bala 55 Madhyama 24 Ūru 96 Pratima 90—60 Abhi 43 Pratijna. 25

Set phrases etc 70 Abhi II 2 5 VI 6 11 Pratijna IV 4 Dutav v 47—83 Abhi 15 Caru 57—89 Abhi IV 5 Madhyama v 32

Echoes of thought 94 Abhi 60 Pratijña 13—97 Abhi IV 23 Svapna I 16—120 Abhi II 7 Dutav v " Cāru I 27—124 Abhi 3 Pratima 42—127 Abhi V 13 Pratima II 4

CARUDATTA

Entire stanzas 3 Caru I 19—Bala I 15 "

Entire padas 10 Caru I 27 Dutav v " Abhi II 7—19 Caru IV 3 Dutav v 7

Short passages 36 Caru 7 49 Pratijña. 14—39 Caru 17 Bala 7—42 Cāru 8 Svapna " 2 " 7—48 Cāru 38 " 6 Svapna 51 Pratijña. 17 71 Avī 40 51—51 Cāru 49 Svapna. 2 " 32 Pratijña 56 58—53 Caru 41 Svapna 17 Avī 67 Bala 6 " Madhyama 24—54 Cāru. 18 30 Avī 72—57 Caru 60 Svapna. 82—62 Cāru 4 66 Pratijña. 58 Avī 85 Bala 38—63 Cāru 80 Svapna. 32

[187] *Set phrases etc* 66 Cāru 20, 26 53 Svapna 30—67 Cāru 18 *ibid.* 84—73 Cāru 84 Pratijñā 46—74 Cāru 20 26 53 Svapna 26, 30, 67, Avī 23 42 86—76 Caru I 4 Ūru 99—81| Caru 45, Pañca 32—82 Caru 32 Svapna 44—83 Caru 57 Abhi 15—86 Cāru 7 Pratijñā 39 41, 57—88 Cāru I 9 Madhyama v 3

Echoes of thought 96 Caru 37 Madhyama 23—105 Caru 10, and I 11 Madhyama. 3 and v 8—109 Caru I 13 Avī III 2—119 Caru 57 Pratijñā 17—120 Cāru I 27 Abhi II 7, Dutav v 7

PRATIMA

Entire stanzas 4 Pratimā IV 16=*ibid* VII 7

Entire padas 7 Pratima. IV 5 Pañca. II 58—16 Pratimā I 20 Abhi III 22

Longer prose passages 21 Pratimā. 35 Pañca 7—22 Pratimā 38 67 Pañca. 10 43, Madhyama 20, Abhi 11—26 Pratimā 95 Abhi 37 f 30 Pratima 113, Abhi 73—31 Pratimā 90 Svapna 69 (ms kha), Abhi 26 52—34, Pratimā 86 Abhi 20

Short passages 44 Pratimā 38 67 Pratijñā. 21, Pañca. 10 43, Madhyama 20, Dutav 43, Abhi 11—50 Pratima 49 95 Svapna 9 45—56 Pratimā 20, Dutagh 69, Abhi 19—58 Pratimā 90 Svapna 52, Pañca 19, Avī 26, Bāla. 55, Madhyama 24, Ūru 96, Abhi 68

Set phrases etc 69 Pratima VII 1 Svapna VI 19, Avī I 1, Bala V 20, Dūtav v 56—74 Pratima 96 Svapna 26 30 67 Avī 23 42, 86, Cāru 20 26 53—90 Pratimā 27 Svapna 54 56 57—92 Pratimā IV 17 Ūru v 29

Echoes of thought 124 Pratima 42, Abhi 3—127 Pratima II 4 Abhi V 13

The Bhāsa question is now, it may be emphatically stated, as far away from being settled as ever before. The number of writers on the subject is steadily increasing and the field of research is gradually widening. It is therefore highly desirable that all students interested in the question should have, even at this stage, a list as complete as possible of the writers and their writings so that they may be able to tell at a glance what editions and translations are available, what the problems are, and what has been written concerning them.

Apropos of the remark of BARNETT cited above, a few statistics may not be out of place. Here is a list of those who have, at one time or other, written on the subject, accepting the Bhāsa theory explicitly or implicitly: Amara natha SARMA, APTE, ASURI ANANTACHARYA, BANERJI SASTRI, BASTON, BECCARINI-CRESCENZI, BELLONI FILIPPI, BELVALKAR, BHATTA, BHIDE, CHAUDHURI, DEB, DESAPANDE, DHURVA, Gaṇapati SĀSTRĪ, GRAY, GUNE, HAR PRASAD, HERTEL, HILLEBRANDT, JACOB JANVIER, JAYASWAL, JOLLY, KALE, KHUPREKAR, KONOW, LACÔTE, LESNY, LÉVI, LINDENAU, MEHENDALE, MORGENSTIERNE, OGDEN, Panna LALL, PARANJAPE, PAVOLINI, PISHAROTI, PRINTZ, SAUNDERS, SUALI, THOMAS, URDHWARESHE, and WELLER. It must be added that the enthusiasm of Sylvain LÉVI has apparently cooled down considerably since he penned his ecstatic preface to BASTON's (French) translation of VĀSAVADATTĀ, and now, I understand, he has joined the ranks of the opponents of the theory, which include the names BARNETT, Bhattanatha SVAMIN, KANE, MAHABAL, Rangacharya RADDI and Ramavatara SARMA. Whether the opponents of the Bhāsa theory are really so few, or whether they are overmodest and of a retiring disposition it is certain [232] that the number of such as have expressed their views openly is remarkably limited. Between the two extreme sections lie the views of WINTERITZ and the present writer, who, while they recognize that the supporters of the theory have a good *prima facie* case, that the authorship of Bhāsa is a factor within the range of possibility, hold, on the other hand, that the evidence hitherto adduced does not amount to a conclusive proof of the proposition, they accept it merely tentatively, as a working hypothesis.

In passing it may be pointed out that the doubts propounded by BARNETT, and the interpretation of the term *rajasimha* (occurring in the *bhārata* vīkyaś of the plays) as a *nomen proprium*—features of the controversy generally associated with the name of BARNETT¹—had been made public by Pandit Ramavatara SARMA Pandeya in an article contributed to the little known Sanskrit journal *Śārada* long before the appearance of BARNETT's note in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*. In 1915 Pandit Ramavatara SARMA wrote expressing his doubts as to the validity of Gaṇapati SĀSTRĪ's

¹ BARNETT's objections have been criticised and refuted severally by BANERJI SASTRI, KONOW, F. W. THOMAS, and WINTERITZ.

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adjusted. It is a question where the emphasis should be laid, and the answer to that question will largely depend on personal predilections.

The Bhāsa question has acquired fresh interest and importance through the discovery of other dramas such as the *Matta* [235] *vilāsa*,¹ which apparently stand closer to our group than to the classical dramas like those of Kalidāsa, Bhavabhūti, and others. It is becoming increasingly evident that we have before us dramas, if not of Bhāsa, at least of a distinctly new school of dramatic art, and as such they are undeniably interesting and worthy of most careful study. There is nothing to be gained by peevishly brushing them aside as the lucubrations of a plagiarist, or as the creations of an ingenious forger (as one learned Indian critic² has averred), simply because they are not exactly what we expect them to be or want them to be. Already the study of them has yielded some fruitful result and it is not too much to say that a deeper study of them may throw further light on some of the obscure corners of this interesting field of inquiry.

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- 2 *Italian*. Il dramma della sacra di Rāma (Abhishekanāṭaka) composto dal poeta Bhāsa [Translated by] ELENA BECCARINI CRESCENZI. Firenze, 1915 pp 79

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AVIMĀRAKA

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Translation

- 4 *Italian*. L' "Avimāraṅka" di Bhāsa [Translated by] ELENA BECCARINI CRESCENZI. Firenze, 1917 pp 40

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¹ Travancore Sanskrit Series, No. 55

² Mr Pandurang Vaman KANE M.A., LL.M. in the *Varidha jñāna tustara*, 1920, p. 102.

B C by JAYASWAL and CHAUDHURI, to the second century A D by KONOW, LINDENAU and SUALI, to the third (or fourth) century by BANERJI SASTRI, JOLLY and JACOBI, and to the fourth century by LESNY and WINTERNITZ, to the seventh century by BARNETT and NERURKAR (on independent grounds), to the ninth century (or later) by KANE, to the tenth century (or later) by Ramavatara SARMA Pandeya, to the eleventh century (or later) by Rangacharya RADDI

Very briefly summarized the arguments for and against the theory are the following. Among the most important arguments adduced in support of the theory are these—(1) The common authorship of the plays follows from the similarity [234] of technique, style and thought informing these plays, and from the abundant instances of repetition and parallelism. One of these plays is styled the *Svapnavāsavadatta*, which is the title of a celebrated drama composed by Bhāsa. (2) A technical peculiarity of the prologues of the Bhāsa dramas has been noticed by Bāṇa in his *Harshacharita*, which peculiarity characterises also the prologues of our dramas. (3) The name of the author is never mentioned in the rudimentary *sthāpanā* of these plays, which testifies to their great antiquity, further evidenced by the archaic language and the technique of these plays. (4) Owing to their having been well known plays verses and passages from them have been cited and criticized by rhetoricians such as Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin, and Vamana, although they do not name the source from which these verses and passages have been taken. (5) Apt expressions and felicitous similes have been borrowed from these plays by celebrated poets like Kālidāsa, Bhavabhūti and others. Being distinguished products of dramatic art, they are in style and matter worthy of the fame of the great Bhāsa. These are the arguments advanced in support of the theory. On the other hand those who repudiate the Bhāsa theory do so mainly for the following reasons. (1) This *Svapnavāsavadatta* does not contain the verse quoted by a certain rhetorician as from a drama of the same name, which drama, it is said, is probably the original *Svapnavāsavadatta* of Bhāsa. Likewise these plays ascribed to the great dramatist do not contain any of the verses cited in anthologies as his verses. (2) The stanza quoted from the *Harshacharita* of Bāṇa has been grossly misinterpreted and is quite irrelevant to the discussion. (3) The similarities of ideas and expression between these plays and the works of celebrated dramatists like Kālidāsa clearly prove that the author has unblushingly plagiarized from the works of other dramatists. (4) They contain irregularities of technique and a surprising number of grammatical blunders which exclude the possibility of their being the works of any reputable author, not to speak of Bhāsa. Obviously works of mediocre quality, they are in every way unworthy of being ascribed to the distinguished dramatist Bhāsa. I have singled out here for the purpose of this survey, only the most important arguments advanced on either side. None of them appear to me incontrovertible, the balance seems delicately

adjusted. It is a question where the emphasis should be laid and the answer to that question will largely depend on personal predilections.

The Bhasa question has acquired fresh interest and importance through the discovery of other dramas such as the *Matta* [235] *vilasa*¹ which apparently stand closer to our group than to the classical dramas like those of Kalidasa Bhavabhuti and others. It is becoming increasingly evident that we have before us dramas if not of Bhasa at least of a distinctly new school of dramatic art, and as such they are undeniably interesting and worthy of most careful study. There is nothing to be gained by peevishly brushing them aside as the lucubrations of a plagiarist or as the creations of an ingenious forger (as one learned Indian critic² has averred) simply because they are not exactly what we expect them to be or want them to be. Already the study of them has yielded some fruitful result and it is not too much to say that a deeper study of them may throw further light on some of the obscure corners of this interesting field of inquiry.

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[236] 5

See No 35

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Text edition

6

See No 35

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Ibid vol 41 (1921), pp 107-130
III On the relationship between the Chārudatta and the Mṛccha
katika. *Ibid* vol 42 (1922), pp 59-74

¹ Vikrama 1970 corresponds to A.D. 1914-15.

IV A concordance of the dramas In *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, vol 4 (1923)

V A bibliographical note In *Journ Bombay Branch of the Royal As Soc* vol 26, pp 230 ff

- 91 SUKTHANKAR V S A note on the dramas of Bhāsa. In *Sham'da* (a Magazine of Art, Literature and Philosophy, published in Madras), vol 3 (1922), p 59 f

A note of a popular character appended to the translation of the *Svapnavāsavadatta* appearing in the same Magazine.

- 92 THOMAS, F W The plays of Bhāsa In *Journ Roy As Soc* 1922 pp 79 83

Sets forth fresh reasons in support of the Bhāsa theory, being at the same a rejoinder to BARNETT, *ibid* 1921, pp 587 589 (see No 61)

- 93 VENKATARAMAN, T L The Date of Bhāsa In *Modern Review* (Calcutta), vol 14 (1913), p 579 f

Rejoinder to P CHAUDHURI'S The Date of Bhāsa *Mod Rev* vol 14 (1913), pp 382-387 See No 64

- [247] 94 WINTERNITZ, M Der indische Dramendichter Bhasa In *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, Jg 9 (1922), pp 282 299

Contents 1 Is Bhasa the author of the dramas attributed to him? 2 The date of Bhasa 3 Some observations on Max LINDENAU'S Bhasa Studien (see No 79) The Appendix emphasises the writer's view that the ascription of the plays to Bhasa is nothing more than a 'hypothesis,' which needs further investigation and verification

- 95 WINTERNITZ M Geschichte der indischen Literatur, Band 3 (1922), pp 184 202, 205 f 209 f, 644-646, see also Index s v Bhāsa

C. INCIDENTAL REFERENCES

- 96 BHATTANATHA SVAMIN Mayuraja In *Ind Ant* 41 (1912), p 141

A propos of M KRISHNAMACHARYA'S ascription of *Kṛṣṇavali* and other dramas to Bhāsa (see No 105)

- 97 DEB, HARIT KRISHNA Udayana Vatsa raja Calcutta, 1918, pp 19

A brochure published by the author himself—Mainly historical gleanings.

- 98 GRAY, LOUIS H Vasavadatta a Sanskrit romance by Subandhu translated with an introduction and notes New York, 1913, p 1 f (of the Introduction) (= Columbia University Indo-Iranian Series, vol 8)

99. JAYASWAL, K. P. Statues of two Śaiśunaka emperors (483-409 B. C.) In *The Journ. Bihar and Orissa Research Soc.* vol. 5 (1919), p. 98 f.

The Pratimā is cited here to establish the 'custom of maintaining a royal gallery of portrait statues,' such as those of the Śāta vāhana kings at Nānāghāt, and of the Śaiśunāga kings, now preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

100. JOLLY, J. Kollektaneen zum Kauṭīliya Arthaśāstra. In *Nachricht. konigl. Gesell. Wissen. zu Göttingen*, 1916, p. 353.
101. KALE, M. R. In the Introduction to his edition of the Ratnāvalī, Bombay, 1921, pp. xvii-xx.

Discusses the validity of the alleged quotations from the Kavi-vimarsa of Rājasekhara, published by Narayan Sastri. See also the bhūmikā to the Vani Vilasa edition of the Priyadarśikā, p. xxvii.

- [248] 102. KONOW, STEN. In his review of HILLEBRANDT's edition of the Mudrārākshasa, *Ind. Ant.* vol. 43 (1914), pp. 65-67.

103. KONOW, STEN. Zur Frühgeschichte des indischen Theaters In *Aufsätze zur Kultur- und Sprachgeschichte*, vornehmlich des Orients, Ernst Kuhn zum 70. Geburtstage am 7. Februar 1916 gewidmet von Freunden und Schülern. München, 1917, pp. 106 ff.

Embodying views substantially the same as those expressed in his work 'Das indische Drama' (see No. 74).

104. KONOW, STEN. In his review of W. CALAND's edition of Gopāla-kelichandrikā, *Ind. Ant.* vol. 49 (1920), pp. 233-235
- Chiefly criticises BARNETT's articles on the subject (see Nos. 59 & 60).

105. KRISHNAMACHARYA, M. A History of the Classical Sanskrit Literature, Madras, 1906, p. 67.

Refers to a tradition which ascribes the Udātтарāghava, Svapna-vāsavadatta, and Kirāṇvalī to Bhāsa. That passage has been criticized by Bhattanatha Svamin, *Ind. Ant.* vol. 41, p. 141.

106. MEHENDALE, K. C. Date of Śūdraka's Mṛcchakatika. In *Commemorative Essays presented to Sir Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar*, Poona, 1917, pp. 368-370, 374

'It is an undoubted fact that the *Chārudatta* formed a unit in the *nāṭakachakra* of Bhāsa. The *Cārudatta* printed in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series is evidently a fragment.'

107. NARASIMHACHAR, R. In *Archaeological Survey of Mysore, Annual Report, 1909-10*, p. 46.

The pertinent passages have been excerpted by V. A. SMITH, *Ind. Ant.* vol. 40, p. 87 f (see No. 88)

- 108 NERURKAR, V R In the Introduction to his edition of the *Mṛichchhakaṭika*, Bombay, 1919, pp 14 19

Chārudatta and *Mṛichchhakaṭika* are probably the productions of one and the same author—namely Bhasa. This is not the Pre-Kalidasian Bhāsa, but a Bhāsa who was dhavaka washerman by caste and who flourished in the time of Shri Harsha (7th Century—the first half) '.

- 109 PISCHEL, R In *Götting Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1883, pp 1229 ff

- [249] 110 SARASWATI, A RANGASWAMI The age of Bharavi and Dandin or the literary history of the Pallava period In *The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Bangalore, vol 13 (1923), p 686

- 111 SAUNDERS, VIRGINIA Some literary aspects of the absence of tragedy in the classical Sanskrit drama In *Journ Amer Or. Soc* vol 41 (1921), pp 152 156

VI ON THE PRAKRIT OF THE DRAMAS¹

THIS is a rather belated review of the thesis *Bhasa's Prakrit* by Dr WILHELM PRINTZ, which was accepted by the University of Frankfurt as 'Habilitationsschrift' in 1919 but which was not published till 1921. It is undoubtedly the most important contribution² hitherto made to the study of the Prakrit of the thirteen anonymous plays attributed to Bhasa and as such it deserves a detailed notice. Moreover as the author of the brochure contemplates incorporating the published material in a Prakrit Lexicon which he is preparing³ it appeared desirable that before the material is finally embodied in the proposed dictionary the thesis should be critically examined by some one who has made a careful study of these dramas. As I had already collected considerable data of a similar kind in the course of my study of the dramas I was in a position to check without much difficulty the statements of PRINTZ by comparing them with my own unpublished notes. The following review is the outcome of this comparison.

It may be stated at the very outset that the work of PRINTZ represents the most painstaking, minute and comprehensive review hitherto published of the Prakrit of these dramas. As a monument of patient erudition it commands respect and as a conscientious piece of laborious work it will be valued by every [104] serious student not only of the Trivandrum plays but also of dramatic Prakrit. The searching criticism to which it is here subjected is not made in a captious spirit of fault finding: it is offered with a view to increasing the value and utility of the work.

A defect which mars considerably the value of this dissertation is the axiomatic finality with which PRINTZ postulates the authorship of Bhasa for though the attribution of the plays to this dramatist may be said not to have been satisfactorily disproved⁴ it cannot be contended any longer in face of the numerous valid objections raised against the theory that it has been satisfactorily established either⁵. Not only does PRINTZ categorically

¹ [JBBRAS NS 1 103-117]

² WILHELM PRINTZ *Bhasa's Prakrit* Frankfurt a. M. 1921 im Selbstverlag, p. 17.

³ The Czech contribution of LESNY to the Bohemian Academy of Sciences is to me unfortunately a sealed book. Its resume ZDMG 72 (1918) 203 ff. is rather scrappy.

⁴ See PRINTZ's Einleitung (p. 3).

⁵ A. Bernadale KEITH Notes on the Sanskrit drama BSOS 3 295 ff.

⁶ See my Studies in Bhasa V JBBRAS 26 234. PISHAROTI and PISHAROTI, Bhasa's Works—Are they genuine? BSOS 3 107 ff. Kunhan RAJA Bhasa another side Zeitschr. f. Ind. u. Iran 2 247 ff. BARNETT BSOS 3 35 and W. E. CLARK JAOS 44 101 f.

assume Bhāsa's authorship, his methodology seems to imply also that the Trivandrum texts have been handed down in an almost unalloyed condition since the time of the supposed author Bhāsa.¹ PRINTZ deals with the Prakrit of these plays in the same confident way in which Prof LUDERS has dealt with the Prakrit of the Turfan fragments of Buddhist dramas.² In doing so, PRINTZ has failed to take into account the essential difference of character between the two sets of manuscripts, not to speak of the manner in which they have been edited, he appears not to appreciate the elementary fact that Prakrit texts are liable to serious mutilation and corruption in the course of transmission through centuries, and that they need most careful editing. PRINTZ's method of arguing is most unscientific.

Even a cursory examination of the Prakrit of these dramas is sufficient to show that the manuscripts are full of blunders and inconsistencies. Here are some *a priori* considerations which cast suspicion on the absolute purity of the text: the frequent elision in Śaurasenī of *t* in the termination of 3 Sing Pres. (-*ti*) and in the ending of the Part Perf Pass. (-*ta*) (PRINTZ 32, 39), the uniform [105] change of intervocalic -*th* to *h* (PRINTZ 16), the termination of 2 Plu Indic. and Imp -*ha* instead of -*dha* (PRINTZ 32), the frequent change, in Māgadhi, of initial *y-* to *j-* (PRINTZ 17), the (apparent) retention of -*yy* (derived from Skt. -*ry-*) in Śaurasenī (PRINTZ 21); evident Dravidianisms³ such as Śaur. *nd-* instead of -*nt* (PRINTZ 19), uniform cerebralization of *l* (initial as well as double) (PRINTZ 18); the forms *atlabhavam*, *tattabhavam*⁴ (PRINTZ 22), palpable Sanskritisms like *vissa-siṣṭi*, *samassasthi*,⁵ *rodidi* (PRINTZ 34), *āmantaāni* (PRINTZ 32), and so on and so forth.

Another—and a more serious—defect in this dissertation of PRINTZ arises out of the faulty classification of the Prakrits. It is extremely unfortunate that PRINTZ (p. 6) should have thought fit to style as Māgadhi the Prakrit of the Cowherds in the two Kṛṣṇa dramas. It seems unnecessary to point out that a Magadhi in which the Nom Sing of thematic stems ends in *o* is no Māgadhi at all, at least not the Māgadhi we know anything of. This curious dialect of the Cowherds in Bāla and Pañca has all the appearance of being a western or northern dialect, and may, for the sake of convenience, be styled a variety of Śaurasenī, as WELLER has done,⁶ but I fail to see how it could be called Māgadhi. Again, to bracket together the dialect of Indra (in Karma) and of the Pugilists (in Bāla), and to label them as Ardhamāgadhi⁷ is not merely a 'Notbehelf' (as PRINTZ calls it), but the

¹ LUDERS, *Bruchstücke buddhistischer Dramen*, Berlin 1911.

² FISCHER 275.

³ *Ibid* 293.

⁴ *Ibid* 495.

⁵ Dr H. WELLER *Bāla-carita* (Leipzig 1822), Vorwort, p. iii. BANERJĠ SASTRI, *Bhāsa: His age and Māgadhi*, *Journ of the Bihar & Orissa Res Soc* 1923, pp. 1 ff. admits under Māgadhi the dialects of Ummattaka and Sakāra only.

⁶ KONOW, *Das indische Drama* § 11, hesitatingly assigns Ardhamāgadhi to the dialect of Indra (Karma) only.

height of inconsequence and arbitrariness. It seems almost as though PRINTZ needed Belege for Ardhamagadhu in order to complete his case for Bhasa and the dialect of the Pugilists was the only one handy besides the few sentences spoken by Indra. These facts unfortunately make PRINTZ's citations for Magadhu and Ardhamagadhu all but useless.

Since the appearance of the dissertation of PRINTZ our knowledge of dramatic Prakrit has been considerably furthered through [106] the publication of the southern texts of other dramas.¹³ The additional light thrown by these publications on the practice of southern dramatists and southern scribes will necessitate correction in many a hasty generalization of PRINTZ based on an observation of too narrow a field.

With these preliminary remarks we may proceed to an examination of PRINTZ's treatment of the grammar of the Prakrit of these plays which begins on p. 8 and comprises the major part of the thesis.

Page 8 (Line 5) *Ś paada* (*prakṛta*) Avī 29 has the usual meaning common. *paadagana* means a common prostitute and therefore it is not necessary to stretch *paada* to mean *weggejagt*, as P. does.—(Line 6) There is no need to trace back *pakida* Pratiṇa 13 to *prakṛta* since *prakṛtaḥ* (Pkt. *pakido* a common fellow) gives a thoroughly satisfactory sense without any difficulty.—(Line 12) *vasabha* and *govaśaha* Bala 15 are not Mag. they may be said to belong to a sub-variety of Śaur assigned to Cow herds.—(Line 13) *hīa* Bala 54 is likewise not Māg.—Thus the distinction that P. tries to draw between the Śaur and Mag treatments of *ṛ* (line 9) on the ground of the instances cited by him in the first paragraph is illusory.—(Line 18) *Ś ullim* ifc Pratiṇa 44 is noteworthy only as an orthographical peculiarity for the elision of medial *v* in these mss. cf. PRINTZ 19. The *v* of *vullu* has been correctly retained in *saharanavullim* Caru 7. *Ś ullanta* (*ṛṭṭanta*) Pratiṇa 18 Abhi 24 appears not to have even that justification. There should be no hesitation in correcting the text reading to *vullanta* since the former appears to owe its existence to the influence of such doubtful forms as *paulla* Pratiṇa 51 *śampauda* Bala. 9.—(Line 24) *amida* Bala 39 is [107] taken from the speech of Vṛddhagopalaka and is therefore not Māg.

Page 9 (Line 4) As we find *yeva* (i.e. *eva* with prefixed *y*) even in the Old Śaur of the Turfan fragments (LUDERS 59) the Śaur *e(v)ia* of our mss. would appear to be an orthographical blunder. It is probably nothing more than a Sanskritism.—(Line 32) In *odaraḍi via* (*avataratī na*) Caru

¹³ Among others *Mattavilasa* (Trivandrum Skt. Series, no. 55) *halyaṇa saugandhika* (BSOS 3 33 ff.) and the prologue of the *Ācāryaśūdamani* (BSOS 3, 116 ff.) besides the southern recensions of classical and post-classical dramas, published in the Trivandrum Skt. Series and elsewhere.—For important additions of lengthy Māgadhī passages unknown to FISCHER and perhaps to PRINTZ see now W. E. CLARK *Māgadhī and Ardhamagadhu* JAOS 44 96 footnote 44.

51 etc. there appears to be a confusion between the use of the enclitikon *-via* (with subsequent elision of one *v* and compensation lengthening) and that of *ś via*¹⁴ The alternative forms are *odaradīva* (for *odaradī-
vva*) and *odaradī via*, the hybrid forms of our mss appear to be utterly without justification.

Page 10 (Line 13) There is no shortening of the end vowel in *haddhī* (*hā dhik*), which is arrived at by a regular elision of the final consonant, on the other hand there is an anomalous lengthening of the end vowel in *haddhī* cited by P from Śak.—(Line 17) As the short final of vocatives of nouns ending in *-a* alternated frequently with the pluti vowel,¹⁵ it is highly improbable that the initial of *khu* should be doubled just after a vocative, when it is not doubled in any other position WELLER (ed Bālacarita, p 38) is therefore perfectly justified in emending the ms reading *kkhu* (in the four isolated cases in) Bāla 34 to *khu*—(Line 21) *dhikkhu*=*dhik khalu* and not *ahik khalu*—(Line 30) As the Old Śaur of Turfan fragments shows *yeva*, the form *ś idisavannayyeva* (*idīsavannā+eva*), condemned by P appears to be correct Pkt. on the other hand the spurious forms *e(v)ia*, approved of by P, have all the appearance of being unauthorized Sanskritisms, as already remarked—(Line 34) *durattamayyeva* Bāla 18 is not Mag

Page 11 (Line 9) *ś matta* (*mātra*) i/c. occurs likewise in Kalyāṇa saugandhika (ed BARNETT, BSOS 3 37), *elliammatto maggo* [108] If it is an archaism, as it appears to be, it is probably one common to all Malayalam mss, and not peculiar to the Trivandrum plays. Hema 1 81 cites, as a matter of fact, both variants *matta* and *metta*—(Line 34) P implies that the form *purusa* is older than *purīsa* It may be so. But Markandeya, Prakṛtasarvasva 99, assigns *purusa* to Śaur and *purīsa* to Mahārāṣṭri This suggests that the difference between them is really dialectic, a view fully endorsed by the ground form **purṣa* (WACKERNAGEL, Altind Gram 1 §51) In the northern mss, the Mahārāṣṭri form *purīsa* appears to have been stereotyped. In our mss, however, *purusa* may be merely an incorrect (or accidentally correct) Tadbhava

Page 12, line 20 *ś arithadī*, etc I adhere to the views expressed in my Studies in Bhasa I, JAOS 40, 252 f, despite the remarks of PRINTZ on p 46

Page 13, line 3 With *puruva* (*pūruva*) i/c of our mss compare *duṭṭhapuru[vo]* of the Turfan Fragments (LUDERS 50), not noticed by P

Page 14, line 19 P mentions *oggada* Bāla. 9 12 as an exception to the rule that the preposition *apa* appears invariably as *aia*, but, as a matter

¹⁴ PISCHEL's observation is that *iva* becomes *iua* after short vowels 'sporadically in verses only, one of the examples cited by him is *samusasantiua*. But the rule holds good only for Mahār, Ardham. and Jaina Mahār (Gramm Pkt Spr 143)

¹⁵ See PISCHEL 71 The length is maintained even in the tertiary stage, cf. BLOCH La formation de la langue marathe, p 180

of fact, it is better to trace *oggada* to *udgata*¹⁶ than to *apagata* (proposed by Chāyā), for the instances of the change of short *u* to short *o* see PRINIZ 11 f

Page 15 (Line 18) The explanation of *ṣuṭṭhu idam* Bāla 42 (proposed in the Chāyā and accepted by P) is unsatisfactory. In view of *ṣuṭṭhu gādam* in the parallel passage Pañca 22, either read *ṣuṭṭhu idam*, or correct the text to *ṣuṭṭhu gādam*, following WELLER, ed Bālacarita p 49. There should be really no hesitation in making the correction since the text of the Trivandrum edition is based on one single ms, which swarms with mistakes.—(Line 11) The change of *th* to *h* (instead of *dh*) in Śaur appears to be a characteristic of these Malayalam mss., thus Kalyanas (ed BARNETT) has *kaham* (pp 36, 37, Skt. *katham*), *naha* (pp 40, 41, 48 Skt *natha*), etc. Similarly in the extract from the Prologue of the Ācāryacūḍāmaṇi (BSOS 3, 117) published by Pisharoti

[109] **Page 16, line 15** P does not give the reference for *agham* = *dhik*, but I expect that the Chāyā spells it correctly as *dhik*

Page 17 (Line 13) As regards the change of *cch* to *sc*, it should be remembered that the rule is seldom followed in the mss of dramas. PISCHEL admits that the texts have mostly *cch*, and although he adds that the mss show distinct traces of this rule, he cites only instances from the Mṛccha and the Com Prthivīdhara. To judge by the dramatic texts published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series (such as the Mattavilāsa Subhadrādhanaṃjaya and others), the Malayalam mss show uniformly *cch*¹⁷—(Line 14) The instances P quotes for the retention of *y* in Magadhī have been taken mostly from the speeches of Cowherds in the two Kṛṣṇa dramas, and are therefore, for reasons already given perfectly irrelevant. Moreover, the instances cited for the irregular change of *y* to *j* in Māg are more numerous than for the correct retention of *y*. Conversely, the instances for the incorrect retention of *y* in Śaur are almost as numerous as those for the regular change of *y* to *j*. In fact, the treatment of *y j* in the mss of our dramas is inconsequent to a degree, violating all rules of Pkt grammar, and cannot therefore be made the basis of any inference like that drawn by P.

Page 18 (Line 16) The rule regarding the change of *r* to *l* is not applicable to the cases P has in view, the dialect in question not being Māg, so there is probably no text corruption.—(Line 36) *l* for *l* appears to be a characteristic of Malayalam mss, cf Kalyānas (ed BARNETT) p 41 *lak kīadi* p 42 *sagga lacchi* p 49 *bahalattana*—But it is never carried out quite so consistently as in the Trivandrum texts. My surmise is that the editor has normalized the spelling and written *l* throughout irrespective of the ms spelling

¹⁶ APTE'S Dictionary gives sub voce *ud gam* the meaning 'to depart (as life)'

¹⁷ See W. E. CLARK JAOS 44 82-93

Page 20 (Line 13) The confusion between the Śaur and Mag treatments (*nn* and *ññ*) of the Skt. *ñ* is so complete in our mss and besides so common in all classes of mss that to my mind it is most uncritical to assume that *nn* has crept into our texts through contamination with younger texts—(Line 15) The examples *yañña* Bala. 9 and *lañño* Bala. 10 cited by P as Māg [110] are not Mag—(Line 17) The treatment of Skt *ny* is analogous and P himself cites a very illuminating example *Ś dakkhūññada*, *sadakkhūñña sadakkhūnna* and *adakkhūnna*—(Line 33) Owing to the uncertainty characterizing the ligature *yy* in southern mss, we cannot attach much importance to the spelling *uyyana* (*udyana*) Avī 2, 4, it may be read as *uyyana* or as *ujjana*, see below

Page 21 (Line 4f) The examples *anna*, *kannaō* and *nāsa* cited by P from Bāla are not Māg, but, as pointed out often enough above, a variety of Śaur—(Line 12) BARNETT in his edition of the Kalyāṇas. (BSOS 3, 36 footnote 5) states that in his ms the word *ayya* is spelt *ama*,¹⁸ and therefore in all likelihood the Trivandrum mss also follow the same orthography, although Ganapati SASTRI is silent on the point. It must thus be regarded as still uncertain whether the ligature is to be read as *yy* or as *jj*, or again be looked on as representing a sound intermediate between the two (PISCHEL 193 284) P adds that the reading *yy* is assured because of the hesitating orthography in words like *nīyyādedi* *nīādedi*, but in this P is grossly mistaken, for P admits that *j* is preserved only—or at least mostly—at the point of contact in a compound but is elided generally in the middle of a word (PRINTZ 15), *nīādedi* may therefore stand for *nījādedi* as well as for *nījādedi* since intervocalic *j* is dropped in the same way as intervocalic *y* cf *antaa* (*antaja*) Avī 14 *pūana* (*pujaniya*) Caru 34 *rāā* (*raja*) Svapna. 6 etc. Thus it is evident that it is a futile attempt to try to place the treatment of Skt. *ry* in our dramas on the same footing as in the Turfan Fragments¹⁹

Page 22, line 13 The Chāyā is perfectly right in explaining the compound *śaṣṭhikīda* as *śaṣṭhikīta*, see MORGENSTIERNE, *Ueber das Verhältnis zwischen Cāru u Mṛccha* 30 The rendering of P is grammatically faultless, unfortunately it makes no sense. Expand the compound *śaṣṭhi(sambandhi)kīta devakārya* (= *kītaśaṣṭhisambandhidetakārya*) 'one who has performed the religious duties [111] (pertaining) to the sixth', for the transposition of the members of a compound, see PISCHEL 603, for the significance of the sixth, see the discussion on the tithi scheme and the time analysis of the Cāru in my *Studies in Bhāsa III*, JAOS 42 67 ff Lastly, it may be pointed out that the usual reflex of *-rth*, in our plays is *tth* and not *lth*.

¹⁸ See also his footnote to PISHAROTI's transliteration of the Prologue of the *Aśvamedhīmāṇi* BSOS 3, 116.

¹⁹ LESNY (ZDMG 72 207) has fallen in the same trap through the omission of the editor to report about the orthographical peculiarity of southern mss.

Page 23 line 12 P has failed to notice that *nikkhanta* of our dramas has a parallel in *nikkhanta* of the Turfan Fragments (LÜDERS 61)

^o The use of the cerebral ṣ is certainly peculiar. Though unnoted by Prakrit grammarians it is not altogether unknown to Prakrit orthography. The Shahbazgarhi Mansera and Kalsi versions of Aśoka's edicts are full of words pelted with the cerebral ṣ . A few examples chosen at random are: Rock Edict XII *Shavraprasadamā* M *savraprasadani* K *ṣavaprasadani* III M *paṇiṣa* XIII K *ṣe* *aṭhi amuṣaye* ibid. *aṭhatasabhiṣatāṣa devanani pṛiyaṣa* P *yadaṣ ne laṣ ne* VIII Sh *daṣavasabhiṣto sato*

²¹ The text reading *s avia dakkhimamasaṃ bi avissanti* repeated by the Vḍusaka on p. 6 of the text.

example, as P has omitted to give the reference to the text (8) As a reference to the Petersb Dict. will show *paṭaha* is used sometimes as n and what is more important is that the passage cited (Bala 62) is not Ardham. (9) P has not given a single instance of any of these words being actually used in these plays with masc. ending to show that they are used in the Prakrit of these dramas as masc. nouns on the other hand he has cited (p 25) a number of cases in which the gender has actually changed from m to n *ankusa puruṣakara guda nāraka vasa svapna*, and *tanḍula* some of which are used in both genders indiscriminately And as pointed out above none of these words (with the exception of the two adjectives) are protected against neutralization by their meaning as they are all names of inanimate objects (10) Lastly it is worth remembering that Prof LUDERS, after a most exhaustive and minute investigation of the entire material has succeeded in establishing this peculiar form for Ardham. and Mag only for Śaur its propriety is still questionable (LUDERS Epigraphische Beiträge III — Sitzungsber Preuss Akad 1913 p 1009) It should seem then that while there is a distinct possibility that some of the instances cited by P are Acc. Plu Masc. formed with the termination *am* in others there has most probably been a change of gender The claim of P is justified to [113] a certain extent, but it is undeniable that P considerably over shoots the mark.

Page 27 (Line 23) The propriety of assuming a Loc. Sing Fem. *raam* is questionable we should sooner assume an unauthorized Sanskritism — (Line 27) *vina* Caru 79 has been correctly construed in the Chaya as Nom. PRINTZ has been apparently misled by the text reading *vadaant*, which is only a misprint for *vadānti* duly corrected in the second edition (p 97) — (Line 32) There is no need to correct *Ujjaino* to *Ujjaine* in *Svapna* 21 22 (first ed pp 20 21) since *Ujjaino* is not Gen Sing but a nominal adj. (— *Ujjayinika* or *Ujjayinīya*) derived from *Ujjayini* P has again allowed himself to be misled by the Chaya

Page 30 (Line 2) P has misunderstood the passage cited by him the subject of *bhavissati* is *utānam* and not *tanu* which is the predicate! — (Line 3) *tanu* *Svapna*. 33 is not Acc Plu Masc but Nom Plu Neut (see above) — (Line 35) It is uncertain whether *iman* *Pratijna* 46 should be regarded as Masc. or Neut. since *masaam* Caru 5 6 has been used once as Nom Plu (see above)

Page 31 lines 29 31 *ś saṭṭhi saṭṭam* and *aṭṭham* refer to the day of the lunar month and not to the hour of the day cf *aṭṭham kṣu aṭṭa* Caru 53 Further *kalāṭṭham* *Pratijna* 50 is not the black eighth hour but the eighth day of the dark fortnight of Śravana when *hṛṣṇa* was born, a day also known as *hṛṣṇastam*

Page 34 line 27 The text reading *adaant* Caru 79 is only a misprint as already remarked for *adānti* corrected in the second edition The sign

of the medial *ṛ* was displaced and knocked off by the superior Devanagari figure 4. The Chaya correctly renders it as *vadyante* a fact which should have put P. on the right track.

Page 35 line 36 It is not quite clear to me what P. means by future forms with thematic *ṛ* unless he is referring to forms like *ukkanthissidi* Svapna 17 *ṇissidi* Dutagh 54. The Turfan fragments have preserved *pavvayissiti* (LUDERS 48 footnote 1).

Page 36 line 23 No need to correct *pucchiadi* to *pacchiadi* if the sentence is understood aright see BELLONI FILIPPI Note [114] critiche ed esegetiche al Carudatta di Bhasa Riv studi orient 9 586.

Page 41 line 16 In explaining *aama* Pratijña 11 as Abs. of rt *gam* P. follows the Chaya and has been misled again for by reading the passage himself he could have seen that *agamyā* in that context does not make any sense here *āma* is obviously *acamyā* *acamana* being a ceremony which always precedes the *prāṇama*. The stage direction *acamyā* is particularly frequent in these plays.

Page 44 (Line 11) *Ṣ ama* occurs in the Bṛhatkathaslokasaṃgraha 5 114 and 9 70 as pointed out by WINTERNITZ *Ostasiat Zeitsch* 9 290 and in Mattavilasa.—(Line 19) *Ṣ uvanhana* Avī 79 to judge by the context is not *Waschwasser* but some other accessory of the bath perhaps ointment.—(Line 26) The reference for *kumbhavaṣa* has been left out inadvertently.

Page 45 (Line 2) If *tunna* is the same as *tunha* of the second edition (p 21) it will hardly be necessary to assume the improbable meaning *Schwiegertochter* for an imaginary word *tunna* since *tunha* is a regular derivative of Skt. *tuṣṇika* silent, which gives a thoroughly satisfactory sense see my translation (Oxford University Press 1923) p 21.—(Line 4) The successive steps by which *pankhu* Bala 14 is reached appear to be these Skt *pāṃsu* > Pkt. *paṃṣu* ² *parikhu* *pankhu* whether the form is valid and admissible is another question about the meaning, however there cannot be any doubt see WELLER *Die Abenteuer des Knaben Krishna* Anmerkungen p 94.—(Line 7) Instead of correcting *ṛaḍivassaa* Caru 14 to *paḍivassaa*—(as suggested by P.) adopt the reading of ms. *kha paḍivassaa* (Skt. *prativēṣya*) Cāru 4 footnote.—(Line 13) *Ṣ paḍisara* is as Gaṇapati SASTRI in his commentary to the second edition of the Pratijña explains, a charmed protective thread worn round the arm (*hastadharyāḥ rakṣasūtram*) in support he quotes Keśava *pratisarastu syad hastasūtre nṣaṇḍayoh | vṛanasuddhau ca kecit tu strīyam pratisarāḥ viduḥ |*—(Line 21) For *S landuo* see now MORGENSTIERNE *Ueber das Verhältniss zwischen Caru u Mṛccha* p 27 f who has undoubtedly proposed a very

satisfactory explanation—(Line 22) For *lohi* also see MORGENTHAU op cit p 26 who refers to a Divyavadana passage cited by MONIER WILLIAMS—(Line 24) Both the form and meaning of *honti* Svapna 59 are quite clear The Chaya rightly explains it as *hunkṣti honti* — *hum* is for *hum* its lit hum making that is following the narrative with the ejaculation hum in order to show continued attention see my (O U P) p 57 and explanatory note 20 Cf the analogous derivatives *jhaṭ* its *taḍ* its and see examples in Kaśika to Pāṇini 6 1 98. See also now BELLONI FILIPPI *Riv studi orient* 10 370

We will now revert to p 5 of the thesis where PRINTZ has presented in a collected form the most important peculiarities of the Prakrit of these dramas, which establish according to him (p 47) the antiquity of the dramas as also in a remote manner the authorship of Bhasa. In regard to these alleged peculiarities,²³ I have to submit the following remarks and reservations (1) *mella* (*matra*) according to P is later than *matta* It may be so But *matta* is mentioned by grammarians like Hemacandra and occurs in the Kalyanas also It cannot therefore be said to be peculiar to the Trivandrum plays. (2) Svarabhakti *u* in *putusa* is correct in Śaur according to Markaṇḍeya. (3) *puruva* (instead of *puvva* Skt. *purva*) ifc. is found in the Turfan Fragments and may therefore be regarded as a genuine archaism. (4) The regular cerebralization of *l* is a characteristic of Malayalam mss also found in most of the southern editions of classical dramas recently published it is not a peculiarity of the Trivandrum plays. (5) In the hesitation between the reflexes *nn* and *-nn* (Turfan *nn*) of *n* I see a confusion between the Śaur and Mag forms an explanation which harmonises with the frequent representation of *ny* by *nn* (the Turfan mss. show *nn*) (6) The alleged change of *dy* (in *ud y*) and *-y* to *yy* is ur [116]-certain since the symbol used in southern mss to represent the ligature is ambiguous These doubts are only strengthened by the inconsequent treatment of initial *y* (7) The change of *kṣ* to *kkh* instead of *cch* signifies nothing relative to the age of the plays (8) Some of the instances of Acc Plu Masc ending in *am* cited by P are valid others are doubtful or spurious (9) Nom Acc Plu Neut in *-am* appears to be a common if not the regular form in Malayalam mss (10) The Loc Sing Fem ending in *āam* as well as *attanam* (for *attanaam*) I regard as Sanskritisms as there is no authority for them anywhere else (11) *vaam* *amhaam* *tava* and *kissa* are true archaisms as they are documented by actual instances in the Turfan Fragments But it appears now that they

³ See also W E CLARK *JAOS* 44 101 f.—CLARK takes exception to my use of the term archaism but there can be I think, no question that the forms mentioned by me are archaic that is to say they belong to the Old Prakrit in contradistinction to the rest of the Prakrit of the dramas, which is mostly Middle Prakrit. That is exactly the sense in which I use the word archaic.

are not peculiar to the Trivandrum plays, since they are also found in other Malayalam mss of in part, very late plays such as the *Mattavilāsa Nāga nanda* and others (12) *kocci* I am unable to account for (13) In view of the *genh* of the Turfan fragments *ganhadi* appears to be a misformation a hybrid Tadbhava (14) The Part Pres Pass in *īamana*, I am inclined to regard with suspicion (15) As has been observed by P and other writers, these mss contain clear instances of the inhibition of simplification of double consonants and compensation lengthening Malayalam mss in general as appears from text editions of dramas published in recent years favour this inhibition (16) *karia* and *gacchia* are true archaisms, but *aamia* should be deleted from the list since it is a reflex not of *āgamyā* but of *acamyā* (17) The use of *ma* with Imp, Inf or Abs and the employment of Part Perf Pass as nomen actionis are matters of style and have no bearing on the question of the age of the plays

The more important of the general observations regarding the Prakrit of these plays scattered through the above pages may be conveniently summarized as follows Firstly, even if these plays be Bhāsa dramas (or as some scholars think adaptations of Bhāsa dramas), the Prakrit they contain is not necessarily *Bhāsa's* Prakrit since our mss are barely 300 years old Secondly, owing to faulty classification PRINTZ'S citations of Mag and Ardham. forms are useless for purposes of dialect differentiation Thirdly [117] we cannot be sure that forms like *malta* (*mātra*) *purusa* (*puruṣa*) *eva* are archaic or even legitimate Prakrit forms unless we find corroboration from more reliable sources they may be mere Sanskritisms Fourthly the treatment of the ligatures *jñ ny ry* in our mss is confused and inconsequent hence in regard partly to the near possibility of confusion between Saur and Mag. forms and partly to the ambiguity of the symbol representing the ligature *jñ yy* PRINTZ'S attempt to bring the treatment of these conjuncts in a line with their treatment in the Turfan fragments and to base thereon chronological conclusions regarding the stage of development of Bhāsa's Prakrit may be regarded as having signally failed Fifthly the most important contribution to the subject made by PRINTZ is to have shown that the mss of our plays contain some instances of the Acc. Plū Masc ending in *am* though the instances are not quite as numerous as PRINTZ supposes them to be Sixthly besides this noteworthy form the mss. contain a few more instances of genuine Prakrit archaisms but as these latter are met with also in Malayalam mss of classical dramas and of even later southern productions the Prakrit argument is inconclusive and cannot by itself be safely made the basis of chronology Seventhly and lastly a satisfactory solution of the Bhāsa question cannot be reached from a study merely of the Prakrits of the plays.

nameless, an assumption on the face of it, not less improbable than the other³

Next take the lack of accord with the rules of theorists like Bharata as seen in the admittance, into our plays, of stage fights and death scenes, which were avoided in the classical drama, and are in part expressly forbidden by Bharata. This has been utilized by the protagonists of the theory as another proof of the antiquity of the plays. But this explanation, like the previous one, has all the appearance of being another subtle attempt at exploiting our ignorance of pre classical technique, being in the last analysis nothing more nor less than a deduction from the *a priori* assumption that the plays in dispute are pre-classical. The Mahābhāṣya passage enlisted by KEITH (*The Skt Drama* p 110) in this connection does not in any way countenance the assumption, for WEBER'S theory of *mimic killing of Kamsa and mimic binding of Bali*, which has repeatedly been shown to be inadequate, must, unfortunately, be finally abandoned now, after the conclusive proofs brought forward by Prof LUDERS⁴ to show that the Śaubbhikas and the Granthikas were both merely raconteurs or rhapsodes—The conflict with the rules of treatises on rhetorics admits of another explanation which must be pronounced to be quite as plausible as the former, if not still more so. These innovations it has been urged have been introduced in quite recent times with a view to producing a more arresting stage effect, to striking a more popular note in the presentation of Sanskrit plays, and there is ample evidence to show that these plays have indeed been very popular, as stage [128] plays, in Malayalam where some of them are even now regularly produced by professional hereditary actors, locally known as Cakyārs and Nangyars (PISHAROTI *BSOS* 3, 112 f)

Then there is the argument based on similarities in diction and ideas between these plays and some celebrated plays such as *Sakuntala*. These similarities are clearly equivocal. While they can on the one hand be used⁵ to prove that the striking ideas of the author of the anonymous plays have been freely borrowed and amplified by others they can on the other hand be also used with equal cogency, to support the view that the anonymous compilers of these plays have found in the works of classical dramatists a splendid hunting ground for *bons mots* and happy thoughts⁶. And the protagonists of the theory have to admit that no strict proof of indebtedness is possible. KEITH (op cit. p 124) confidently assures us that 'the evidence is sufficient to induce conviction to any one accustomed to weighing literary evidence of borrowing.' Yes, but what is the test of one's being accustomed to weighing literary evidence of borrowing? Presumably, the susceptibility to the conviction being induced¹

³ PISHAROTI *BSOS* 3 115

⁴ Die Śaubbhikas, *SB4W* 1916 698 ff

⁵ See for instance Ganapati SASTRI in the Introduction to his edition of SV

⁶ Cf RAJA in *Zeitschr f Ind u Iran* (ZII) 2 260

THE BHĀSA RIDDLE : A PROPOSED SOLUTION*

THE previous history¹ of the discussion centering round the thirteen anonymous dramas discovered by Pandit Ganapati SASTRI and attributed by him to Bhāsa is sufficiently well known, and there is no need to repeat it here in detail. It will suffice to observe that many distinguished scholars, whose researches in Sanskrit literature entitle them to speak with authority, fully agree with the learned editor of the Trivāṇḍrum Sanskrit Series, and whole heartedly support him in attributing these plays to Bhāsa. The theory has not however won entire satisfaction. Prominent among the dissenters are Ramavatara SARMA Pandeya, BARNETT, Bhattanatha, SVAMIN, Rangacarya RADDI, KANE, and (latterly also) PISHAROTI, who all agree in placing the dramas after the seventh century A.D., and in regarding them as the work of some paltry playwright or playwrights. Between these extremes lie the views of WINTERNITZ and myself. We accepted the Bhāsa theory, but not without some reserve, while recognizing that the propounder and the supporters of the hypothesis had a strong *prima facie* case, we held at the same time that the evidence adduced did not amount to a conclusive proof (see above, vol 26, p 232)

* * *

One peculiarity of the Bhāsa problem appears not to have been clearly realized by most previous writers on the subject. This peculiarity is that there is not a single argument advanced on *either side* that may be regarded as conclusive and that has not been or cannot, be, met by an almost equally sound argument on the opposite side.

Let us consider some individual instances. Take the fact that the title of the work and the name of the author are not mentioned [127] in the rudimentary *sthāpanā* of these plays. This omission is explained by the supporters of the theory on the assumption that in pre classical times details like these were left to the preliminaries and are therefore not found in the *sthāpanā*.² The explanation possesses a certain degree of probability, but nothing more since it involves an unsupported and unproved, though plausible, assumption—On the other hand those writers who deny the authorship of Bhāsa explain the omission on the ground that the plagiarists or adapters, whose handiworks these dramas are, had very obvious reasons to remain

* [JBBRAS NS 1 126-143]

¹ Bibliographical material will be found in my "Studies in Bhāsa (V)", above vol 26 pp. 230 ff

² KERTII, *The Sanskrit Drama* (Oxford 1921), p 111

nameless an assumption on the face of it not less improbable than the other³

Next take the lack of accord with the rules of theorists like Bharata as seen in the admittance into our plays of stage fights and death scenes which were avoided in the classical drama and are in part expressly forbidden by Bharata. This has been utilized by the protagonists of the theory as another proof of the antiquity of the plays. But this explanation like the previous one, has all the appearance of being another subtle attempt at exploiting our ignorance of pre-classical technique, being in the last analysis nothing more nor less than a deduction from the *a priori* assumption that the plays in dispute are pre-classical. The Mahabhasya passage enlisted by KEITH (*The Skt Drama* p 110) in this connection does not in any way countenance the assumption for WEBER'S theory of mimic killing of Kamsa and mimic binding of Bali which has repeatedly been shown to be inadequate, must, unfortunately be finally abandoned now after the conclusive proofs brought forward by Prof LUEERS⁴ to show that the Saubhikas and the Granthikas were both merely raconteurs or rhapsodes--The conflict with the rules of treatises on rhetorics admits of another explanation which must be pronounced to be quite as plausible as the former if not still more so. These innovations, it has been urged have been introduced in quite recent times with a view to producing a more arresting stage effect, to striking a more popular note in the presentation of Sanskrit plays and there is ample evidence to show that these plays have indeed been very popular as stage [128] plays in Malayalam where some of them are even now regularly produced by professional hereditary actors locally known as Cakyars and Nangyars (PISHAROTI BSOS 3 112 f)

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³ PISHAROTI BSOS 3 115

⁴ "De Saubhikas," SB4W 1916 698 ff

⁵ See for instance Ganapati SASTRI in the Introduction to his edition of SV

⁶ Cf RAJA in *Zeitschr f Ind u Iran* (ZII) 2 260

Then there are verses in these dramas that are found cited or criticized in different treatises on rhetorics. They have been used by those who favour the Bhasa theory to corroborate their view that these are works of a very considerable writer who could be no other than Bhasa. The rhetoricians being mostly silent on the point we do not know that the verses quoted were taken from dramas by Bhasa. It cannot however be denied that the view can claim for itself a certain degree of plausibility—On the other hand it is also not quite impossible that these verses might have been appropriated for their own use by adapters at a moment when the creative faculty being too severely taxed had refused to function further.

Great capital has been made by the opponents of the theory out of certain verses which are cited as Bhasa's in anthologies of Sanskrit verse but are not found in the present plays.⁷ The argument is not as sound as it at first sight appears. It is easy to explain their absence on the hypothesis that the supposed author had written further plays or poems which may be the sources of these citations (KEITH op cit. p 105). And if that does not suffice it may with some plausibility be urged that these verses have been excerpted from some lost recensions of these dramas. We need only recall the well known fact that in the third act of the Bengali recension of *Sakuntala* one scene is four or five times as long as the corresponding portion in the Devanagari recension even the names of the *dramatis personae* are in part different in the two recensions.⁸ As a last resort one may even enlist the unquestionable facts that in these anthologies the names of authors are frequently misquoted the same verse is attributed to different authors and finally verses attributed even to Kalidasa and other celebrated dramatists are not found in their extant works.

I have so far dealt with some of the minor arguments advanced on either side and tried to show that they are utterly inconclusive. There are however some arguments that are considered by their propounders as decisive in character and to these we shall now turn our attention.

One of these arguments is that our plays are begun by the Sutrādharā in contradistinction to the classical plays and that this characteristic of the plays by Bhasa has been pointedly alluded to by Bāṇa in the distich in which he celebrates the great dramatist. This argument on which the supporters of the theory place so much reliance is doubly fallacious and the great effort made to find in this fact a proof conclusive of the authorship of Bhasa must definitely be pronounced a failure. The verse from the *Harṣacarita* states merely that Bhasa's dramas were begun by the Sutrādharā. It is the perversion of all probability to find in this innocuous statement a distinguishing characteristic of Bhasa dramas, because every Sanskrit play we know of

⁷ Cf. *Ramavatara* SARMA Pandeya *Sarada* vol 1 p 7

⁸ *Sakuntalā* ed. MONIER WILLIAMS (Oxford 1876) Preface, p vii

all the dramas by Kalidasa Harsha Bhavabhuti and other dramatists were likewise begun by the Sutradhara. The latter fact is somewhat obscured by the circumstance that instead of the correct shorter formula *nandyante* [130] *sutradharah* some northern manuscripts read

nandyante tatra pratisati sutradharah

these words being placed between the benedictory verse (or verses) with which all dramatic manuscripts begin and the introductory prose speech of the Sutradhara. When the stage direction reads merely *nandyante sutradharah* there is no question that the Sutradhara does *not* enter at the point where this stage direction is inserted and must be supposed to be on the stage already for the simple reason that the manuscripts contain no stage direction announcing his entry. Who recites the nandī follows from the direction of the *Natyashastra* of Bharata (Ed. Kavyamala adh. 5 v. 98)

*sutradharah pathet tatra madhyaman staram astital
nandim*

In view of this clear statement of Bharata can we legitimately draw any conclusion other than that the nandī of the classical dramas was recited by the Sutradhara himself? Thus according to the testimony of the vast majority of manuscripts and conformably to the rules of rhetoricians, the procedure is that the Sutradhara first recites the benedictory stanzas (with which manuscripts of all dramas commence) and then proceeds with the prose speech assigned to his role. The words *nandyante sutradharah* of the northern manuscripts then mean at the end of the nandī the Sutradhara (continues speaking). This is the view of the commentator Jagaddhara⁹ and it appears to be perfectly sound. If it is admitted that the plays without exception were begun by the Sutradhara with the recitation of benedictory stanzas, it is clear that the position and the wording of the first stage direction has nothing whatsoever to do with the question whether the play is begun by the stage-director or not. The only difference between the manuscripts of the Trivandrum plays and the northern manuscripts of classical plays is as regards nomenclature as has been already pointed out by WINTERNITZ (*Ostasiat. Zeitschr.* 9 285). Such being the case it cannot any longer be maintained that Bana had the intention of drawing attention to any distinguishing characteristic of Bhasa's [131] works by saying that his plays were *sutradhara kṛtarambha*. Bana's only object is as KEITH (op. cit. p. 91) has justly remarked to celebrate Bhasa's fame and to show his wit by the comparison in the same words with some not very obvious object of comparison. Bana's verse is merely a subhāṣita as will now be admitted by every unbiassed critic. The discussion whether in this verse from the *Harṣacarita* there is an allusion to some technical innovation of Bhasa in shortening the preliminaries,

⁹ *Malatīmadhava* Ed. Bombay Skt. Series p. 6

combining the functions of the *Sūtradhāra* and the *Sthāpaka*, taking the prologue away from the *Sthāpaka* and placing it in the mouth of the *Sūtradhāra* and much other vague speculation of the kind (LINDENAU, *Bhāsa-Studien*, pp 10, 37) is mere verbiage. The *Trivandrum* plays at any rate offer no occasion for the discussion of these questions and, what is more important, furnish no answers to them.

Our conclusions on this point may be summarized thus : (1) the *nāndi*, which used to precede all dramatic representations, being invariably recited by the *Sūtradhāra*, all Sanskrit dramas are *sūtradhāra-ākṛtāmbha* ; (2) it is thus wholly inadmissible to regard this attribute as specifying a distinguishing characteristic of Bhāsa's dramas, and therefore (3) the argument which seeks in the position and the wording, in our manuscripts, of the stage direction *nāndyante* etc a proof conclusive of Bhāsa's authorship is utterly devoid of cogency. Furthermore, it has now been shown that all Malayalam manuscripts of dramas begin in the identical manner. If it then still be true (as KEITH asserts, *Ind Ant* 1923, 60) that "by this decidedly noteworthy fact" (namely, that these plays are begun by the *Sūtradhāra*,) they are "eligible to be considered Bhāsa's", then all Sanskrit dramas are likewise eligible to be considered Bhāsa's.

Several efforts have been made to prove in these dramas traces of later date than Kālidāsa, but most of the arguments,¹⁰ as has in part already been shown, are quite inadequate to support the conclusion. It is also impossible to find cogency in the argument advanced first—to my knowledge—by KANE,¹¹ and then repeated recently by BARNETT¹² that the *Nyāyasāstra* of Medhātithi men- [132] -tioned in the *Pratīma* is the same as the *Manu bhāṣya* by Medhātithi (c 10th century). The different *śāstras* have been mentioned in the *Pratīma* (v 8/9) in the following order. the *Mānavīya Dharmaśāstra*, the *Mahesvara Yogaśāstra*, the *Bārhaspatya Arthaśāstra*, Medhātithi's *Nyāyasāstra* and lastly the *Prācetasā Śrāddhakalpa*. If the view mentioned above be right, we should, in the first place, be unable to explain satisfactorily why the *Nyāyasāstra* of Medhātithi should be separated from the *Dharmaśāstras* of Manu, then there is the difficulty that the *Manubhāṣya* is, strictly speaking, neither a work on Nyāya (Logic) nor a *śāstra* (KEITH, *BSOS* 3, 295). More important than these is in my opinion the following consideration. There is something so incongruous in citing Medhātithi's commentary on Manu in juxtaposition with such *śāstras* as the *Dharma*, *Yoga*, and *Artha*, and the *Śrāddhakalpa*, said in this passage to be proclaimed by gods and progenitors of the human race like Manu, Mahesvara, Bṛhaspati, and Pracetas, that, to say the least, the explanation cannot be considered very happy. In fact the context compels the conclusion that the *Nyāya-*

¹⁰ For instance, PISHAROTTI, *BSOS* 3, 107 f

¹¹ *Vividha-jñāna vistāra*, vol 51 (1920), p. 100

¹² *BSOS* 3, 35

śāstra is a science of the same order as the other śāstras mentioned in the list, and that Medhatithi is an author real or imaginary of the same standing as the rest of the authorities mentioned by Ravana. Whether such a work as Medhatithi's *Nyayasāstra* (or at least some notice of it) has come down to us or not seems to me immaterial. Moreover the boast of Ravana the primeval giant, that he has studied Medhatithi's commentary on *Manu* would be such a ludicrous anachronism that we must refuse to credit even an alleged plagiarist of the tenth or eleventh century with such an abysmal absurdity. The only effect of admitting such an explanation of the *Nyayaśāstra* would be to make the enumeration and the whole boast of Ravana farcical which is far from being the desired effect. It is thus impossible to accept the identification of the Medhatithi of the Pratima with the commentator on the *Manusmṛiti*.

Now finally the Prakrit argument. At one time I myself held the view that the archaisms in the Prakrit of these plays would throw some light on their age but my anticipations have not been realized. It has now been shown that in Malayalam manuscripts of dramas of even Kaldasa and Harṣa we come across archaisms [133] of the type which are claimed to be peculiar to the Prakrit of the dramas in dispute. Most of these alleged peculiarities recur moreover in dramas by southern writers of the sixth and later centuries (PISHAROTI BSOS 3 109). It should seem that the Prakrit of the dramas is a factor depending more on the provenance and the age of manuscripts than on the provenance and the age of the dramatist. In the course of a lengthy review of *Bhāsa's Prakrit* (1921) by PRINTZ published elsewhere, I have expressed it as my opinion that the Prakrit archaisms can not by themselves be safely made the basis of chronology and that a satisfactory solution of the Bhāsa question cannot be reached from a study of the Prakrit alone (above pp 103 ff). With ponderous dogmatism KEITH insists that there being evidence of Bhāsa's popularity—strictly speaking only of the plays attributed to Bhāsa—with the actors in Malayalam it is only necessary to suppose that they modified the Prakrit of the later plays in some measure to accord with the Prakrit of Bhāsa (KEITH BSOS 3 296). The explanation would have value if and only if all the plays in dispute could on independent evidence be confidently attributed to Bhāsa but such is not the case. KEITH's argument only begs the question.

* * *

However desirable it may be to obtain a decisive answer to the main question in the affirmative or negative, it is quite clear that neither of the solutions proposed will stand critical investigation. The problem appears to be much more complex than hitherto generally supposed. As is only too often the case, the claims of both sides seem to be only partial truths. In a sense these plays—at least some of them, at present quite an indeterminate number—are Bhāsa's plays and in a sense they are not.

1

That they are not original dramas seems to follow with sufficient certainty from the absence of the name of any author in both the prologue of the dramas and the colophon of the manuscripts. The explanation that in pre classical times the name of the author was not mentioned in the prologue of the plays involves a gratuitous assumption wholly lacking proof. Further no satisfactory explanation has so far been offered by those who regard all these dramas as Bhāsa's why the name of the author should not have been [134] preserved in the colophon of a single manuscript of even one of these thirteen dramas. The Turfan manuscript of one of Asvaghōṣa's dramas¹³ has preserved intact the colophon of the last act, recording the fact that the drama is the *Śariputrāprakaraṇa* by Asvaghōṣa. It cannot, therefore, with any plausibility, be urged that the colophons of the oldest manuscripts of dramas did not contain the title of the work or the name of the author, and it would be demanding too much from probability to expect the wholesale and accidental destruction of the colophons of all manuscripts of a group of thirteen dramas by one and the same author.

The true character of these plays was partly recognized by Rangacarya RADDI and by two Malayalam scholars A. K. and K. R. PISHAROTI. The main thesis of RADDI¹⁴ was a negative one, it was to prove that the plays could not be by Bhāsa, and the whole of his lengthy article on the subject comprises practically of a destructive criticism of the arguments of Ganapati SASTRI. He does not however lose sight of the possibility that these plays may be abridged versions of the original dramas by Bhāsa, prepared by some modern poet or other. The PISHAROTIS also look upon these dramas as compilations regarding moreover the Trivandrum SV as "an adaptation of the original Svapnavasavadatta of Bhāsa. The two scholars were not able to support their claims on more solid ground than that there is a living tradition preserved in the circle of Malayalam Pandits to the effect that these 'plays are only compilations and adaptations' (PISHAROTI, BSOS 3 116, compare RAJA XII 1923, 264). But a substantial basis for this assumption has now been supplied by Sylvain LÉVI's discovery of certain references to Bhāsa's SV in yet unpublished manuscripts of two treatises on rhetorics.

In a notice of these manuscripts LÉVI (JA 1923 197—217) publishes certain information which throws more light on this perplexing question than anything else that has recently been written on the subject, but LÉVI appears not to have realized the full significance of his discovery, unless indeed I have misunderstood him which is easily possible. In the article cited above LÉVI [135] draws attention to the mention of the SV and the *Dandracūṭa*, as also to certain quotations from these dramas in the *Naṭyadarpaṇa*

¹³ SBH 1911, 388 ff.

¹⁴ *Vaidika-piṇḍa vistarā* vol. 47 (1916), pp. 209 ff.

(ND) by Ramacandra and Guṇacandra and the *Najakalakṣana* (NL) by Sagarānandin. One of these quotations differs in a very important particular from all quotations so far adduced. We have found verses from our dramas cited and criticized in works on rhetorics but without any mention of the source we have seen verses cited in anthologies over the name of Bhaṣa, but without mention of the work in which they occur we have lastly found verses quoted as from a SV but without specification of the author. Either the name of the author or that of the work, connected with the verse cited has hitherto been invariably in doubt, sometimes both have been in doubt. Now for the first time we have some datum which connects a verse with Bhaṣa as also with a specific drama by him the verse is cited in the ND with the specific remark that it is excerpted from the SV by Bhaṣa. From the fact that this verse is not found in our play LÉVI concludes that the latter is not the authentic SV by Bhāsa (JA 1923 199)

Let us first make it clear to ourselves what is the exact meaning of the little word unauthentic with which we are asked to condemn the drama. Are our editions of the works of Kālidāsa authentic in the same sense as our editions of the works of say Goethe? Are they authentic in the sense that the text they present is the text exactly as conceived and finally written down by the reputed author? No one will be prepared to deny that the Prakrit of the dramas may have been gradually modernized in the course of transmission or that the Sanskrit portion may have suffered a little at the hands of well meaning diaskeuasts or that lastly some few verses and even scenes may have been interpolated or omitted. As has already been remarked a scene in the third act of the Bengali recension of *Sakuntala* is four or five times as long as the corresponding part in the Devanagari version. The play *Vikramorviśī* has come down to us in two recensions of which one contains a series of Apabhraṃsa verses that are entirely ignored in the other. Such being the case what is the justification for considering even one of the shorter versions, which are apparently older than the other in every detail an exact replica of the original in the form in which it left the hands of the dramatist who composed it? It seems certain that the tradition fluctuated and fluctuated at times considerably.¹⁵ Still we do not make such a bustle over the fact that authentic works of Kālidāsa are no longer available

Be that as it may there is another aspect of this citation that appears to have a positive value. The verse reads

padakṛantam puṣpaṃ soṣṣma cedam sīlasamam |
nunam kacid ihasina mam dṛṣṭva sahasa nata ||

(Read *gata*)

¹⁵ Compare Sten KONOW *Das indische Drama* p. 66 * Jetzt sind wohl die meisten der Ansicht dass keine der uns vorliegenden Rezensionen den Urext des Dichters [viz Kālidāsa] repräsentiert.

The king of Vatsa, regarding a stone bench in the pleasure garden says .

"The flowers are trodden under feet,
The stone bench retains still its heat
Forsooth some lady who was seated here,
On seeing me, has departed in haste"

Commenting on this verse LEVI remarks that we find in the Trivandrum SV. 'dislocated' elements of the scene as written by Bhāsa Such is however not the case. There is no dislocation at all All that may have happened is that the ND verse has dropped out of the text of the Trivandrum version

The situation in our play is this In the first scene of the fourth act Padmāvati and Vasavadattā are promenading in the pleasure garden, admiring the beauty of śephālikā bushes in blossom. Padmavati's maid begs her to seat herself on a stone bench in or near the śephālikā bower, and she herself departs to pluck flowers The ladies seat themselves on the bench indicated and indulge in a tête-à tête Presently Padmāvati, to her consternation, discovers that the King and the Jester are strolling leisurely in the direction of their arbour She thereupon proposes to her friend that they themselves should move away and hide in a neighbouring jessamine pergola The King and the Jester approach the śephālikā arbour just vacated by the [137] ladies. At this point there is in our play a small hiatus, all but imperceptible. Standing near the bower the Jester abruptly remarks : "Her Ladyship Padmāvati must have come here and gone away" We fail to understand why the Jester should make this curious unmotivated remark. The missing link is evidently the ND stanza, which furnishes the requisite motive for the remark of the Jester We are here told that the King, on observing that the surface of the stone bench is warm, surmises that some lady who had been sitting there, on seeing him approach, had hurriedly departed, crushing under her feet, during a hasty retreat, the flowers lying scattered on the ground The King has no idea who that lady was But the observation of the King sets the Jester thinking who shrewdly surmises that it must have been Padmāvati

This recapitulation of the situation should make it clear to the reader that there is no great 'dislocation' of the elements of the original scene as far as it may be surmised from the quotation in the ND . All that is needed to restore the text is the replacement of the new verse at the point where there is a hiatus in our version.

In the same article LEVI has another quotation which also has some bearing on the present question. The other treatise, the Nāṭakalakṣaṇa, gives, without any mention of the name of the author, an extract from a SV. to illustrate a device with which the transition from the preliminaries to the main action of the play is achieved and a character is introduced The quotation is :

*nepathye sūtradhāraḥ utsāranam śrutvā pa'hati | aye katham taporane
 'py utsarānā | (vilocya) kathasī mantri Yaugandharāyanaḥ
 Vatsaājasya rajyapratyānayanam kartukāmah
 Padmāvatiyajānenotsaryate ||*

“The stage director (sutradhāra) on hearing the order for dispersal shouted behind the scenes repeats ‘How now’ Even in a hermitage people are being ordered to disperse.’ (Looking aside) ‘Why, the minister Yaugandharayana, who is seeking to restore to the King of Vatsa his kingdom is being turned away by the servants of Padmāvati’”

[138] It is extremely unfortunate that the name of the author of the play has not been mentioned in the NL. The omission, depriving us of certainty, leaves us to surmise that the author is Bhāsa, but the conclusion is inevitable unless indeed we postulate the existence of three Svapnavāsava dattas parallel to the three Kumarasambhavaḥ, now famous in the history of Sanskrit literature

The prologue of the SV cited by the author of the NL is evidently worded differently from ours. The elements revealed by the extract are these there is a stage director, and a dispersal (utsāraṇa) of the crowd behind the scenes (nepathye). The stage director hears the orders shouted out by the servants of Padmavati and sees the crowd being dispersed. In that crowd he notices Yaugandharāyana who is there to carry out his plans for the restoration of the King of Vatsa. The same elements are present in our play. Here the stage director, on hearing the noise behind the scenes announces that he will go and find out the cause of the commotion, which he does. Behind the scenes is shouted out the order for dispersal (utsarāna). The stage director thereupon explains to the audience that the servants of Padmavati are dispersing the crowd of hermits. We observe the repetition of the identical word utsarānā and the similarities between the exclamations of the stage director in the extract and of Yaugandharāyana in the Trivandrum version.

SUTRADHARA (NL)
*aye katham taporane 'py
 utsarānā |*

YAUGANDHARAYANA (TRIV)
katham śhapy utsāryate |

Consequently on the evidence of these two extracts, of which one is expressly stated to be from the SV by Bhāsa, and the other is presumably from the same source we may safely assume that though the Trivandrum play is not identical with the drama known to Rāmacandra and Sāgaranandin in the 12th century it does not differ from the latter very considerably the two are near enough to each other to be styled different recensions of the drama by Bhāsa. My own surmise is that the Trivandrum Svapnavāsava dattā is an abridgement of Bhāsa's drama with a different prologue and epilogue, adapted to the Malayalam stage.

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Here follows a summary of the important conclusions arrived at above to which are added certain auxiliary observations on the character of the present group of plays.

Vitally important are the following facts relating to these plays which will throw a deal of light on the subject and which may not be ignored in any future investigation of the question namely, that these plays form a part of the repertoire of a class of hereditary actors in the Kerala country, that the manuscripts of these plays are by no means rare though they apparently are the jealous preserve of these actors, and lastly that the latter produce these dramas sometimes as a whole, and sometimes in detached and disconnected parts Cf PISHAROTI BSOS 3 112 f, RAJA ZII 1923 250 f

The circumstance that these plays have been traditionally handed down without any mention of the name of the author whether in the prologue of the plays or the colophon of the manuscripts is an almost plain indication that they are abridgements or adaptations made for the stage and they have in fact been regularly used as stage plays in Malayalam

These plays show admittedly many similarities verbal structural stylistic and ideological, which suggest common authorship But in the absence of more information as to the originals of which these are evidently adaptations it would be unsafe to dogmatize and postulate, at this stage, a common authorship

The coincidences in formal technique are almost certainly to be explained as due to the activity of adapters. It has been already pointed out that the professional actors who produce these plays often stage only single acts selected from these plays, and it is reported that in passing from one act of some one drama to another act of a different drama these actors are in the habit of prefixing—quite naturally, it seems to me—to each act an appropriate introduction consisting of a benedictory stanza and a short prose speech or dialogue announcing the character that is about to enter as well as the business Our prologues appear to be such introductions which thus owe their similarity merely to a peculiarity of local histrionic technique The preliminary benedictory stanzas which [140] are condemned on all hands as bad verses, have all the appearance of being also the handiwork of these adapters, the short formal *bharatavākya* seems likewise to be a sort of a formulistic epilogue It would be a mistake to see in these external coincidences a proof of common authorship of the plays. In order to ascertain whether two or more of these dramas are by the same hand we shall have therefore to employ some other tests which have not so far been used by any previous writer on this subject. The speculation regarding the identity of the *rājasamhā* of the epilogues (KONOW, op cit p 51) is wholly without meaning, the expression seems to have been left intentionally vague so that

the same stanza could be conveniently used on any occasion and at the court of any king. Significant is the similarity between our epilogues and the hemistich from the MBh (12 321 134)

ya imam pṛthivīm kṛtsnām ekacchatram prasāsti ha,

to which I have drawn attention elsewhere (JAOS 41, 117)

The Prakrit archaisms have no probative value for the antiquity or the authorship of the dramas. It is, however, not impossible that some of the plays may have preserved so to say in fossilized condition a few really archaic forms inherited from the old prototypes. Of this character seem to be the Prakrit accusative plural masculines in *am*, noted first by PRINTZ (*Bhasa's Prakrit*, pp 3, 26, but see above, p 111)

Similarly the metrical portions of the dramas appear to have preserved some epic usages (JAOS 41, 107 ff). It seems impossible to believe that a dramatist who normally wrote good Sanskrit could not produce verses grammatically more correct than the following

smaramy avantīyā 'dhīpateḥ sūtāyāḥ (SV v 5)

jñāyatām kasya putreṭi (Bāla ii 11)

strīgatam pṛcchase kathām (Pañca ii 48), or

apṛccha putrakṛtakām (Pratimā v 11)

As regards the stage fights and the representation of a death on the stage in these plays, a plausible explanation is that they are, as suggested by K. R. PISHAROTI (BSOS 3, 113), comparatively [141] modern innovations introduced with a view to producing a more striking stage effect. But it is still an open question whether some of these elements may not be survivals derived from an older dramatic technique. This reservation does not hold good however, in the case of a final death scene. The practice of these dramas can form no exception to the general rule prohibiting a final catastrophe, the *Ūrubhanga* is not intended to be a tragedy in one act. It is the only surviving intermediate act of an epic drama. This follows from the fact that the play has no epilogue, in which particular it resembles the *Duta ghaṭokaca*, which in one of its manuscripts, as reported by PISHAROTI (*The Shama* 4 (1924) 19), is actually and rightly called *Dutaghaṭotkacāṅka*. Some slight confirmation of this surmise we find further in the report of C. K. RAJA (ZII 1923, 254) that there is extant in Malabar a dramatized version of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in 21 acts. Even apart from that, there is no doubt that any spectacular representation ending in a death whether of the villain or of the hero, would be repugnant to Hindu taste and foreign to Hindu genius,—unless it be an apotheosis a canonization of the hero as in the *Nagānanda*.

The verse *Bhasanāṭakare 'pi* etc., said to be a quotation from the *Sūkti muktavali* of Rājasekhara proves by itself little or nothing for Bhasa's author

ship of Svapnavasavadatta since the authenticity of the former work and quotation is open to criticism. It is not generally known that the preceding verses make out that Bhasa was not only a contemporary of Harṣa (evidently Harṣa Śiladitya of Thaneshvar) but also a washerman by caste and the real author of the triad Ratnavali Nagananda and Priyadarśika a statement which we have every reason to discredit. That the Pre Kalidāsian Bhasa did write a Svapnavasavadatta follows however with tolerable certainty from the evidence of the ND by Ramacandra (JA 1923 197 217)

The more important reasons for regarding our SV as closely related to Bhasa's drama of that name are these. To start with there are the name, and the style as also the merits of the play which has won general recognition as a work of high order. The rhetorician Vamana cites a stanza which not only occurs in our play but fits evidently well in the context. It contains scenes compatible [142] with those suggested by the quotations from Bhasa's drama cited in rhetorical treatises by Ramacandra Sagaranandin as also by Śaradatanaya (cf Ganapati SASTRI, JRAS 1924 668). From the second of these it follows that Bhasa's drama opened like ours with the entry of Yaugandharayana (accompanied probably by Vasavadatta) followed by that of Padmavati and her retinue—From Śaradatanaya's summary it would appear that some scenes are wanting in our version—The *Dhvanyalokalocana* cites apparently a lost verse *stancitapakṣma*° etc. It is a mistake to argue that this verse cannot have a place in our play. Even if it does refer to Vāsavadatta as it appears to do it may be easily included in a reminiscence of the King.—The statement of Sarvananda remains, for the time being, unexplained unless we are prepared to adopt the emendation suggested by Ganapati SASTRI which it must be admitted is an *a priori* solution of the difficulty.

There is some reason to believe that the SV and the Pratyjñā are by the same author. In the concluding act of the SV it will be recalled there is an allusion to the fact that in the nuptial rites celebrated at Ujjayini after the elopement of Visavadatta the parties to be united in wedlock were represented merely by their portraits. There is no reference to this marriage by proxy in the *Kathasaritsagara* nor in the *Bṛhatkathamānjarī* and therefore there was probably no reference to it in the *Bṛhatkatha* either. It appears to be a free invention of the dramatist. It forms however an important element in the denouement of our SV. It is therefore significant that there is a clear allusion to it in the concluding act of the Pratyjñā also.

As regards the *Cārudatta* I have seen no reason to abandon my former view (JAOS 42, 59 ff.) that our fragment is probably the original of the first four acts of the *Aścchakaśika* but if it is not that it is suggested it has preserved a great deal of the original upon which the *Aścchakaśika* is based. My conclusions are only strengthened by MORGENSTIERNE'S independent study of the relations between the two plays. From references in one of the new

Sahitya works utilized by LEVI it follows that a drama called *Darīdracārudatta* was known to the author of this treatise, the *Mṛcchakaṭika* is named separately, which shows that they were two [143] different dramas, both of them had however evidently the same theme. The *Darīdracarudatta* had at least nine acts, and the two plays developed to the end on very similar lines. The rhetorician does not tell us anything about the author, so its authorship is still uncertain

My view of this group of plays may then be briefly summarized as follows. Our Svapnavasavadattā is a Malayalam recension of Bhāsa's drama of that name, the Pratiṣṭhāyagandharayana may be by the same author, but the authorship of the rest of the dramas must be said to be still quite uncertain. It may be added that Bhāsa's authorship of some particular drama or dramas of this group is a question wholly independent of the homogeneity or heterogeneity of the group as a whole. Indeed the only factor which unites these plays into a group is that they form part of the repertoire of a class of hereditary actors. The Cārudatta is the original of the Mṛcchakaṭika. The five one-act Mahabhārata pieces form a closely related, homogeneous group, they appear in fact to be single acts detached from a lengthily dramatized version of the complete MBh. saga—a version which may yet come to light, if a search is made for it. The Urubhanga is *not* a tragedy in one act, but a detached intermediate act of some drama. The present prologues and epilogues of our plays are all unauthentic and comparatively modern.

November, 1924

THE PORUMĀMILLA TANK INSCRIPTION OF BHASKARA BHĀVADURA : SAKA 1921.*

Inked estampages of the subjoined inscription, which commemorates the construction of a tank, were prepared by the Madras Epigraphical Department in 1903, and it forms No 91 of the Epigraphist's collection for the year 1902-3. It was briefly reviewed in the Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1903, and it has also received a short notice in an article by the late Mr VENKAYYA entitled 'Irrigation in Southern India in ancient times'.¹ The record is incised on two slabs, one smaller than the other, set up in front of the ruined Bhairava temple at Porumāmilla in the Badvel Taluk of the Cuddapah District, situated in 15° 1' N and 79° E. The latter district being very dry, cultivation is in general possible only with the help of artificial storing of water. The irrigation tank at Porumāmilla is, according to the District Manual, one of the largest in the Taluk. The inscription, apart from its historical importance, presents various other points of interest, not the least important of which is the light it sheds on the tank building activity in ancient India.

As regards orthography, the inscription follows the same system which is to be observed in other inscriptions from the Telugu and Kanarese Districts. A superfluous anusvāra is inserted (1) before a nasal + consonant, as in *ṣumnya* II 13, 46, also in II 19, 36, 89. (2) before *h* + consonant, as in *Vijayānhvayam* II 34, 35, also in II 57, 65. (3) before *nn* as in *vijayōmnatah* I 36. (4) before *rm* as in *kamrma*° I 82. We find also the doubling of a consonant after an anusvāra in *chamchcha*° I 18. As in other inscriptions, we notice the mixing up of the two forms of *visarga sandhu*, as in **tahssaumya*° in I 23, also in II 29, 83, etc., and the writing of *thth* for *tth* in **rithhana*° I 100, and of *jhh* for *jth* in **pāyōjhjitam* I 12. Other examples of [98] incorrect orthography are the following: I 113 *ru* for *ṛi*, I 39 *ṛi* for *ru*, confusion of the sibilants *ś* and *s* in II 20, 22, 29, 37, 52, 54 and 95, *ṛi* for *nn* in II 66 and 83, confusion of *d* and *dh* in II 51, 104 and 109, sporadic adscript of *y* to an initial vowel as in *yēlad* (for *ēlad*) I 21, *yēk* = *aṛa* (for *ēk* = *aṛa*) I 105. The aspirates are sometimes distinguished from similarly shaped non aspirates by means of a short vertical stroke added below the letters, as in the modern Telugu alphabet. There is

* [Ep. Ind., 14 97-109]

¹ See the Director-General's Annual for 1903-4 Part II pp 202 ff.—A résumé of the contents of the inscription is included in the new edition of the Cuddapah District Gazetteer.

inconsequence in the doubling of consonants after *r* cf ll 7, 10 etc on the one hand, and ll 6, 16 etc on the other. Rough *r* (doubled) is used once in the nomen proprium *Devarājā* (l 109). It remains to be remarked that the letters are incised between equidistant parallel lines running along the breadth of the slabs—It is necessary to add a few words on the language of the inscription. Excepting the benedictory words at the beginning of the record and a few phrases employed further on to introduce some of the stanzas the whole of the inscription is in verse. The language is extremely meagre Sanskrit and the verses are devoid of poetic embellishment. The writer is indeed guilty of the gravest mistakes of grammar and syntax, most of which are noticed in the foot notes to the text and translation. To mention just two of them here in l 37 *disi purve pratishṭhitah* is used for *disi pūrvasyam pratishṭhapitah*, and in the first sentence of v 16 the *verbum actionis* is omitted—In respect of lexicography the following uncommon words and expressions deserve notice *kr̥ti* (ll 29 39) = "composition", *taṭāka māṭṭikā* (l 47) = "tank nourished", on the analogy of *nadī māṭṭika*, etc, *bhrama-jala gatī* (ll 69, 90) = "sluice (?)", *madhya kūrma* (l 73) = "elevated ground in the middle (?)", *bhu vara* (l 79) = "king", *gāṃgeya* (l 111) = "gold".

The object of the record is, as remarked above, to commemorate the construction of the tank at Forumāmiḥa by king Bhaskara alias Bhavadura son of Bukka I (v 49). The following analysis gives a synopsis of the contents of the record. The grant commences with invocatory and introductory verses (vv 1-10) the succeeding stanzas give the genealogy of the donor, Bhaskara Bhavadura (ll 11-22) the next few verses recount the merit attaching to the building of a tank (23-27) then are given the details of tank construction and the specification of the site of the tank, date of its construction, etc. (28-45) then the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas (46-49) and lastly, the specification of the *adhikarin* of the tank, and the composer of the record (50-62). The only new facts in the history of the First Vijaya nagara Dynasty² with which the inscription furnishes us are the following (1) Bhaskara alias Bhavadura (a name which is not known from any other inscription) was the son of Bukka I, and thus the brother of Harihara II. Bhaskara was placed in charge of the eastern provinces—which he ruled from the 'top of the sublime Udayagiri' (in the Nellore District), (2) Bukka I had four brothers, viz Harihara, Kampana, Marapa and Muddapa and (3) Anantarāja was one of the ministers of Bukka I.—The *adhikarin* of the tank was Dēvarājān, son of the minister (probably of Bhaskara) Kumārāgiri Natha (v 50).—The writer, who was

² A succinct and connected account of the facts in the history of this dynasty gleaned from stone and copper plate records, is furnished by Rao Sahib Kṛṣṇa SASTRI in his paper entitled "The First Vijayanagara Dynasty its Viceroys and Ministers." (See the *Director General's Annual* for 1907-8 Part II pp 235 ff.)

rewarded with a gift of land was the poet *Lungaya Māchanāryya* (the *Machana* son of *Lungaya*) of the family of the *Kautsas* resident of *Nimda pura* (v 51) On completion of the tank lands under it were handed over to a number of *Brahmanas* (v 45)

The question of the construction of the tank is shrouded in some obscurity on account of the unintelligibility of the termini used in the description of the tank² It would be, therefore, as well to start with the facts regarding the tank as it now stands I have been able to gather the following information through the kind courtesy of Mr BANERJI the Collector of Cuddapah [99] whom I had addressed on the subject⁴ The tank which is situated about two miles (and as the inscription also tells us) to the east of the village called *Porumāmūlla* is elongated in shape being some 7 miles long and 2½ miles broad The bund consists of four natural hills connected by three short earthen dams rivetted with Cuddapah slabs The western flank thus consists of practically the range of hills which runs north and south between *Porumāmūlla* and *Badvel* The total length of the artificial bund is about 4500 ft., the total length including the hills is about 14000 ft At the deepest section the bund is about 12 ft. wide at the top and 150 ft at the bottom, and about 33 ft deep The tank has two sources of supply one natural and the other artificial The latter was constructed about 20 years ago The natural feeder is a stream called the *Maldevi* river—The reservoir is provided with four sluices two of which have been repaired in recent times and provided with screw gear, and there are five weirs This is the actual condition of the tank at present.

From the inscription we learn that in the twelfth century of the Christian era tank building was looked upon as one of the seven meritorious acts which a man ought to perform during his lifetime The tank at *Porumāmūlla* was called *Anantarāja sāgara* It is also stated that for two years 1000 labourers were working daily on the tank and the dam, and 100 carts were engaged in getting stones for walls which formed a part of the masonry work The dam was 5000 *rēkha dandās* long including the hills, 8 *rēkha-dandās* wide, and 7 high Besides the author gives us the twelve *sādhanas* of the *Porumāmūlla* tank, and six *dōshas* of tanks in general Much of this latter is clothed in very obscure language Nevertheless with the help of the description of the tank given in the previous paragraph we are able to get a fairly clear notion of what the author wishes to convey³ In the *chatur bhramā jala galis* we have a reference to the four sluices, and in the range of hills

² To Rao Sahib Krishna SASTRI I am indebted for the explanation of several of the technical expressions.

³ Some time ago, when I visited the site of the tank, I took the opportunity of verifying and correcting the statements in this report Some few fresh observations which I made on the spot have also been embodied in the succeeding remarks

⁴ See notes 6-8 on p 108 and 12 on p 109

forming the western flank of the tank we must look for an explanation of remarkable phrase *tad yoga khamdo girth*. Again as the Maldevi river ends at the tank the *triyojana* must needs refer to its length from the source to the point at which it enters the tank—One fact which may be gleaned from the measurements of the tank preserved in the record is of no small significance. Knowing as we do the dimensions of the bund in terms of the *rekha dandas* as well as in feet we are in a position to compute the equivalent of this standard of linear measurement current in the Telugu District in the 14th century. For this purpose it would be safest* to compare the values for the height of the bund which I imagine would offer the least variation. In the above mentioned Report of the Collector 33 ft. is quoted as the height at the deepest section of the bund. Taking now 20 ft. as the minimum height for the bund of any large tank of that size, the average height of the bund in feet works out to be $(20 + 33) \div 2 = 53\frac{1}{2}$ ft. This must roughly correspond to the 7 *rekha dandas* of the inscription. The equation will be $53\frac{1}{2} \div 7$ and this gives us roughly $1\frac{1}{4}$ yard as the equivalent of the *rēkha-danda* which, by the way corresponds approximately to the distance from the top of the shoulder of one arm to the tip of the middle finger of the other arm measured along the chest for an average man. I mention the latter fact, as it is well known that in primitive times a standardised (but locally varying) value of the lengths of portions of the human body served as units of length of the Indian measures *anguli hasta danda* and the European *foot*.*

One other feature of this record deserves mention here. Early in the beginning of the inscription (vv 1-3) we find enumerated the characteristics of an edict (*sāsana lakshana*) which include hints on composition and the significance of the metrical foot (*gana*) with [100] which a *sāsana* commences (v 2). The latter is a curious specimen of superstition the *gana* (— — —) when standing at the beginning of a *sāsana* secures bliss *na* (— — —) in the same position secures wealth, etc.¹ Further we learn that in a faultless verse the *nisarga* should stand at the end of the complete stanza and not at the end of the first half (v 3).¹

The inscription is dated on the 14th of the bright half of the month of Kartika in the cyclic year Saumya corresponding to Śaka 1291* (expired) and Kaliyuga 4170. There is some doubt as to the week-day. The syllables *guru* in l 58 which evidently introduce the name of the week-day are clear enough and the following letters must be read as *pushya* as the vertical stroke between the aksharas *ru* and *pu* is nothing but an accidental depression in the stone. In that case it would seem that the week-day was Thursday and the *nakshatra* Pushya. But Dewan Bahadur

* Expressed by the chronogram *bhu namdy-akshya-eta* and in numerical symbols.

Swamikannu PILLAI, whom I had addressed on the subject, informs me that the *tithi* ended on Monday, the 15th October, A.D. 1369, at about 7 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise, and the *nakshatra* for that day was Āśvini, which came to an end about 47 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise.

For purposes of orientation the localities Śrī parvata (i.e. Śrī-śailam), Ahōbala Siddhavaṭa, Udaya giri and Porumāmīlla are mentioned. Of these only Siddhavaṭa needs to be specially noticed here. Its denomination in the inscription is *desaka*, i.e. subdivision of a country, therefore the name could well be, I think, linked with the modern *Taluk Siddhavaṭtam* in the Cuddapah District, the boundary of which is not far removed from the site of the tank.

A reference to Hēmādn's *Dānakhaṇḍa* (which is undoubtedly what is meant by *Hēmādn kṛti* in l. 39) shows that that work enjoyed the reputation of an authority in the Telugu country at the beginning of the 14th century of the Christian era.

TEXT⁷

[Metres v. 1, *Anushtubh (Śloka)*, v. 2 *Śārdūlavikṛīḍita*, vv. 3-4, *Anushtubh (Śloka)*, vv. 5-7, *Śārdūlavikṛīḍita*, v. 8, *Mandakrāntā*, vv. 9-10, *Anushtubh (Śloka)*, v. 11, *Śārdūlavikṛīḍita*, vv. 12-13, *Anushtubh (Śloka)*, v. 14, *Upajati*, vv. 15-36, *Anushtubh (Śloka)*, vv. 37-38, *Śārdūlavikṛīḍita*, vv. 39-40, *Upajati*, vv. 41-43, *Anushtubh (Śloka)*, 44, *Śārdūlavikṛīḍita*, v. 45, *Anushtubh (Śloka)*, vv. 46-47, *Śālmī*, vv. 48-50, *Anushtubh (Śloka)*, v. 51, *Śārdūlavikṛīḍita*, v. 52, *Anushtubh (Śloka)*]

First stone

- 1 °अवि[धम]स्तु ।।[१] गुह्यो नमः ।।[१] पुष्टिम[ज्ञयो] गणपतिभ्यो नमः ।।[*] !!
- 2 शा[स]नल[क्षणम्]॥ श्रीबीजमादौ वक्तव्यं प्रणविपु च पंचसु । [स्व]दि[द]-
- 3 शरदे[पु च]क [टा]हान् ¹⁰विवर्जयेत् ।।[१॥] मो भूमिस्त्रिगुह[स्त्रु]भं ब[हुल]घु-
नौसौ वि[ध]-
- 4 [त्ते] धन [यो] वार्यादिलघुश्च हेम दिनकत्र मध्ये¹¹गुह[जो] रुजं ।।(१)¹²
- [101]5 [ते] शिर्मध्यलघुर्भय लघुयुगप्रा[वत्सम]मीर [*] क्षयं खं तोतेल
- 6 घुरीशता कृतिमुखे भोज्ञ[३*] शमादौगुरु ॥२॥ अविस्मर्ग[त]पूर्वाध-

⁷ From the original stone and a set of inked estampages.

⁸ At the top of the inscription are engraved from left to right figures of Viṣṇuśvara with his vehicle, the mouse the Lingam the Sun and the Moon.

⁹ Read ॠत्तु°

¹⁰ The syllable न was inserted later and engraved above the line in the original.

¹¹ Read °कृन्म°

¹² Here an empty space in the original showing traces of letters scored out.

- 7 मसमस्तपदादिकं । विसर्गोसिखरं¹³ र[म्यं] शास[नश्लोकलक्षण] ॥ [३] ॥
 [१४] श्रुतिस्मृ-
 8 त्तिपुराणेतिहासागमविशारदः [१*] देशकालविसेप[न]¹⁴ [१*] शुभवाक [शा]सनः¹⁵
 षदेत् ॥४॥
 9 श्रीस्तौमाग्यकरी सदा त्रिजगतां भूयात् कृपारूपिणी हेरंबस्तचराचरा-
 10 त्म[क]जगत्संदोहसंदर्भितं [१*] धाता पञ्च[स]मुद्भवोपि मनसैविदे सु[व]र्णो[ज्व]¹⁷
 11 लं ब्रह्मांडं जलमंडलस्तमसज्ज¹⁸ यस्याः प्रसादो (-) दत्तेः ॥५॥ वाराहा-
 12 कृतिरच्युतस्त्रिभुवनं पायादपायो[जिज्ञ]तं । दंष्ट्राग्रेण महो [-]¹⁹ जलनिधौ
 13 मग्नां समुद्यत्य²⁰ यः [१*] तसैकस्य निधाय पु(-)प्यमतुलं पद्मा[क]र-
 स्था[प]ना-
 14 त् । तादृक् सम्यग्भावतः²¹ तुल्यितं येना[ञ्जु]तं स्वीकृतं ॥६॥ [स]न्ध्या-
 15 सन्यविलोच[ने] तिजगतां वृष्ट्योपधीपोप[क] फाले वारिपिता [स]खा
 धनपतिः]
 16 श्रीरत्नगर्भा रथः [१*] यस्य श्रीगिरिराज्यः स कृपया [हे]माचलः[] कामुकः
 17 पायाद्वः शिवतातिराश्रितजनानंदैकसंदायकः ॥७॥ स[सद्वी]पावयव-
 18 विलसत्तुरुपिणी²² मेरुमूर्ध्ना²³ चंच[त्]²⁴ क्षीरोदधिवरकुचा भूषि[ता] रौ[हणा-
 दैः[] ॥१*]
 19 ²⁵ राजतरलाकरसुवसना संततं पातु युष्मान द्वा[दि(-)न्य]ज्ञाकरविलसिता पू-
 20 ²⁶ नसस्या धरित्री ॥८॥ पुनः कृतिस्तदाकश्च निधा[नं] ²⁷ सि[वमन्दिरं] [१*] वन
 विप्राग्रहा-
 21 रश्च ²⁸ सततं तानमुत्तमं ॥९॥ ²⁹ धेतदादिक(-)सद्यु[प्य]कृतां भास्करभू[प]
 ति[ः] [१*]
 22 भवदूराभिधानश्च तस्य वंशं वदाम्यहं ॥१०॥ [क्षी]रोद[प्र]भवदाराती विधुसु
 23 तः[]स्तौम्यस्वदीयान्वये । संजातौ च पुरुरवाश्च नहुपः[] [स्तस्माद् य]-
 24 यातिनृपः [१*] तद्युतो यदुरस्य याद[वकु]लौ श्रीलांकरः[]³⁰ श्रीहरिः वं-
 [102] 25 से³¹ तस्य कलौ³² [-]³³ समग्रानि श्रीसंगमप्रमाप[तिः] ॥११॥ स सं[ग]ममहीपालः
 26 कृत्वा हरिहरार्चनं [१*] लब्धवान् तत्रमा[दे]न पु[सं] हरिहरं विभुं ॥१२॥
 27 आपूर्वपश्चिमांभोधिमध्यदेशाधिनायका[ः] [१*] पादसेवापरास्तस्य सोमसू-
 28 र्यान्वयाधिकाः³⁴ ॥१३॥ तस्योदरो वैरिनुपाळकंपनादाराती³⁵ कंभ[न]भूमिपा.

¹³ Read "शेखरं."

¹⁴ Read "न."

¹⁵ Read "महा" after "मही."

¹⁶ Read "लमभूमिणी."

¹⁷ Read "समस्या."

¹⁸ Read "एतं."

¹⁹ Read "धिपा."

²⁰ Read "भुवि".

²¹ Read "वर्णोज्ज्व-".

²² Read "समुद्भूय."

²³ Read "वप".

²⁴ Read "शिव".

²⁵ Read "शे".

²⁶ Read "शरी".

²⁷ Read "विसेप".

²⁸ Read "इतस्य".

²⁹ Read "वतस्तु".

³⁰ Read "रात्रदला".

³¹ Read "सप्त".

³² Read "दुगे after कलौ".

- 29 छः । तस्यानुजस्सुस्थिरभूमिभुक् ततो लक्ष्मीपति[वर्जक]न[रं]द्रसेखरः³³ ॥१४॥
 30 भ्रातरौ बुक्कभूपस्य जातो मारपमुह[पौ] एवं पंच सुपुत्रास्ते पांड-
 31 वांशाः कलौ युगे ॥१५॥ पांडवानां पुरा दौत्यं [सा]रथ्यं भक्तवत्सलः [१*] [वा]-
 32 सुदेवो नंतमूर्तिस्तेषां च सचिवो भवत् ॥१६॥ अनंतराजसाचिव्यादस्थि-
 33 लं धरणीतलं [१*] भुंज(=)न् बुक्कमहीपालो जा[तदे]र्वेदवैभवः ॥१*॥ [१]७॥ (१)
 34 सदारधनसंतुष्टश्रीविरूपाक्षसन्निधौ [१] तुंगभद्रातटे तस्य नगरं वि-
 35 जया(=)द्वयं ॥१ [८]॥ पुत्रसंख्या पुरा लोके शशविदोस्ति (sic) तत्कया [१* :
 असंख्य बुक्क-
 36 भूपालनंदना विजयो(=)ज्ञताः ॥१९*॥ तेन बुक्कनृपालेन तेषु पुत्रेषु भास्कर[ः] ।
 37 सा(=)न्नाज्यविभवोत्तुंगो दिसि³⁴ पू[र्वे] प्रतिष्ठितः ॥२०॥ स चोदयगिरीन्द्रां
 38 भुंज(=)न् निर्फा[ट]कां महीं [१*] कुवलयानंद[क]रो भास्करोपि द्विजप्रिय
 [॥ २१ * ॥]
 39 हेमाद्रिकृतिमा[र्गि]ण कुर्व(=)न् दानान्यनेकशः [१*] जलदानप्रसंगेन ³⁵शृतवान्
 40 फलमुत्तमं ॥२२॥ आपो वा इदं सर्वमित्याम्नायप्रमाण-
 41 तः [१*] जलादेवाज्ञसंभूतिरन्नं ब्रह्मेति च श्रुतिः³⁶ ॥२३॥ चरा-
 42 चरजगद्बीजं जलमेव न संशयः[१*] किं पुनर्वहु[नो]क्तेन जलाधिक्यं
 43 वदाम्यहं ॥२४॥ गंगाधरो हरस्तेषु विष्णुरंभोधिमं[दि]रः [१*] ब्रह्मा जल-
 44 जसंभूतस्तस्मात्सर्वाधिकं जलं ॥२५॥ प्रपा कूपश्च चापी च कुल्या पद्मा-
 45 करस्तथा [१*] उत्तरोत्तरतस्तेषां कोटिकोऽधिकं फलं ॥२६॥ चराचर-
 46 जगद्रक्षा य[त्त]टाकांबुना भुवि [१*] तस्य पु(=)ण्यफलं वक्तुमशक्तः क-
 47 मलासनः ॥२७॥ इत्युत्तमफलं ³⁷शृत्वा भवदूरमहीपति [१*] तदा-
 48 कमातृकामुर्वी धर्मात्मा कर्तुमुद्यतः ॥२८॥ तत्कर्म[॥]
 49 श्रीपरममहापु(=)ण्यक्षेप्तदक्षिणभूस्थलि [१*] अहोबलाख्यती-
 50 र्धस्य पूर्वतो योजनद्वये ॥२९॥ श्रीसिद्धवटनाथस्य सौम्य[स्य] कि-
 51 ल देशके [१*] स्वस्योदयगिरीन्द्रस्य पश्चिमे योजनध्वये³⁸ ॥३०॥ वि[ल]स-
 [103] 52 त्पोरुमामि[ल*]लपट्टणप्राग्दिसि स्थिरं³⁹ [१*] तदाकोष्णो गकालस्य क्रमं
 53 वक्ष्यामि शासने ॥३१॥ धातोः परार्धकाले च कल्पे श्वेतवराहके [१*]
 [वै]व-
 54 ⁴⁰श्वते मनी तत्र चाष्टविंशतिमे युगे ॥३२॥ दिव्ये ⁴¹तद्[श]भागे च
 55 कलौ प्रथमपादके [१*] चतुस्सहस्रस[=]*युक्चतुश्शतस[स]-
 56 तति । गतेषु मानुषान्देषु ॥१*॥ ४४७०॥ भूर्तदाक्ष्येकसंख्य[या]
 57 ॥३३॥ १२९१॥ यस्मिन् शक[स्ये]वं⁴² सौम्यान्दे कार्तिका(=)द्व-

³³ Read "शेखरः".³⁴ Read दिशि.³⁵ Read श्रुतं.³⁶ Read श्रुतिः.³⁷ Read श्रुत्वा.³⁸ Read "द्वये".³⁹ Read "सि स्थितं".⁴⁰ Read "स्वते".⁴¹ Read तद्देशं.⁴² Read ध्वये.

- 58 ये ॥३४॥ मासे शुक्लचतुर्दश्यां "गुरुपुष्यदिने शुभे [1*]
 59 लग्ने कर्कटके चैव शुभे ग्रहसुवीक्षिते ॥३५॥ निर्मित[स्य] तदा-
 60 कास्य द्वादशांगानि शा[स्त्र]तः [1*] वक्ष्यामि भाविभूपानामु-
 61 पकाराय शासने ॥३६॥ धर्माद्व्यो घनवान् सुखी स्थिरप[शो] द्रव्याभि-
 62 लापी नृप. पायशशास्तविदम्रजश्च ददमृत्संशोभिता चोर्व[रा] [1*]
 63 माधुर्यांबुहत्रियोजननदी सद्योगसंदो गिरि(ः)स्सेतु-
 64 स्तत्र विनिर्मितो "घनसिलाभित्यल्पदीर्घस्थिरः ॥३७॥

Second Stone

- 65 ॥ "शृंगी बा(-)ह्यफलस्थिरापरिह-
 66 तौ "विस्तीर्ननिम्नोदरं रुज्जायाम"⁴⁷-
 67 दपन्धनिश्च निकटक्षेत्रं पला-
 68 ह्यं समं [1*] अद्रिस्थानददभ्रमा-
 69 जलगतिस्तत्कर्ममर्त्यवज्रश्चेद्⁴⁸-
 70 द्वादशासाधनैश्च सुलभः[*] सेष्टः⁴⁹
 71 स्तटाको भुवि ॥३८॥ सेतोश्च जालं
 72 जलमूपरोर्वी द्विराजसंधा-⁵⁰
 73 वय मध्यकूर्मं [1*] अल्पांबु-
 74 भूविस्तरमल्पभूमिस्तोया-
 75 धिक चात्र हि दोषपट्कं ॥३९॥ दो-
 76 [पं]विहीनो "गुणरासिशोभितो [ह्य]-
 [104] 77 नंतराजाण्यजराप्रसिद्धः [1*] मा-
 78 धुर्य्यनीरोपमनंतसाग
 79 र(ः)स्तुस्थापितो मास्करभूवरे-
 80 ण ॥४०॥ तटाकसेतुमाराश्च दि-
 81 ने चैकमहत्तकं [1*] [अ]माभित्तिसि."⁵¹
 82 छोह(-)भंराकृत्यां शतं तया
 83 ॥४१॥ पपंद्रयेन "संपूर्ण(ः)स्तट्टक-
 84 श्रोतमोत्तम- [1*] घनधान्यव्यय-
 85 स्यात्त मंष्या नैर तु विघने ॥४२॥
 86 "सेतोश्चन्मतविस्तारदीर्घमानमि-
 87 षोष्यते [1*] रेखादंष्ट्रमा[जि]न गिरि-
 88 सेतुसमायुते ॥४३॥ रेखादंष्ट्र-

⁴⁷ The vertical stroke in the facsimile between क and पु appears to be due to an accidental depression in the stone at that point.

⁴⁸ Read घनशिरा*.

⁴⁹ Read शृंगी wrongly masculine.

⁵⁰ Read विलीनी*.

⁵¹ Read द्रष्टृजायाम.

⁵² Read "दृग्.

⁵³ Read श्रेष्ठ

⁵⁴ Read probably so

⁵⁵ Read सप्त*.

⁵⁶ Read "निर्दि.

⁵⁷ Read "पूर्व*.

⁵⁸ Read "रप्रविस्तरदीर्घ*.

- 89 हृत्पञ्चकठसहोर्ष्यश्च सप्तोन्नतेः स्ते⁵⁵
 90 तुस्तत्त घतुर्धर्माजलगतः⁵⁶ तद्विस्तर-
 91 श्वाष्टकं [1*] विज्ञेश्वरविष्णुभैरवमहा-
 92 दुर्गाभिस्तक्षितः क्षेत्रं भूरिसम-
 93 स्तकालफलार्द्रं साराममस्तुतमं ॥४४॥
 94 ⁵[दै]यम्राज्ञणवृष्यर्थं दत्तं क्षेत्रं य-
 95 धेप्सितं [1*] ⁵⁶यीरम्भूदानपुण्येन तटाकास्ते⁵⁷.
 96 खरीकृतः ॥४५॥ यद्वत्सेतुर्लघुनिष्ठो⁵⁸
 97 न चाव्येभूपामोधेर्द्धर्मसेतुस्तथैव [1*]
 98 तस्मादस्मद्धर्मरक्षार्पमुर्ग्यो याचे या-
 99 चे पार्थिवान् भा[स्क]रोहं ॥४६॥(1) प्राक्तनप्रा-
 100 र्थनाश्लोका. [1*] सामान्योपा⁵⁹ [ध]र्मसेतुर्नृपाणं⁶⁰
 101 काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः[ः] [1*] सर्वानेतान्
 102 भाविन पाथ्यिवेद्रान् भूयो भूयो या-
 103 चते रामचंद्रः ॥४७॥ दानपालनयोर्म-
 104 ध्ये ⁶¹धानास्तेयोनुपालनं [1*] दानादिदत्त्वमा-
 105 मोति पालनादच्युतं पदं ॥४८॥ ⁶²यैकैव
 [105] 106 भगिनी लोके सर्वैपामेभ भूभुजां [1*] न भो-
 107 ग्या न करमा(-)द्या विप्रदत्ता वसुधरा ॥४९॥
 108 कुमारगिरिना(+) [या] ख्यप्रयानतनयस्सु⁶³-
 109 धी[ः] [1*] अधिकारी तटाकस्य देवा⁶⁴ ॥५०॥ जाभिधानकः ॥५०॥
 110 विद्यास्थानचतुर्[र्द्ध]प्रदनिजाचार्या-
 111 य कोटिफल्मात् गांगेयं वरतंतवै⁶⁵ र-
 112 घुनृपात् ⁶⁶लब्ध्वा ददौ दक्षिणं⁶⁷ [1*] कौत्सस्तकुल-
 113 [जि]न नंदुर[वि]प्रा[ग्]न रु⁶⁸ [ग्ने]दिना श्रीमहि-
 114 (-)गयमाचनार्यकविना प्रोक्तं [शु]भं शास-
 115 नं ॥५१॥ शालिबीजफला खारी वृष्णभू-
 116 मिस्तु खारिका [1*] प्रददौ भास्करस्त[स्मै धा]
 117 राष्ट्रवर्कमादरात् ॥५२॥*

⁵⁵ Read 'दैर्घ्यश्च सप्तोन्नतिलो-'

⁵⁶ Read 'इष्ट'.

⁵⁷ Read 'न्योयं'.

⁵⁸ Read 'एकैव'.

⁵⁹ Read 'तवे'

⁶⁰ Read 'प्रण ऋग्वे' Note this hiatus ! In the original an ; sign is also added to

⁵⁶ Read 'गतिस्त'.

⁵⁷ Read 'कदशे'.

⁵⁸ Read 'णा'.

⁵⁹ Read 'प्रधान'.

⁶⁰ Read 'पाल'

⁵⁷ Read 'देव'.

⁵⁸ Read 'धनीयो'

⁵⁹ Read 'दानाच्छेयो'.

⁶⁰ Read 'देव'.

⁶¹ Read 'णा'.

the Earth submerged in the ocean, placed (her, i.e. the Earth) in (a corner of) that (ocean) and (on that account) obtained wondrous and matchless merit, (evidently) because there was altogether no such (merit) to compare with (known till then) as (that accruing) from the establishment of a tank.⁷⁷

(V 7) May the propitious (Śiva), the sole bestower of happiness on persons resorting to him, whose right and left eyes⁷⁸ augment the rain and the herbs of the three worlds, on (whose) brow (is *Agni*), borne of the Waters,⁷⁹ (whose) friend (is) the lord of riches (*Kubēra*), whose chariot is (the Earth) with jewels in her interior, (whose) abode (is) Śrīgiri (Śrīśulam), (and whose) bow (is) the Golden Mount (*Mūru*), protect you!⁸⁰

(V 8) May the Earth (bearing) plentiful crops always protect you!—she whose form is resplendent with (her) limbs, namely, the seven continents, with *Mēru* for her head, the rippling ocean of milk for (her) beauteous breasts, decorated with *Rohaṇa*⁸¹ and other (mountains), with the glittering oceans for (her) sumptuous garments, and beautiful with rivers and lotus ponds

(V 9) A son a literary composition and a tank (hidden) treasure, a Śiva temple, a forest(-grove) a Brahmana village (these) seven (kinds of) offsprings are the best.⁸²

(V 10) A performer of these and other meritorious works was the earth ruler Bhāskara surnamed Bhavadūra⁸³ His lineage I shall narrate

(V 11) The Moon (was) born from the Ocean of Milk. Saumya (was) the son of the Moon. In his race were born Purūravas and Nahusha, from the latter king Yayāti. His son (was) Yadu. In this race of the Yādavas (was born) the azure-robed (*Balarāma*) and the blessed Hari. In (the age of) Kali was born in his family the illustrious king Saṅgama

⁷⁷ What is meant, is that the exploit of Viṣṇu is quite insignificant when compared with the sinking of a reservoir such as the one sunk by Bhāskara the patron of the poet.

⁷⁸ i.e. the Sun and the Moon

⁷⁹ In the sequence of creation as described in the Upanishads Water comes after Fire hence the latter is fancifully represented to be the father of the former

⁸⁰ This is a reference to the legend of Śiva slaying the demon Tripura

⁸¹ *Rohaṇa* is the name of a mountain in Ceylon. It is not unlikely that a *dhruam* of the sense *drohana* (hip) is also intended

⁸² In the Gaṇapēśvara Inscription of Gaṇapati (*Ep Ind Vol III pp 88 ff*) the seven offsprings are thus described

*Sampaditair yathavat sutakṛtīmadhanavivahasuragehaḥ |
saṭaṭakair yathasaptabhir etair samtanavan bhavati ||*

The Vanapalli plates of Anna Verna (Śaka 1300) also allude to them as *sapta samtata* (*Ep Ind Vol III p 61*)

In *Hemadri-kṛtī-margena* (I 39) we have again the word *kṛtī* used in the sense of composition.

⁸³ As remarked by Dr HULTZSCH in the report on Epigraphy for 1902 3 (see p 6 para. 15), Bhavadura seems to be a Sanskritised form of Bahadur

[107] (V 12) This king Sangama, having worshipped (the gods) Hari and Hara, obtained by their grace a son, king Harihara

(V 13) The supreme lords of the Middle Country⁸⁴ (*Madhya dēsa*) extending from the eastern to the western ocean, viz the celebrated (kings) of the Solar and Lunar races, were occupied in doing "foot salutation" to him.

(V 14) From his causing hostile kings to tremble his uterine brother was (known) in the world (as) king Kampana. After him his younger brother Bukka, the crest jewel among kings, the husband of Lakshmī, was the enjoyer of the Earth, who was perfectly constant (to him)

(V 15) (Then) were born Mārpa and Muddapa, two brothers of king Bukka. And these five virtuous sons were incarnations of the Paṇḍavas in the age of Kali.

(V 16) Vāsudēva, who loves his worshippers and (who had acted) in former times (as) the messenger (and) the charoteer of the Pāṇḍavas, (having countless incarnations), became also minister of these in the form of Ananta.⁸⁵

(V 17) Through having Anantārāja for his minister king Bukka ruled over the whole surface of the earth and acquired the glory of Dēvēndra.

(V 18) His city, Vijaya by name, (was situated) on the bank of the Tungā bhadrā near (the temple of) the blessed Virūpāksha (Śiva), well propitiated on account of steady adoration.

(V 19) Formerly the number of the sons of Śaśabundu (was very great) in the world. That is but a story.⁸⁶ (?) The countless sons of king Bukka were exalted through triumph.⁸⁶

(V 20) Out of these sons king Bukka had placed Bhāskara, exalted through the glory of independent sovereignty, in the eastern direction (of his empire).

(V 21) And he, ruling from the top of the sublime Udaya giri⁸⁷ the earth freed from the thorns (of enemies), though Bhāskara, (i.e. the Sun) is still the delighter of the Earth and beloved of the Brāhmaṇas.⁸⁸

⁸⁴ As the early Vijayanagar kings had no claim to sovereignty in any part of India north of the Vindhya. *Madhyadēsa* cannot have its usual significance, but must refer to the country lying between the eastern and the western ocean, namely, the Dekkhan plateau.

⁸⁵ One must supply a verb like *kṛtavan* in the first half of the verse.

⁸⁶ The construction of the first half of the verse is not quite clear to me. In Ch. 65 of the Drūpa parvan of the *Mahābhārata* we are told that Śaśabundu had 10,000 wives, on each of whom he begat 1,000 sons. There, it is stated, he gave away to the Brāhmaṇas in the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice which he performed. The "countless sons" of Bukka are his meritorious acts like the *śaś'a-samlāna* mentioned in v. 9.

⁸⁷ This must refer to the fortification on the top of the Udaya giri hill. Even now U. is an exceedingly strong hill fortress.

⁸⁸ The pun on the words *kuralaya* ('night lotus' and 'earth') and *dēva* ('Brāhmaṇa and Moon') is a very common example of the *Virūḍhābhāsa*.

(V 22) Making charities in various ways in keeping with the treatise of Hemādri⁸⁹ he heard that the merit attaching to the gift of water was the greatest of all

(V 23) On the authority of the Vedas Verily all this is water⁹⁰ And the *Śruti* says that 'From water alone is produced Food, (and) Food is Brahman!'

(V 24) There can be no doubt (that) Water alone is the seed of the world of movables and immovables Why speak more? I shall describe the superiority of water (as follows) —

[108] (V 25) Even that (great) Śiva is the bearer of the Gaṅgā, Viṣṇu has the ocean for his abode, Brahmā is sprung from the water born (lotus) Hence Water is superior to everything (else)

(V 26) A shed for distributing water (*prapa*), a well and a reservoir, a canal and a lotus-tank the merit of (constructing) them is millions and millions (of times) higher in succession

(V 27) As the water of a tank serves to nurture both movable and immovable creation on (this) earth even the lotus-seated (Brahmā) is unable to recount the fruit of merit (attaching) to it

(V 28) Having thus heard the supreme reward king Bhavadura the pious soul commenced to make the earth tank nourished (*taṭaka matrikā*)⁹¹

(L 48) Its procedure (was as follows)

(Vv 29 31) It (i.e. the tank) is situated in the country to the south of Śrīparvata (Śrīśaila) the great sacred place of pilgrimage, two *yojanas*⁹² to the east of the sacred place (*Tīrtha*) called Ahobala, in the division of the gentle, blessed Siddhavata natha, two *yojanas* to the west of his (capital) Udayagiri and to the east of the flourishing city of Porumamilla I shall (now) describe in this edict the sequence of the period of construction of the tank —

(Vv 32 35)⁹³ In the second half of the creator's life-time In the Śveta varaha *Kalpa* in (the age of) the Vairavata Manu and in the 28th Yuga

⁸⁹ Namely the Dāna khaṇḍa Hemādri was the minister of the two Yadava kings Mahadeva (1260-71) and Ramachandra (1273 1310) See BHANDARKAR *Early History of the Dekkhan*, pp. 88 f

⁹⁰ The phrase *apo va* etc is a part of the *mantra* with which water is purified *Idagum* is the word *idam* as it is pronounced by the Yajurvedins in the recitation of Vedic texts.

⁹¹ With *taṭaka matṛika* cf. the terms *deva matṛika* and *nadī matṛika* in a similar sense.

⁹² Taking a *yojana* to be equal to 9 miles this distance is only approximately correct

⁹³ Construe *dhatoḥ paradhakale dūye taddesa bhage mṛmatasya taṭakasya āvadasamgani vakshyami*

—in that divine part of the country—in the first quarter of Kali after the lapse of four thousand four hundred and seventy—in figures) 4470—years of mortals and also after the (lapse) of Śaka years measured by the number of the earth (1) the Namdas (9) the eyes (2) and one (1)—(in figures) 1291—in the (cyclic) year Saumya in the month called Karttika on the fourteenth (day) of the bright half on the auspicious day of Guru combined with Pushya when there was Karkataka *lagna* under the influence of well chosen auspicious planets—

(V 36) Of the tank constructed (at the above specified time and place) according to (the requirements of) the *Sastra* I shall in this edict describe the twelve constituents (*amga*⁹⁴) for the benefit of future kings

(V 37) (i) a king endowed with righteousness rich happy (and) desirous of (acquiring) the permanent wealth of fame (ii) and Brahmana learned in Hydrology (*pathas sastra*) (iii) and ground adorned with hard clay (iv) a river conveying sweet water (and) three *yojanas* distant (from its source⁹⁵) (v) the hill parts of which are in contact with it (i.e. the tank)⁹⁶ (vi) between these (portions of the hill) a dam (built) of a compact stone wall not too long (but) firm (vii) two extremes (*synga*) (pointing) away from fruit (giving) and (*phala sthira*) outside⁹⁷ (viii) the bed extensive and deep (ix) and a quarry containing straight and long stones (x) the neighbouring fields rich in fruit (and) level (xi) a water course (i.e. the sluices) having strong eddies (*bhrama*) on account of the position of the mountain (*adri sthana*)⁹⁸ (xii) a gang of men (skilled in the art of) its construction—with these twelve essentials an excellent tank is easily attainable on (this) earth

[109] (V 39) While (i) water oozing (?) from the dam, (ii) saline soil (iii) (situation) at the boundary of two kingdoms⁹⁹ (iv) elevation (*kurma*) in the middle (of the tank) bed¹⁰⁰ (v) scanty supply of water and extensive stretch of land (to be irrigated) (vi) and scanty ground and excess of water (these are) the six faults in this (connection)

(V 40) Devoid of faults and adorned with a multitude of good qualities

⁹⁴ These *amgas* are later on called *sadhanas* (l 70 of the text) and are no doubt identical with the latter

⁹⁵ See above p 99

⁹⁶ This must obviously refer to the range of hills which is utilised to form a part of the dam.

⁹⁷ I.e. below the tank

⁹⁸ This may be taken to be a clumsy description of the fact that at the egress the water is led over a stony bed along a tortuous line so that it issues whirling round with great force forming strong eddies.

⁹⁹ Perhaps as in this case the position of the tank might lead to unpleasant consequences during a conflict between the neighbouring kingdoms.

¹⁰⁰ The bed ought to form a complete valley

renowned in the world by the name Anantārāja, this endless ocean, of which the water is sweet, was founded by king Bhāskara.

(V. 41) (There were) one thousand labourers (working) at the tank and dam every day, and a hundred carts (were employed) for the masonry work of the sluice and wall (*bhramā-bhittī*).

(V. 42) And this most excellent tank was completed in two years. There is, to be sure, no limit at all to the expenditure of money and grain in this (connection).

(V. 43) The measurements in terms of *rēkhā-damīdas*¹⁰¹ of the height, the width, and the length of the dam together with (the portion of) the hill (included in the) dam, are here given :

(V. 44) The dam, having eddying waterducts (i.e. sluices)¹⁰² (and) protected by Vighnēśa, (Gaṇa-pati), Īśvara (Śiva), Viṣṇu, Bhairava, and the great Durgā, is one which has the enormous length of five thousand *rēkhā-damīdas*, height of seven and its width eight.¹⁰³ And the land (is) excellent and yields plentiful crops in all seasons and contains groves.

(V. 45) This land was liberally given for the gratification of gods and Brāhmaṇas. Through the merit of this gift of land the tank was made to be an ornament (of tanks).

(V. 46) Just as the dam of a reservoir should not be injured, so likewise the *dharma*-dam of the ocean of kings. Therefore I, Bhāskara, repeatedly request the kings on earth to protect my charity.

(L. 99 f.) These are the ancient *ślōkas* of entreaty :

[Then follow three of the customary verses.]

(V. 50) [The Officer-in-charge (*adhikārīn*) of this tank is the clever son of the minister called Kumāragiri-nātha, Dēvaṛāja by name.

(V. 51) Having obtained from king Raghu gold by the crore, Kautsa gave (it as) *dakṣiṇā* to his preceptor, Varatantu, who had bestowed on him the fourteen branches of knowledge. By a descendant of his (*scil.* Kautsa)¹⁰⁴ the illustrious Liṅgaya Māchanāryya,¹⁰⁵ of Namdapura, best of Brāhmaṇas and a follower of the R̥gvēda, the auspicious edict was composed.

(V. 52) (One) *khārī* (of land) producing paddy and (one) *khārī* of black-soil land,—(these) were out of regard given to him by Bhāskara, preceded by a libation (of water).

¹⁰¹ A standard of linear measurement roughly equal to 1½ yard. See p. 99.

¹⁰² For *bhramā-jala-gatī* see note 8 on p. 108. [= 98 *supra*.]

¹⁰³ The pronoun *tad* in *tad-vistara* cannot be taken to refer to the noun immediately preceding, but must refer to the *sētu* of which the dimensions are being given. See l. 86 of the text.

¹⁰⁴ The sense is that the poet belonged to the Kautsa *gotra*. There is, however, a confusion in the mind of the poet between Kautsa the patriarch, and Kautsa the pupil of Varatantu alluded to in the *Raghu-vaṁśa*, Canto 5, vv. 1 ff.

¹⁰⁵ I.e. Māchana, son of Liṅgaya.

BHANDAK PLATES OF KRISHNARAJA I. : SAKA 694*

The copper plates which bear the subjoined inscription of the Rashtrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇarāja I were discovered at Bhandak, *Tahsil* Warodā, in the Chāndā District of the Central Provinces. They were forwarded for examination by the Commissioner for the Nāgpur Division, through Dr D B SPOONER, to the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle. I am now editing them from the original plates as well as a set of impressions kindly placed at my disposal by the latter.

The plates are three in number, each measuring roughly 10½ by 6½ ins., and weigh 340 tolas. The margins are folded over and beaten down, so as to serve as rims. The grant is engraved on the inner side of the first and the third plates, and on both sides of the second. The plates are pierced by a circular hole, ½ in in diameter, in order to receive the ring and seal, which are, however, missing.—The engraving is deep, but not neat. The letters, which are uncouth in shape, vary in size from ⅔ to ¼ in. The letters *cha*, *pa* and *ya* have been indifferently incised and are consequently difficult to distinguish from each other, so also the letters *va* (*ba*) and *dha*. The ligature *nta* is often so carelessly written as to be indistinguishable from *tta*. Some letters, again, sporadically show quite strange forms, as, for example, *su* in *rajasu* at the beginning of line 4, *sa* in *śarvaṇṣhu*, l. 3, *lē* in *balēna*, l. 28, etc.—The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and, like those of the Multāi plates¹ of the Rāshtrakūṭa Nanda rāja Yuddhāsura, represent the last phase of the acute-angled variety.² The medial *u* is marked by a short stroke slanting upwards attached to the *mātrikā* at its right lower end, sporadically by a curve opening to the left, as, for instance, in the *śu* of *śucla*, l. 3. The sign for the medial *ē* is a short vertical stroke appended to the top of the *mātrikā* on the left, and, only very rarely, by a stroke above the *mātrikā*. The central bar of *ja* slants downwards, but is not vertical; the lowest bar does not form a double curve, but merely slants downwards towards the right and only sporadically ends in a small notch. Those corners of the letters *kha*, *ga* and *śa*, which later develop into loops or triangles, are in our inscription marked by small projections or notches.³ The verticals on the right of the letters are short and project but little below

* [Ep. Ind. 14. 121-130.]

¹ BÜHLER, *Indische Palaeographie* Tafel IV, Col. XX.

² BÜHLER, *op. cit.* p. 50.

³ E.g. *kha* in *mukho* l. 2, *mukhi* l. 4, *ga* in *gotra* l. 8, *rīga* l. 10, *śa* in *śaśāsata* l. 11, *śikharāni* l. 12, etc.

the remaining portion of the signs⁴ These palæographic characteristics are sufficient to establish the archaic character of the script and to prove that the plates belong actually to the period to which they refer themselves viz the third quarter of the eighth century of the Christian era⁵ Our record contains specimens of initial *ā* in l 2, initial *i* in ll 3, 8, initial *u* in l 37, initial *ē* in l 53, a cursive form of *ku* in ll 5, 12, 23, etc., and the following ligatures, *nka* [122] l 9 *nga* l 36, *ngkṛi* l 17, *ñcha* l 6 *nda* l 2, *ndya* l 27, *ksha* and *kshmā* l 14 *jña* l 8, *lpha* l 16, *shṭva* l 4, and lastly final *t* (?) in l 33—As regards orthography, the only points worthy of notice are the following (1) the use of *gha* for *ha* in *rājasighah*, l 4 (cf also l 23), (2) no distinction is made between *b* and *v*, (3) no rule is followed with regard to the use of *anusvāra* in the middle of a *pāda*, (4) wrong conversion of the *anusvāra* into *n* before a sibilant in *°likhit ānsa,* l 14, (5) once the use of *da* for *dha* in *dadatā*, l 5, (6) the use of the vowel *ṛi* for *ri* in *trīpishṭapa*° (for *°trivishṭapa*°), l 7—The grant commences with a symbol representing *om* Then follows the stanza *sa vō = vyād = vēdhasā dhāma*, etc., which stands at the beginning of, I think all the early Rashtrakūṭa records The rest of the composition is also in Sanskrit the *prasaṣti*, the benedictory and imprecatory stanzas being in verse, the grant proper in prose

⁴ In the *ye* of *yen = ēyam* (l 31 we have an instance where the vertical stroke is altogether wanting

⁵ The Sāmāṅgaḍ grant of Dantidurga (ed FLEET *Ind Ant* Vol XI, pp 110 ff) and the Alās grant of Yuva raja Govinda (II) (ed D R BHANDARKAR *Ep Ind*, Vol VI, pp 208 ff) are two Rashtrakūṭa records which bear the dates Śaka 675 and 692 i.e. are dated earlier by 19 and 2 years respectively than the grant which is the subject of this article The palæographic differences between these three grants are worthy of consideration The alphabet of Govinda's grant is wholly different from that of our record The script is entirely Dravidian in character, the letters are round in appearance and are akin to those of the grants of the later Cālukyas of Badami the immediate predecessors of the Rashtrakūṭas The difference is clearly a local one and is perfectly consistent with the geographical limits over which the southern alphabet was current Such is not however the case with the other inscription The alphabet of the Sāmāṅgaḍ grant belongs to the same category as that of our grant, and represents an archaic variety of the Nāgaṛi The difference lies, however, in its showing just those peculiarities which characterise the script of an epoch some decades later than that to which it refers itself The regular sign for the medial *e* in this grant is a curved stroke on the top of the letter while the short vertical stroke on the left appears only occasionally as representing this letter The right hand portion of *gha pa* and *sa* shows the development of long verticals on the right of these signs The letters *kha ga* and *sa* show distinct [122] developments of loops, where our record has only straight projections or notches The middle bar of *ja* approximates more to the vertical and the lower portion forms a distinct double curve These facts are clear indications of a later palæographic epoch and raise suspicions against the *bona fides* of the grant For this and other reasons I am inclined to entertain the gravest doubts regarding the authenticity of the Sāmāṅgaḍ grant But as I intend dealing with the question at length in a separate article devoted to the subject, I do not wish to enter into details here

Most of the verses of this record are repeated with slight verbal differences in one or other of the following grants the Sāmāṅgaḍ grant of Dantidurga⁶ the Alās plates of Govinda II⁷, the Paithan⁸ and the Kāvī⁹ grants of Gōvinda III. Of these it approaches closest to the first mentioned, viz the Sāmāṅgaḍ grant. The four verses 5 9 21 and 22 I have not been able to trace anywhere else. In recounting the exploits of Dantidurga all the early Rāshtrakūṭa grants repeat the two well known verses, *Kāñchīśa*¹⁰ and *sa-bhīrūvibhanga*,¹¹ etc.¹² Our grant has instead only one stanza, made up of the two half verses belonging to the two stanzas a deficiency which I should imagine, is merely due to the negligence of the scribe. In other respects the execution is satisfactory. And with the help of this text we are placed in a position to correct the extremely corrupt text of the Sāmāṅgaḍ grant with respect to those verses which it has in common with our grant and which do not occur elsewhere.

The grant, as already remarked, is a record of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa rāja I and is of particular importance, being the first record of the king to be discovered so far.¹³ Another grant which refers itself to the reign of Kṛṣṇa I is the Alās grant of his son Gōvinda II, while yet a *yuvārāja*, it was issued in Śaka 692, that is, two years previous to our record.¹⁴ The genealogy of the Rāshtrakūṭas given in the present grant commences with Gōvinda I, as in all other early grants of this dynasty, excepting the unfinished inscription from the Daśāvatāra temple at Ellora¹⁵, and the details regarding his successors Kakka rāja and Indra rāja accord well with what we know of them from other records. Here again, as in the Sāmāṅgaḍ grant, the queen of Indra rāja is described as being a Chālukya princess, tracing her descent from the Lunar race on her mother's side. But from the new record we gather some more information about her, which in the mangled version of the Sāmāṅgaḍ grant was distorted beyond recognition. The defective *anushubh* half verse,

⁶ *JBBRAS*, Vol. II pp 371 ff., ed FLEET *Ind Ant*, Vol. XI pp. 110 ff., and Plates.

⁷ *Ep Ind*, Vol. VI pp 208 ff. and Plate.

⁸ *Ibid*, Vol. III, pp 105 ff., and Plate.

⁹ *Ind Ant*, Vol. V, pp 144 ff.

¹⁰ The Kāvī grant, vv 8 9 the Sāmāṅgaḍ vv 18 17 (in the reverse order¹¹), the Alās, vv 5 6, the Paithan II 11 14.

¹¹ Since writing these lines I have come to know of the recent discovery of another record of Kṛṣṇa rāja, viz. the Talegaon (Poona District) plates dated in the year Śaka 690 vide *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, Western Circle, 1913 p 54. (The inscription is published in *Ep Ind* Vol. XIII pp 275-282.—F W T.)

¹² Ed. D R BHANDARKAR, *Ep Ind*, Vol. VI pp 203 ff.

¹³ Edited by Bhagvanlal INDRAJI No 10 (p 91) of the separate pamphlets of the *Archl Survey of West India*.

Śrīmad yuvatī gananam sadhvinam = apa na(sa) padam |

of the Samāngad grant stands for some original like

Śrīmad Bhavagana nama sadhvinam = upamapadam

which I translate with Śrīmad Bhava gana by name, the (*very*) standard of comparison [123] among virtuous and chaste women. The name of the queen was therefore Bhavagana. Dr FLEET translates the corresponding half verse of the Samāngad grant as follows. She attained the position of honourable young women who are faithful wives. On comparing my translation with that of Dr FLEET there will be no doubt as to which reading is to be preferred. Coming to Kṛṣṇa himself in addition to his *birudas* Subhatunga and Akalavarsha, which we know from other inscriptions as well he appears to have also assumed the title Śrī pralayamaha varaha. Besides these three *birudas* this record contains no further historical information about him and it would therefore appear that it was issued in the early part of his reign at any rate before the event of the construction of the Ellora temple which event is described with such pomp and ceremony in a later record of this dynasty.¹⁴

With regard to the charge brought against Kṛṣṇa by Dr FLEET¹⁵ that he had uprooted his relative Dantidurga, who had resorted to evil ways and appropriated the kingdom for the benefit of his family. I hope this record of Kṛṣṇa raja himself will have the last word to say and that too in a decided negative. The weak points of Dr FLEET's theory have already been pointed out with sufficient clearness and force by Mr Devadatta R BHANDARKAR recently in his article on the Alas plates of Govinda II.¹⁶ It is here sufficient to point out that Dantidurga was no licentious weakling but a very powerful and probably also a popular king. In fact he was the first king of his dynasty to assume the title of *Rajadhiraja Paramēśvara* or to quote the words of Dr FLEET himself he was the real founder of the dynasty.¹⁷ In our grant just as in the Samāngad grant, he is called the 'son to the lotus (*ichich was*) his family' both these records lay stress on his devotion to his mother in unmistakable terms. It is therefore preposterous to identify the relative of Kṛṣṇa who had taken to evil ways with the founder of the dynasty Dantidurga who had merited the epithet *śiṣa-kul ambhoja bhaskara*. Besides were Kṛṣṇa really guilty of the murder it is inconceivable that he should have tolerated the eulogy showered upon the murdered uncle in a grant of his own and coolly added that he ascended the throne after the victim of the assassination had gone to heaven.¹

¹⁴ R. G. BHANDARKAR *Early History of the Deccan* (Bombay Gazetteer Vol. I Part II) p. 193.

¹⁵ *Kanarese Dynasties* p. 391.

¹⁶ *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI p. 209.

¹⁷ *Kanarese Dynasties* p. 392.

The formal part of the grant records that the king being encamped at Nandī pura dvārī granted on the occasion of a *saṃkranti* at the request of one Madana the village of Nagaṇapuri to the Bhaṭṭaraka of the temple of Aditya in the town of Udmvara mantī. The concluding verse gives the name of the writer as Vamana [na]ga

The grant is dated in the Śaka year 694 expired on the third day of the dark half of Ashadha, which was as remarked above a *Samkranti*. Devan Bahadur Swamikannu PILLAI who kindly examined for me the details of the date, informs me that the *tithi* mentioned in our record ended on the 23rd June (Tuesday) A.D. 772 at about one *ghaṭika* after sunrise the day was also the first day of the solar month Karkataka by the Tamil rule. The Karkataka *Samkranti* fell on June 22nd (i.e. on the previous day) at a little before midnight. We are therefore led to assume that in the present case the first day of the civil month was called *Samkranti* though the astronomical *Samkranti* fell on the previous day a supposition which is countenanced by the practice actually followed in Southern India in certain well known instances

TEXT¹⁸

[Metres v 1 *Anuṣṭubh* (Śloka) vv 2-7 *Vasantatilaka* v 8 *Anuṣṭubh* (Śloka) v 9 *Indrajita* vv 10-16 *Anuṣṭubh* (Śloka) v 17 *Vasantatilaka* v 18 *Sardulavikṛīḍita* vv 19-24 *Ārya* vv 25-26 *Anuṣṭubh* (Śloka) v 27 defective *Ārya*]

- 1 आ¹ [॥*] स बोध्याद्वेष्टा घाम यक्षाभिक्रमल कृत [१*] हरश्च यस्य
कान्तेन्दुकलया
[124] 2 कमलकृत ॥ [१ ॥*] आसीद[६*] द्विपत्तिमिरमुद्यतमण्डलाग्रा ध्वस्तद्वयश्रमिमुखा
3 रण[६]र्ज्वरीषु [१*] भूप गुचिर्विपुर्निवासदिग¹⁹ "सर्वीर्तिगोविन्दराज इति रा
4 ज[सु] राजसिप²⁰ । [२॥*] दृष्टा च[मू]रभिमुग्धी [१*] "सुभटाट(ग)दासा [उक्ता]मि
5 सपदि येन रण्यु नित्य । द[ष्टा]पुरेण²¹ द[ष्ट]ता भुवुति [-*] ललटे स्वभ²²
6 कुल च हृदयश्च निजश्च गर्व [-*] । [३॥*] तस्यामजो जगति वि
श्रुतीर्षकी
7 त्तिरात्तात्तिहारिविक्रमघामधारी²³ । "भूपस्तपिष्टपट्टपातुकृति
8 कृतज्ञ²⁴ [१*] श्रीकक्षराज इति गोसमगिर्ज्वभूव²⁵ । [४॥*] नाग्रेय यस्य २
9 मणाङ्कविवर्तिनीना [-*] रामाश्चवपुभृतामरिसुन्दरीणा [-*] [१*] भ

¹⁸ From the original plates and a set of impressions.

¹⁹ Represented by a symbol

²⁰ Read "दिगन्त"

²¹ Read "विंद"

²² Read समगहदागा

²³ Read "धरेण दधता

²⁴ Read सत्र Note गग masculine

²⁵ Read "हारिहरी"

²⁶ Read भूपविष्ट

²⁷ Read "ज्वभूव"

10 ³⁰[शु]णि ²⁹बाहुवल्यानि मनांसि सद्यः संता[स]वेगविधुराणि सम[—*] निपे-
 11 तुः ।[१५॥*] यस्मि[न्प्र]शासति महोन्नये द्विजाना[—*] वैतानधूमनिचयैः
 परिक-

12 ³⁰बुराणि ।[*] स[—*]ध्यासु सौधशिखराणि विलोक्य केराः कुर्वन्ति
 वेधमशिखिनो

13 जलदागमोक्ताः ॥६॥* तस्य प्रभिन्नकंदद्व्युतदानदन्तिदन्तप्रहाररुचि

14 रोहिहितान्सपीठः³¹ । क्षमापः क्षितौ क्षपितशयुरभू[त्त]नूजः सदाष्टकूट-

Second Plate ; First Side.

15 (ट)कनकदिरिवेन्द्रराजः³² ॥७॥* तस्य द्विजजनाभ्रान्तशान्तिवाचनगारि-

16 णा ।[*] प्रत्यहं ³³दुल्हदग्नेन जनश्च[र]ति मन्दिरे ॥८॥* सेनासमा-
 यानवृह-³⁴

17 जरेन्द्रवृन्दाभिवन्द्य[द्दिम्]युगस्य³⁵ यस्य ।[*] अम्लानवकैस्त्रिजगत्प्रवीणैः³⁶ स[—*]

18 ³⁷गेव्यते श्री[ः*] ³⁸स्वजनैरजसं ॥९॥* पूरिताशा शुचिर्ध्वस्तध्वान्तज्यो-
 स्त्वेव मातृवः ।[*]

19 राज्ञी सोमान्वया तस्य पितृवश्च चुलुक्यजः³⁹ ॥१०॥* श्रीमद्भवगणा नाम सा-
 [125] 20 [ध्वी]नामुपमापदं ।[*] रक्षणाद्भरणाल्लोकं या चकार निरापदं ॥११॥*
 सु(स)नयन्त-

21 नयं तस्यां स लेभे भूभृदुत्तमः ।(१) ⁴⁰नीतावर्थमिवाशेष[प]जानता⁴¹

22 प्रार्थितायति ॥१२॥* स्पष्टतेजा⁴² [स्व]धामौघ[ः]प्रसाधितदिगन्तरं ।[*] श्री-

23 दन्तिदुर्गराजाख्य[—] स्वकुला[म्भो]जभास्करं ॥१३॥* अस्याजो⁴³ रणसिंघस्य⁴⁴
 वि-

24 त्रस्ता वैरिवारणाः स्वलज्जास्तम्भमुन्मूल्य शायन्ते ह्यपि [नो] गताः[*]
 ॥१४॥* [सा]टा-

25 लकानि दुर्गाणि हृदयैः सह विद्विषाम्प[त]न्ति यत्प्रतापेप्रकोपाङ्कु-⁴⁵

26 रसमुद्धरे ॥१५॥* ⁴⁶म.तृभक्ति[ः*] प्रतिग्रामं ग्रामलक्षचतुष्टये ।[*]
 ददत्ता भू[प्रदा]-

²⁹ Read °शुणि.

²⁹ Read बाहु°.

³⁰ Read °बुराणि.

³¹ Read °तांस°.

³² Read °कादिरि°. The s-sign of दि is appended to the symbol for दृ

³³ Read गुल्ह°.

³⁴ Read °वृह.

³⁵ Read °वन्द्या. The s-sign in दिम् seems to be appended to the symbol for दृम्

³⁶ See note 6 on p 127. [= 74 *infra*]

³⁷ Read रोध्य°

³⁸ Read सजनै°.

³⁹ Read जा.

⁴⁰ See note 1 on p 128 [= 78 *infra*]

⁴¹ Read °जनता.

⁴² Read °तेजः°.

⁴³ Read °जौ.

⁴⁴ Read °हस्य.

⁴⁵ Read °तापोय°.

⁴⁶ Read मातृ°.

- 27 नानि यस्य मात्रा प्रकाशिता ॥[१६॥*] कांचीशकेरलनराधिपचोलपाण्ड्य-
श्रीह-
28 पवञ्जटविभेदविधानदक्षं [१*] यो बल्लभं सपदि दण्डव[ले]न⁴⁷ जित्वा
रा[जा]-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 29 धिराजपरमेश्वरतामवाप ॥[१७॥*] आसेतोर्ध्विपुलोपलावलिलसहोलो-
30 र्मिवैलाचलादाप्राण्यकल[—*]कितामलशिलाजाला[तु]पाराचलाशपूर्वाप-
31 स्वारिराशिपुलिनप्रान्तप्रसिद्धावधे[ः*] येनेयं जगती स्वविक्रमव⁴⁸लेनैकात्-
32 पत्नीकृता ॥[१८॥*] तस्मिन्दिव प्रयाते बल्लभराजे क्षतप्रजावाधः⁴⁹ [१*]
श्रीकञ्जरा-
33 जसुनुर्महोपतिः कृष्णराजोभूत् ॥[१९॥*] यस्य स्वभुजपराक्रमनिशेषोत्सारि-
34 तारिदिक्चक्रं [१*] कृष्णस्येवाकृष्णं चरितं श्रीकृष्णराजस्य ॥[२०॥] विपमेषु
विपमश्री-
35 लो यस्त्यागमहानिधिर्दिग्दिपु [१*] कान्तासु बल्लभतरः ख्यातः प्रणतेषु शु-
36 भतुङ्ग ॥[२१॥*] सुहृदि धनं रिपुषु शरा⁵⁰ युवतिजने काममशरणे शर-
37 णं [१*] यः सन्ततमभिवर्षन्नकालवर्षो भुवि ख्यातः ॥[२२॥*] उहं-
धितम-
38 ⁵¹यादे कलिजलयौ व्याकुला निमज्जन्तौ [१*] ⁵²यैनोदृता धरत्री⁵³ श्रीप्रलय
महावरा-
[126] 39 हेण ॥[२३॥*] तेनेदमनिलविद्युच्चञ्चलमवलोक्य जीवितमसारं [१*]
क्षितिदानप-
40 रमपुण्यः प्रवर्तितो ⁵⁴महादायोय[—*] ॥[२४॥*] स च परममहारक-
महाराजाधिरा

- 41 जपरमेश्वरश्रीमदकालवर्षश्रीपृथिवीवल्लभनरेन्द्रदेवः सर्वानेव रा-
42 ट्पतिविपयपतिभोगपतिप्रभृतीन्समाज्ञापयत्यस्तु वः ⁵⁵सम्बिदितं
43 यथा मया मातापित्रोरात्मनेश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृष्ये । शक्यप-

Third Plate

- 44 कालातीतसम्बत्सरशतपट्टे ⁵⁶चतुर्नवशुत्तरे ⁵⁷[ज्ञा]न्दीपुरद्वारीस
45 मावास्तके आपादबहुतृतीयाया⁵⁸ स[—*]कान्तौ [म]दन(यी)विज्ञापनया
46 उदुंबरमन्तिपत्तने कारितादित्यापतनभट्टारकाय उदुंबरम-

* 47 Read 'बले'.

48 Read 'वाघ'.

49 Read 'शरान्'.

50 Read 'योंदे'.

51 Read 'येनो'.

52 Read 'रित्री'.

53 Read 'वृद्ध'.

54 Read 'सवि'.

55 Read 'सवि'.

56 Read 'नान्दी'.

57 Read 'बहु'.

58 The ५ sign (mechal) is appended to the symbol for ति.

- 47 न्तिपूर्वतो गन्धूतमात्रे णगगपुरिनामग्रामो दत्त बलि () च [रु]
 48 नैवेद्यपूजापण्डस्फुटितस [—*] स्कारनिमित्त । तस्य चाघाटनानि लि⁵⁹
 49 ह्यन्ते । [1*] पूर्वत [1]⁶⁰ नागामाग्राम [11*] दक्षिणत [1*] उम्बरग्राम [11*]
 पश्चिम
 50 त [1*] अन्तरैग्राम [11*] उत्तरत [1*] कपिद्धो ग्राम [1*] एव चतुराघा
 51 टविशुद्ध पूर्वप्रदत्तदेवब्राह्मणवर्ज्य [1*] तथापर उम्बरमन्तित
 52 लसीमाया देवतडाकस्योत्तरत राजिणितडाके⁶¹ पश्चिमतो नदी [1*]
 53 एव निवर्त्तनशत [—*] [1*] ⁶² बहुभिर्व्यसुधा भुक्ता राजभि [*] ⁶³ शकरादिभि
 [1 *] य
 54 स्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तदा [⁶⁴ ह] ल ॥ [२५ ॥ *] स्वदत्ता पर [द]
 ताम्बा⁶⁵ यो
 55 हरेत वसुन्धरा । पटिं वर्षसहस्राणि विष्टया⁶⁶ जायते [कृ] मि ॥ [२६ ॥ *]
 शासन-
 56 मकालवर्षस्यादेशा श्रीमता⁶⁷ लगद्वेण (?) [1 *] ⁶⁸ परहितकृपानुबध्या लिखित
 श्रीवामन [ना] गे [न] [॥ २७ ॥ *]

TRANSLATION

OM

(Verse 1) May he (*sci* Vishnu) the lotus on whose navel Brahma has made (*his*) dwelling protect you and Hara (*i.e.* Śiva) whose forehead is adorned by the beautiful moon-crescent.

[127] (V 2) There was a king called Govinda raja [I] a royal lion among kings whose fame reached to the ends of the regions (*and who*) pure (*of conduct*) lifting (*his*) scimitar (*and*) facing (*them*) destroyed his enemies in battles, just as the lustrous Moon whose glory (*i.e. radiance*) penetrates to the ends of the regions raising the tip of (*his*) orb (*above the horizon and sending his rays*) straight forward dispels at night the darkness

(V 3) Invariably when he saw on the battlefield the armies (*of the enemies*) confronting him ringing with the loud laughter of warriors forth with he biting (*his*) lip (*and*) knitting (*his*) brow elevated (*his*) sword (*his*) family (*his*) heart and (*his*) pride⁶⁹

(V 4) His son, the glorious Kakka raja [I] was the gem of the *Rushtrakūṭa* race a king who was grateful (*for services rendered*) whose

⁵⁹ Correct perhaps to नागामो ग्रा°

⁶⁰ Read °कस्य

⁶¹ Read यदु°

⁶² Read सगरा°

⁶³ Read फल

⁶⁴ Read °ता या

⁶⁵ Read विष्टया

⁶⁶ Read °श्रीमता

⁶⁷ Read °कपालवुद्धया°

⁶⁸ The last quarter of this *śrī* is defective.

⁶⁹ Better perhaps to take *garva* in the sense of *gaurā* = dignity, importance

extensive glory was famed throughout the world who stilled the sufferings of the distressed (*and*) possessed the valour and the majesty of the lion (*thus*) resembling (*Indra*) the king of heaven⁷⁰

(V 5) ⁷¹ At the mere (*sound of the*) name of him fell straightway from the wives of his enemies retreating from the laps of (*their*) lovers with (*their*) hair standing on end and trembling (*the following three things*) tears armlets and also (*their*) minds which were deranged by the impetuosity of their fright.

(V 6) While this king was governing the earth the tame peacocks eager for the advent of clouds used to break out into cries (*of delight*) when they in the evenings caught sight of the turrets of his palaces which were completely gray with the mass of smoke from the oblations of the twice-born (i.e. *Brahmanas*)

(V 7) His son was Indra raja as it were the Mount Meru of the noble Rashtrakutas a prince whose expansive shoulders were bright though being scratched through the blows from the tusks of elephants from whose split temples trickled down ichor and who had destroyed (*his*) enemies on earth

(V 8) Every day people walked about in (*his*) palace ankle-deep through the water (*sprinkled during*) unceasing recitals of *śanti* texts by Brahmanas

(V 9) ⁷² The wealth of him whose pair of feet were worshipped by a large crowd of princes who came to do homage (*to him*) was perpetually shared by virtuous men⁷³ with unclouded countenances.⁷³

(Vv 10 11) His queen who had fulfilled (*all*) desires (*of others*) — who was pure like the lustrous moonlight (*which*) filling (*all*) regions, destroys darkness — who was by her mother's side descended from the Moon⁷⁴ and on her father's side from the Chulukyas (Chalukyas) called

⁷⁰ All the attributes apply to Indra as well. In his case however *harī tīkrama dīpama-dhārī* is to be understood in the sense one who supports the place (*covered by*) the strides of Hari (i.e. Vishnu) referring to the form of the latter striding over the heavens in three paces. None of the earlier interpretations of this verse take into account this *śleṣa*

⁷¹ This verse is not found in any other Rashtrakuta record

⁷² These are recited for the averting of evil and the pacification of various deities.

⁷³ This verse does not occur in any other Rashtrakuta record.

⁷⁴ *Trī jagat pratīpatī* does not convey any sense to my mind, and appears to be a mistake of the scribe who wrote off *trī jagat* in place of something less familiar. Read perhaps, *trī gaṇa-pratīpatī* and translate by those versed in the triad of duties (viz. *dharma artha* and *kama*)

⁷⁵ i.e. without being made to feel the subservience

⁷⁶ The Rashtrakutas were themselves also *Sūma* *śāntī* n

the glorious Bhavagarā⁷⁷—was the standard of comparisons among virtuous and chaste women : she freed the world from misery by protecting and maintaining (*the needy*).

[128] (V. 12). He, the best of kings, begat a righteous son from her like unto material well-being (*artha*) from prudence (*nīti*), (*a son who was, as it were*) the future prosperity (*āyati*) prayed for by the whole of mankind.⁷⁸

(V. 13.) (*him*) who was known as the illustrious king Dantidurga, the sun to the lotus (*that was*) his family, who illuminated the spaces between the regions by the flood of his effulgence, the lustre of which was palpable

(V. 14.) In the battles with this lion of the martial field the affrighted elephants (*which were his*) enemies, having pulled up by the root the posts (*namely, their*), shame⁷⁹ have absconded, no one knows where.

(V. 15.) Before the bursting forth of the 'sprouts' of his prowess and (*his*) fierce anger the turreted fortresses of (*his*) enemies fall down along with their hearts.

(V. 16.) His devotion to (*his*) mother was demonstrated by (*the fact of his*) mother's making (*charitable*) donations of land in every village in (*his kingdom of*) four hundred thousand villages

(V. 17.) Having in no time conquered Vallabha,⁸⁰ who was (*even*) able to inflict crushing defeats on the lord of Kāñchī, the king of Kērala, the Chōla, the Pāṇḍya, Śrī-Harsha and Vajraṭa by the prowess of his arm (*or arms*), he acquired the state of the 'Supreme King of Kings' and 'Supreme Lord.'⁸¹

(V. 18.) Through the power of his valour he brought under one (*royal*) umbrella this earth from the Sētu, where the coast-mountain has tossing waves flashing along the line of its large rocks, up to the Snowy Mountain (Himālaya), where the masses of spotless rocks are stained by the snow,⁸²

⁷⁷ The corresponding verse of the Sāmāgaḍ grant contains a *varietas lectionis* in the first half-verse. See above, p. 122

⁷⁸ This half-verse occurs also in the Sāmāgaḍ grant. In the *editio princeps* appearing in the JBBRAS this line was read as *nīlātavēmtīāśēṣa jagataḥ pālītāyatī[ḥ]*, but the editor of the inscription did not translate the phrase *nīlāvatēm* = DR. FLEET in his article on the same grant some time later (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 212), after examining the plates, corrected the reading to *nīlā-tadhē* (or *thē*) *mī* = etc., but followed the example of his predecessor in not translating the awkward phrase. The correct reading is evidently supplied by our plates. For the meaning of *āyati*, cf. *Kṛtātārjuniya* 2. 14 *rahaṭy āpad upētam āyatīḥ*.

⁷⁹ DR. FLEET's correction of *salajā* of his text to *salajāḥ* is obviously wrong, as his translation does not give a good sense.

⁸⁰ i.e. the Chālukyan king Kirtivarman II. See FLEET's *Kan. Dyn.*, p. 391.

⁸¹ See above, p. 122.

⁸² For the idea implied by the word *kalamkita* cf. Kālidāsa's *Kumāra-sambhāva*, Canto 1, v.

as far as the boundary line beautified by stretches of the sandy shores of the eastern and western oceans

(V 19) When that Vallabha raja⁵³ had gone to heaven, Krishna raja the son of the illustrious Kakka raja who relieved the sufferings of (his) subjects⁵⁴ became king

(V 20) The career of that glorious Krishna raja during which the circle of his enemies was completely swept away by the prowess of his own arm, was as stainless as that of Krishna (Vasudeva) —

(V 21) ⁵ who is famed to be of fierce disposition towards the fierce a mighty repository of generosity towards the poor most dear to women and towards the prostrate Most Highly Gracious (Śubha tunga) —

(V 22) who constantly showering wealth on friends arrows on enemies love on young damsels protection on the helpless was famed in the world as the Untimely-Showerer⁵⁵ (Akala varsha) —

[129] (V 23) by which glorious Great Deluge-Boar (Pralaya Maha varaha) was rescued the frightened Earth which was sinking in the Kali ocean which had overpassed (its) boundary

(V 23) He, seeing (that) life which is unsteady like the wind and the lightning is without substance established this *brahmadaya* which is particularly meritorious on account of (its being) a gift of land

(L 40) And this *Parama-bhaṭṭaraka Maharaj adhiraja Param estara* the illustrious *Akala-varsha* the Lord of Prosperity and the Earth (*Sri prithi vallabha*) King of Kings (*Narendra deva*) commands all the governors of kingdoms (*rashtra*) governors of districts (*ishaya*) governors of divisions (*bhoga*) and others (as follows)

(L 42) Be it known unto you that — Six hundred and ninety four years of the Śaka era having elapsed on (the occasion of) an eclipse on the third (day) of the dark half of Ashadha while encamping⁵⁷ at Nandi pura dvāri —

⁵³ A *bituda* of the Western Chalukya kings probably adopted by the Rashtrakutas as their successors.

⁵⁴ BÜHLER'S reading *kṛta prajābadha* and translation 'who did not oppress his subjects' (*Ind Ant* Vol XII pp 182 187) are both unsatisfactory. Why should he oppress them? As no impression is appended to his article it is not possible to decide if the reading is not a mislection. *Ashata prajā-badha* corresponds exactly to the phrase *anti-anti harm* in a previous verse and does not in the least presuppose that his predecessors had oppressed their subjects. [In the Talegaon Plates (*supra* Vol XIII p 279) Dr KONOW read *kṛta prajā-badha*. Perhaps we should here understand "*prajābādha*" as "*prajā-abadha*" — F W T.]

⁵⁵ This and the following two verses do not occur in any other Rashtrakuta record.

⁵⁶ To be understood in the sense "rain ing in season and out of season."

⁵⁷ *Samatāsake* can only refer to a dwelling place and the preceding word ending in *pura* evidently supports the idea of encampment. Nevertheless, the position of this word expressing locality right in the middle of others expressing time is a little curious.

in order to increase the religious merit and the glory of (Our) parents and of Ourselves the village of Nagana puri, (situated) at a distance of a *gavyuti*⁸⁸ to the east of Udumvara mantī, has been given by Us at the request of Madana to the Bhattāraka of the temple of Āditya erected in the town of Udumvara mantī for the (performance of) *balī charu navēdya* worship and (repairs of) dilapidations

(L 48) Its boundaries are noted (as under)
to the east the village Nagama
to the south village Umvara,
to the west the village Antarai,
to the north the village Kapiddha,—

thus determined by (its) four boundaries, excepting former gifts to gods and Brāhmanas, and also the river along the boundary of Umvara mantī to the north of the Dēva taḍaka (and) to the west of the Rājūni taḍaka. Thus altogether one hundred *nivarttanas*

(Vv 25, 26) [Two of the customary verses]

(V 27) (This) edict was written at the order of Akāla varsha by the illustrious Vāmana[nā]ga of benevolent and compassionate nature.

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Note by Rai Bahadur HIRALAL, Extra Assistant Commissioner, Jubbul pore, CP *

⁸⁸ A *gavyūti* is equal to 4000 *daṇḍas* or two *krośas* (MONIER WILLIAMS)

* On the Localities mentioned in the Bhandak Plates of Kṛṣṇaraja I, Śaka 694 by K. N. DIKSHIT M. A. [Second Or Conf Proc 625-27]

The Bhandak plates of the Raṣṭrakūṭa king I have been edited in the XIVth Volume of the *Epigraphia Indica* by Dr V. S. SUTTHANKAR with a note by Rai Bahadur HIRALAL now Deputy Commissioner in the Central Provinces. The Bhandak grant is the first record of the Raṣṭrakūṭas of Mānyakheta to be discovered so far north east of their domains. But the mere fact of the discovery of a copperplate in a particular locality cannot prove that the tract in question formed part of the dominions of the prince whose record it is. It is necessary that the localities mentioned in the grant should be identified with a degree of certainty, before such a conclusion is arrived at. In the present case Rai Bahadur HIRALAL has proposed to identify the places mentioned with several places in the Amraoti and Wardha Dts. of Berar and the Central Provinces. The identification is however open to objection and as I did not feel satisfied with it I consulted a friend of mine from Yeotmal Mr Y. K. DESHPANDE who has a good knowledge of the localities concerned and who happened to come here during Xmas. With the help and information received from him I am now able to identify the localities and hope that they will be found completely satisfactory.

The name of the *Samatasaka* i.e. place where the king encamped was Nandī paradvān. The modern phonetical equivalent of Nandipura would be Nandira. There is a Nandura in Yeotmal Taluq which is situated on the river Bembla, a tributary of the river Wardha and has still got a camping ground and a modern Dak Bungalow. The scarcity of water which must have made itself felt in Berar then as

First of all I take Udumvaramatti to be identical with Umravati. Umravati means the town of Umar (*Ficus Glomerata*) the same as the Udumvara of the Sanskrit. That the pronunciation and spelling continue to be Umaravati in the vernacular will be seen from a cutting of a Marathi Eng

now makes it incumbent on travellers to choose convenient sites on the banks of rivers as their camping grounds. We can very well imagine therefore, why Kṛṣṇa rāja touring in the height of summer (—the grant was issued on the 23rd June) encamped at Naṇḍipura situated on the bank of a perennial river. The place suggested by Rai Bahadur HIRALAL was Nandora in Wardha Tahsil which has to be rejected as it has no such natural advantages.

We then pass on to the object of the grant the village of Nagana [626] puri situated at the distance of a *gavyuti* to the east of Udumvaramanti the donee being the Bhaṭṭaraka or enshrined god at the temple of Āditya erected in the town of Udumvaramanti. The boundaries of the village granted are given as the village Nagama to the east the village Umvara to the south the village Antara to the west and the village Āpiddha to the north. As Rai Bahadur HIRALAL points out, Umraoti is the modern equivalent of Udumvaramanti but the modern town of Amraoti besides being too far from the localities in question has no pretension to antiquity as Rai Bahadur claims for it. The old town of Udumvaramanti is the modern village of Rani Umraoti in Yeotmal Taluq about 5 miles to the south west of Nandura, the place of encampment. The prefix Rani was added to this ancient village some three centuries ago when the village came into the possession of the Rana Rajputs from Udaipur the present descendants of which family though converted to Muhammadanism are still the Deshmukhs of the village. The record besides granting the village of गणपुरी mentions तथापरं उम्बरमन्तितल्सीमया देवतडाकस्योत्तरे राजिणितडाके पश्चिमतोऽनदी एव निवर्त्तनश्च i.e. a hundred *nuartanas* of land within the boundaries of Umvaramanti as follows to the north of Devatadāka, and to the west of Rajanitadaka and (to the south and east of) the river. There is still a rivulet running within the boundaries of Rani Umraoti and there are depressions to the south and east at some distance which may be the silted remains of the tanks mentioned in the grant. My friend expects to locate the site of the ancient temple of the Sun at Rani Umraoti.

The village of गणपुरी which was a गव्यूति (or two *krosas* or 4 miles) distant from Udumvaramanti is to be identified with the village Gaponi four miles to the east of Rani Umraoti. I cannot recall to my mind any place name beginning with *na* and I presume the initial *na* of Nagapurī was either a mistake of the scribe or a pedantic attempt to Sanskritize the name. It will be seen that गणोरी is a correct equivalent of गणपुरी. Rai Bahadur HIRALAL could not identify the village but he tried to identify some of the boundary villages in a locality 60 miles to the east of Amraoti. A *gavyuti* can never by any stretch of imagination be supposed to cover a distance of 60 miles. His identification of only two villages out of five which he has tried to justify in spite of the discrepancies as regards the direction have therefore to be completely rejected.

The present boundaries of Gaponi are Antargaon (ancient Antara [627] grama) to the west Umbarda (ancient Umvaragrama) to the south Nagam (ancient Nagama) to the east and Bābhulgaon to the north. The ancient village of Āpiddha named after a woodapple tree which bounded Gapsuri on the north has apparently disappeared giving place to a village also named after another tree the *Babul*.

lish paper herewith enclosed Exactly to the east of Amraoti at a distance of about 60 miles there is a village named Antaragaon in the Wardha Tahsil of the Wardha District, to the west of which and contiguous to it is another village Umaragaon I take these to be identical with Antaraḡrāma and Umvaraḡrāma of the inscription Nagaṇapuri, the subject of the grant, is not traceable nor Nāḡāma and Kapiddhagrāma which bounded it on its east and north The Umvaragrāma was to the south of Nagaṇapuri and Antaraḡrāma to its west If there is no mistake in interpreting the record, I should suppose that the villages have, for some reason or other, changed their site causing a confusion in the directions of their original positions

The donor's camp was at Nandipuradvārī and I take this to be Nandora, 9 miles south of Antaragaon

The village in the vicinity of Antaragaon and Umaragaon are Jheri, Borkhedī, Chargaon Pipalasenda, Wargaon Echora, Kamthi, Hirora and Giroli most of them named after trees as Kapiddhagrama and Nāḡāmagrama appear to be, and apparently the last two have disappeared, giving place to names derived from trees which later on abounded in the place where Kapiddha and Nāḡāma were situated

[130] Since some four villages give the clue for identification we may take it that Nagaṇapuri was situated somewhere at 20° 51' N and 78° 44' E

III—A NEW INSCRIPTION OF SIRI-PULUMĀVI*

The subjoined Prakrit record incised in the reign of Sirī Puḷumāvi, 'King of the Satavahana (family),' was discovered by Mr T RAJARAO, Kanarese Assistant in the Office of the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, during his tour of inspection in the Ādōṇi *Tāluk* of the Bellary District, Madras Presidency. The estampages were prepared under the direct supervision of Rao Sahib H Krishna SASTRI and kindly placed at my disposal by him for publication. I am indebted to him also for many valuable suggestions in the matter both of decipherment and of interpretation of the record.

The inscription is engraved on the eastern face of a large natural boulder of reddish granite, known to the villagers as Jangḷi Guṇḍu (Jungle Stone). The inscribed rock, which is firmly buried in the soil, lies midway between the villages Myākadonī and Chinnakadabūru at a distance of about eight miles due N from the *Taluk* Head-quarters. The surface of the boulder has peeled off at various places sometimes right up to the depth to which the letters were incised. The written surface, consisting of four lines of the inscription, covers an area of 8' by 3', and the height of the average letter is 2½'. The engraving though bold and neatly executed is not very deep, indeed the "ducts" of the letters are so shallow that a superficial examination of the rock discloses hardly any traces of the record. It is worth noting that the words are separated from each other by small gaps, a circumstance which greatly facilitates the deciphering of the record. The fourth and last line of the inscription is considerably shorter than the rest, and commences much farther to the right than these. The closest inspection of the rock did not disclose any distinct trace of letters in the gap at the beginning, caused by the shortness of this line.

The alphabet resembles that of the Jaggayyapeṭa inscription of Purīṣa data.¹ Characteristic are the hooks with which the elongated verticals of the letters *ka* *ṇa* and *ra* terminate, as well as the pedantic semi-circular arc used as the sign for the medial *i*. The signs for medial *ā* and *ē* show a tendency to droop downwards at their free ends. In spite of this similarity with the characters of the Jaggayyapeṭa record there could be as far as I can see no objection on palaeographic grounds to their being assigned to an epoch earlier than the third century to which the Jaggayyapeṭa inscription is hesitatingly ascribed by BÜHLER, *Indische Palæographie*, p. 44.²

* [Ep. Ind. 14 153-55]

¹ BÜHLER, *Indische Palæographie* p. 44 and Tafel III Col. XVII XVIII

² See also his remarks in the *Arch. Surv. of Southern India*, Vol. I p. 111. Excepting the tendency of horizontal lines which are unconnected at one end to

The number of epigraphic records belonging to the Sātavahana Dynasty, which had succeeded in holding sway over a large part of southern India for an unusually prolonged period, is remarkably small. In the Madras Presidency, besides the one I am now editing, there are only two inscriptions which refer themselves directly to the reign of a Sātavahana king,³ and these are both records from the Krishnā district, one of them being certainly a private record. So is the inscription under consideration a private record : it registers the construction [154] of a tank by a certain householder (*gahapatika*). The only other designation besides Puṣumāvi which the king receives here is Raño Sātavahanānam, 'of the King of the Sātavahanas.' One notices here the absence of the metronymic with which the names of the Sātavahana kings are as a rule accompanied, such as Gotamīputa and others.⁴ Worthy of note also is the use of the family name Sātavahana, a term of comparatively rare occurrence in inscriptions.⁵

With the scanty information we have in our record about this Puṣumāvi an identification is precarious. There are in fact at least four kings with the name Puṣumāvi (or its variants) known to history ; and the chronology of this dynasty is far from being satisfactorily settled. Mr. Vincent A. SMITH,⁶ working upon the Puranic material supplied by PARGITER, gives us tentatively the following dates for the various Puṣumāvis :—

1. Puṣumāvi (I.), the fifteenth king of the dynasty, ruled some time before A.D. 59.

2. Puṣumāvi (II.), Vāsīthīputa, came to the throne about A.D. 135, and ruled for something like 28 years.

3. Puṣumāvi (III.), came to the throne about A.D. 163, and ruled for something like 7 years.

4. Puṣumāvi (IV.), came to the throne about A.D. 218, and ruled for something like 7 years.

curve downwards, there is no difference between the alphabet of our record and those which are figured in Table III, Col. X-XIII of BÜHLER's *Tafeln*, which would justify its being assigned to a later palaeographic epoch. The curving downwards of horizontal lines is, in my opinion, as much an ornamental variation as the hooks at the ends of elongated verticals, which are to be observed as early as in an inscription of Sātakaṇ I (Col. X), which BÜHLER himself assigns to 1-2 century A.D. With the semi-circular are representing medial : cf. *g* and *vi* in an inscription of Puṣumāvi (Col. XI), *dī*, *nī* and *hī* in an inscription of Sātakaṇ I. (Col. X) ; *ti* (twice) and *dhi* in those of Ushavadāta (Col. VII, VIII) and others much earlier.

³ See LUDERS, *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions*, Nos. 1248, 1340.

⁴ See RAPSON, *Catalogue of the coins of the Andhra Dynasty*, etc. (London, 1908), p. clxxxix.

⁵ See RAPSON, *op. cit.*, Index V, s. v. Sātavāhana.

⁶ *Early History of India*, 3rd Edition (1914), pp. 216 ff.

For purposes of identification the Puranic king Pulumavi (I) of whom we know next to nothing may be rejected on palæographic grounds. Further if the lengths of reigns allotted to these kings in the list supplied by Mr Vincent A. SMITH happen to be correct, then the last two Pulumavis will also have to be rejected as they are stated to have ruled only seven years each while our inscription is dated in the eighth regnal year of the king. From this point of view the Pulumavi of our inscription will have to be identified with Vāsīṣṭuputa samī Sirī Pulumavi (II) the [Siro]Ptolemaios of Ptolemy.¹ A large number of records dated in the reign of this king have in recent years come to light. The year of his accession to the throne is, as remarked above, put down roughly at A.D. 135. Assuming a plurality of kings with the name Pulumavi there is no other criterion in the inscription for identifying him further.

It was mentioned above that the object of the inscription was to record the sinking of a reservoir (*taḷaka*). There is, however, no reservoir or tank to be seen in the neighbourhood to which the record may apply. But it may be remarked that the soil in the vicinity of the inscribed rock is alluvial consisting of sand and finely powdered dust so that the adjoining land might well at one time have formed the bed of a tank.

Among the localities mentioned in this record Satavahani hara is particularly interesting as it occurs once again in the Hira Hadagalli copper plate inscription² of the Pallava king Sivaskandavarman in the slightly altered form of Satahani raṭṭha. I am not aware that the names of places mentioned in this grant of the Pallava have been satisfactorily identified so that the situation of Satahani raṭṭha has been as far as I know a matter of conjecture. The inscribed boulder bearing the present record is however a sure landmark as far as the situation of the locality is concerned. If now the find place of the grant Hira Hadagalli which is also situated in the Bellary District, be supposed to be not far removed from the subject of that grant, which is described as being located in the Satahani raṭṭha then the territorial [155] division Satavahani Sātahani must have comprised a good portion of the modern Bellary District. The relation in which the *mahasenapati* and the *gumaka* stand to the *janapada* and the *gama* which appear along with their names, is not explicitly mentioned. But considering the position of these persons one might hazard the guess that these military offices were feudal lords of the lands holding them in the form of *jagirs*.

In conclusion, it may be remarked that the site of the inscribed rock is an important landmark, fixing definitely a point south of the Kṛishṇa to which the sway of the Satavahanas extended.

¹ RAPSON *op cit* p. xxxix

² *Ep Ind* Vol I pp 2 ff

TEXT⁹

- 1 ¹⁰[S₁]dha[m] [||*] Raño Sātavahanānam S[₁]rī Puḷum[ā]visa sava 8
hēma [2] diva 1
- 2 [masa]¹¹ mahāsēnāpat[1]sa Khamda[nā]kasa janapādē¹² S[ā]tavahani-
hārē
- 3 mikasa¹³ Kumāradatasa gāmē Vepurakē vathavēna gahapatikēna
[Kom]tānam¹⁴ ||Sambē]na
taḷākam khānitam [||*]

TRANSLATION

Success¹ On the first day of the first (*fortnight of*) second Winter² in the eighth year (*of the reign*) of Sīrī Puḷumāvi, King of the Sātavahana (*family*), the reservoir was sunk by the householder (*gahapatika*) resident in the village (*of*) Vepuraka, belonging to the Captain (*gumuka*) Kumāradata (Kumāradatta), in the country (*janapada*) of Sātavahani hāra,¹⁶ belonging to the Great General (*mahāsēnāpati*) Khamdanāka¹⁷ (Skandanāga)

⁹ From the stone and a set of impressions.

¹⁰ Traces of the bracketed syllable are visible on the stone

¹¹ The consonant signs are almost certain, the vowel signs are all but obliterated, as at this point the rock has peeled off almost to the depth to which the letters were incised. Perhaps we have to read *masi* making with the foregoing numerical symbol 1 the word *paḍhamasi*.

¹² Read *janapade*

¹³ We have probably to restore *gumikasa* (from Skt. *gaulmika*, 'captain'), which would accord well with the *mahāsēnāpatisa* of the preceding line.

¹⁴ This and the following word must, in my opinion, contain the specification of the *gahapatika* the first (*gen plu*) is most probably a tribal name, and the second (*trst sing*) is the personal name. The reading of the first *aksharas* of the names must however be looked upon as problematic.

¹⁵ This is the season commencing with the dark fortnight of the month of Kārttika.

¹⁶ This is a clear case of the use of the word *hara* in the sense of 'kingdom or district'. See LÜDERS, *List of Brahmi Inscriptions* Appendix, Index of miscellaneous terms s.v. *āhāra*.—In the Hira Hadagalli copper plates (LÜDERS' List, No. 1200) this territorial division receives the designation *rajjha* (*rāshtra*). Thus *hāra* must correspond to *rajjha*.

¹⁷ Cf. the personal name Khamdanāga-sātaka occurring in a Buddhist inscription at Kaphīrī (LÜDERS List, No. 1021).

IV—THREE KSHATRAPA INSCRIPTIONS*

These three Kshatrapa inscriptions which are now exhibited in the Watson Museum of Antiquities at Rajkot have been published before at different times and different places, but are here re-edited in order to have them properly illustrated and render them easily accessible. A comparison of the originals with the facsimiles of the same inscriptions published in the Bhavnagar *Collection of Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions* made us feel the special need of placing before scholars reliable facsimiles obtained by purely mechanical means. These, it is hoped will enable even those scholars who are not in a position to examine the stones personally to reconsider the previous readings which, in our opinion are in many respects defective. Our transcripts which were in the first instance prepared from ink impressions and squeezes were subsequently compared with the originals.

I—GUNDA INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF THE KSHATRAPA RUDRASIMIHA THE YEAR 103

The inscription was first edited with a translation in 1881 by Georg BUHLER in *Ind Ant* Vol X pp 157 f from an eye-copy and a transcript prepared by Pandit Vallabhacharya Haridatta of Kathiavad and submitted to BUHLER by Major WATSON for publication. Nine years later BÜHLER published some corrections in *Sitzungsber Wien Akad Wiss Phil Hist Kl* Vol CXXII No XI p 46 note 2 which publication was unfortunately not accessible to the writers of this article. The posthumous papers of Bhagvanlal INDRAJI edited by RAPSON in the *Jour Roy As Soc* (1890) contain a short note (pp 650 f) on this inscription. In 1895 the text and a translation of this epigraph were republished in the *Collection of Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions* Bhavnagar pp 21 f No 3 and Plate XVII. In 1896 appeared in the *Bombay Gazetteer* Vol I Part I p 42 some corrections proposed by Bhagvanlal INDRAJI himself in his earlier readings and interpretation. RAPSON in *Jour Roy As Soc* 1899 p 375 also published some fresh corrections. The *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty etc* (1908) of RAPSON includes (p lxi) a short note on this record which gives reference to the literature on the subject and briefly summarizes the contents of the inscription. In 1912 Prof LUDERS in his *List of Brahmi Inscriptions* (Appendix to *Epigraphia Indica* Vol X No 963) gave a complete bibliography of the inscription a reading of the date (it cannot be said whether from the published facsimile or directly from an impression of the stone) and a summary of its contents. And finally in 1915 Prof D R. BHANDAR

* [By Rakhaladas BANERJI and Vishnu S SUKTHANKAR—*Ep Ind* 16.233-41]

HAR published some corrections of previous readings and interpretations in *Prog Rep Arch Surv of India, W Circle, 1914-15, p 67*

The inscription was discovered in 1880 by Major WATSON in an old unused well at Gundā in the Hālār District of North Kāthiāwād. It was subsequently removed to the temple of Dvārakānātha at Jamnagar, where, apparently, it was kept until its transference to the Watson Museum of Antiquities at Rajkōt.

[234] The epigraph contains five lines of well engraved writing, covering a space of about 2 ft 2 in in width by about 9½ in in height. The writing is, on the whole, in an excellent state of preservation, some isolated syllables here and there are, however, seriously damaged. The average size of such letters as *n*, *m*, *p*, and *b* is about ⅜"

The characters present an earlier form of the southern variety of the Gupta alphabet than that seen in the well known inscription of Skandagupta at Junāgadh. It differs in a few minor particulars from the Junāgadh edict of the Maha Kshatrapa Rudradaman, to wit, in the form of *y* (subscript as well as uncombined), and in the marking of the medial vowel in *sī* (1 3), *m* and *t* (1 5). Subscript consonants excluding *y*, are expressed by the ordinary full forms of the letters. No final consonants occur. Of initial vowels the record has only *ā* (1 4). Medial *a* has in various instances been left unmarked, evidently through the carelessness of the scribe, when engraved—it is (like *ē* and *ō*) denoted by a short horizontal line appended generally, to the top of the consonant sign, as an exception we may mention *j(ñ)ō* in which the sign of *ō* (which is made up of the signs of *ā* and *ē*) is drawn in continuation of the middle bar of the letter. Noteworthy is the form of the medial long *ī*, in the only certain and clear instance of that sign in this inscription in *sīhasya* (1 3). In inscriptions of the same period and locality the long *ī* is generally represented by a crescent shaped arc, with unequal arms and open at the top. In this instance, however, the free end of the shorter arm is attached to or rather drawn in continuation of, one of the upright verticals of the *māṭṛikā* a peculiarity which gives this letter a somewhat uncommon appearance. This mode of drawing *ī* is probably the origin of the spiral sign of that vowel in the southern alphabets of a later epoch. The medial *u* is marked either by a subscript curved line open to the right, as in *śu* of *śuddhē* (1 3), or by one open to the left, as in *pu* of *-putrasya* (1 2), or lastly by a short horizontal stroke attached to the lower end of a long vertical as in *ru* of *Rudra*° (1 2). Line 3 includes the numerical symbols for 100 and 3. No sign of punctuation occurs the letters are engraved in a continuous succession without a break.

The language of the inscription is a mixed dialect, and the whole is in prose. The Prakritisms are *trīy uttara* (1 3) and *banddhāpita*° (1 5),

and besides perhaps such irregularities of spelling as cannot be put down to the negligence of the scribe, the rest is in Sanskrit. In passing it may be observed that the Sandhi consonant *y* which we find here inserted between *tri* and *uttara* serves very often the same purpose in Prakrit as may be seen by reference to PISCHEL'S *Grammatik der Prakrit Sprachen* § 353 [The construction of the genitives is in some cases in all these inscriptions irregular e.g. *maha kshatra[paś]ya* 1 I of Inscription No 1—Ed]—As regards orthography we may notice the sporadic doubling of the consonant after *r* in *muhūrte* (I 4) *sarita* (I 5) in *sukhartham* (I 5) the consonant is not doubled. There is, moreover no instance of the phonetic doubling in a ligature when *r* forms the second member of the conjunct. The word *bamddhāpita* seems to offer an instance of the doubling of the consonant following upon an *amustāra*, but the reading of the ligature is not quite certain, and perhaps we have to read the word as *bamdhapita* in which case this would be an illustration of the addition of a superfluous *amustara* before a nasal of which there are instances to be met with in inscriptions of all periods.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the king (and) Kshatrapa Lord Rudrasīha (Rudrasimha) and gives the following pedigree of the king—king and Maha Kshatrapa Lord Chashtana, his son king and Kshatrapa Lord Jayadaman, his son king and Maha Kshatrapa Lord Rudradāman his son king and Kshatrapa Lord Rudrasīha (Rudrasimha). This is a genealogical list and not a dynastic one, that is why the names of several princes who had ruled between Chāshtana and Rudrasimha but who were not in the direct line of descent have been left out. The record is dated on the fifth tithi of the bright fortnight of Vaisākha during the constellation of Rohini in the year one hundred and three which number is [235] expressed both in words and numerical ideograms. There can be little doubt that the era to which the year in this inscription is to be referred is the Saka era. Accordingly the inscription may be taken to be dated roughly in the year A.D. 181. It will be remembered that the evidence afforded by the dates and the legends on the coins of Rudrasimha lead us to infer that he ruled first as Kshatrapa in the year 102-3 then as Maha Kshatrapa from 103 to 110 then again as Kshatrapa from 110 to 112 and lastly as Maha Kshatrapa from 113 to 118 (or 119). According to this scheme the present inscription must be taken to refer to the period when he was reigning as Kshatrapa for the first time. The earliest date we have for his reign is the year 102 on a coin belonging to the Cunningham collection.

The object of the inscription was to record the digging and constructing at the village of Rasopadra, of a well by the general (*senapati*) Rudrabhuti son of the general (*senapati*) Bapaka the *Abhira*.

The village of Rasopadra which is the only locality mentioned in this record remains unidentified.

TEXT ¹

- 1 Siddha[m] [[[*] Rajño maha kshatra[pa]s]ya svamī Chāshṭana
prapautraya rajño kshatrapasya svamī Jayadama pautrasya
- 2 (sya) rāj[ñō] maha kshatrapasya sv[ā]mī Rudradama-putrasya
rājñō kshatrapasya svāmī Rudra
- 3 Sihasya [va]rshē [tri]y uttara śatē 100 3 Vaisakha suddhe pañcham
[i] dha [t]iya tithau Rō[hu]ṇi naksha-
- 4 tra muhūrtt[ā] Abhīrēṇa senāpati Bāpakasya putrēṇa senapati
Rudrabh[ū]tina grāmē Raso
- 5 [pa]driyē vā[pī] [kha]nī[to] [bamddh]āpitaś=cha sarvva satvānām
hita-sukhārtham=itu [[[*]

REMARKS ON THE TRANSCRIPT ²

L 1 GB and BI *rājñō mahā-* and *svamī*, but in our estampage the sign of length can be made out in none of these words L 2 Over *ma* in *maha* to its right, is to be noticed a slanting irregular depression the nature and significance of which is uncertain L 3 GB *day uttara-śatē sa 100 2*, which is clearly inadmissible, BI and L *tri uttara satē*, differing from our reading in the second syllable which is however, unmistakably *yu* and not *u*, on the other hand it is uncertain whether the first syllable should be read as *tri* or *tra* GB, BI and L *suddha* for *suddhe*, but our estampage shows the sign of *ē* quite distinctly The estampage does not show any clear trace of the sign of the long *i* in *pañchamī* as read by GB, BI and L The projection on the left of the sign of *cha* is abnormal GB BI and L *-dhanya*, but an examination of the back of the estampage removes all doubt as to the correctness of our reading of the second syllable Most probably we have to correct *dhattya* to *dhanya*, the former gives no sense Mr BANERJĪ would read *ēltya* regarding the latter as equivalent to *asyam* or *etasyam* and cognate with the Pkt. *etiya* found in Kushan inscriptions GB *Śravaṇa-* for *Rōhmī* L 5 GB *padrē hrādātthē*, and BI *padrē hradah*, L accepts the sense adding *hrada* in brackets with a query DRB speaks of *Rasopadriya* and *garta* in giving the contents of the inscription The syllable *tā* is quite clear in the estampage especially on the back of it, *da* or *dō*, which [236] are made quite differently, are out of the question, cf *dā* in *Jayadama* in l 1, and *Rudra dama-* in l 2 The estampage will also show that the reading *kra* for the first doubtful syllable is utterly impossible The *anusvara* in *bam*^o is well

¹ From a set of estampages.

² Explanation of the abbreviations —GB = George BÜHLER *Ind Ant* Vol. X p 157 BI = *Collection of Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions* Bhavnagar pp 21 f L = LÜDERS *List of Brahma Inscriptions* No 963 DRB = D R BHATT BARKAR, *Prog Rep Arch Surv of B Circle* 1914 15 p 67

marked but it is impossible to say with certainty whether we have to read "mndha" or "mddha" the latter seems to us more probable.

TRANSLATION

Hail¹ On the [auspicious²] fifth tithi of the bright fortnight of Vaisākha during the auspicious period of the constellation of Rohini in the year one hundred and three³—100 3—(during the reign) of the king the Kshatrapa Lord Rudrasīha (Rudrasīmha) the son of the king the Maha Kshatrapa Lord Rudradāman (and) sons son of the king the Kshatrapa Lord Jayadaman (and) grandson's son of the king the Maha Kshatrapa Lord Chashtana the well was caused to be dug and embanked by the general (senapati) Rudrabhutu the son of the general (senapati) Bapaka⁴ the Abhura⁵ at the village (grama) of Rasopadra for the welfare and comfort of all living beings

II—GAPHA (JASDAN) INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF THE MAHA KSHATRAPA
RUDRASENA THE YEAR 127 (OR 126)

The inscription was first edited with a translation and lithograph prepared probably from an eye copy in 1868 by Dr Bhau DAJI in *Jour Bo Br Roy As Soc* Vol VIII pp 234 f and Plate After that it remained unnoticed till 1883 when HOERNLE published a revised transcript and translation of it in *Ind Ant* Vol XII pp 32 f The posthumous papers of Bhagvanlal INDRAJI edited by RAPSON in *Jour Roy As Soc* 1890 p 652 contain a short note on it In 1885 the text and a translation based upon the *editio princeps* of Dr Bhau DAJI were republished in the *Collection of Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions* Bhavnagar pp 22 f No 4 and Plate XVIII The *Bombay Gazetteer* Vol I Part I p 43 contains a very short note on it originating from the pen of Bhagvanlal INDRAJI RAPSON'S *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty etc* (p lxi No 42) includes a short summary of its contents and a reference to the literature of the subject Prof LUDERS in his *List of Brahmi Inscriptions* (Appendix to *Epigraphia Indica* Vol X) No 967 gives a complete bibliography of the inscription

¹ The rendering auspicious presupposes that we have to correct *dhaltta* to *dhanya* see the remarks on the transcript above

² The form *tri-yuttara* is a Prakritism the *y* is a sandhi consonant inserted in order to avoid the hiatus cf Pkt. *d yahena* (*diyahena*) *t yahena* (*tryahena*) in PISCHEL'S *Prakrit Grammatik* § 353

³ Bapaka is a variant of Bappa(ka) which name occurs in a number of later inscriptions.

⁴ It is worth noting that the Abhuras were employed as generals under the regime of the Kshatrapa dynasty Among the inscriptions in the Pāṇḍu Lena at Nasik we have an inscription referring itself to the reign of the Abhura king Isvarasena which shows that some of these generals had eventually succeeded in replacing the sword of the commander by the sceptre of the sovereign

a reading of the date (it cannot be said whether from the published facsimiles or directly from an impression of the stone) and a summary of its contents Prof D R BHANDARKAR refers to the inscription *Prog Rep Arch Surv of India W Circle* 1914 15 pp 67 68 and suggests certain corrections

The inscription is said to have been found at Gadhdā about two miles north of Jasdan Kathiavad engraved on a thick irregular slab standing upright on the margin of a lake Subsequently the inscribed stone was transferred to the Watson Museum of Antiquities Rajkot where it is now exhibited

[237] The inscription contains six irregular lines of varying length and uncouth writing covering a rhomboidal space of about 3 ft 7 in. in width by about 1 ft 10 in in height The engraving which is shallow is on the whole in a fair state of preservation The average size of such letters as *n m p* and *b* is about 1½

The characters of the inscription are of the same general type as those of other Kshatrapa inscriptions, and the above remarks on the palæography of the Gunda inscription are with a few exceptions applicable to this one also The letters of this epigraph lack however all regularity and finish they have a decidedly cursive character Observe for instance, the form of the uncombined *m* which is sometimes denoted by the older X shaped form of the earlier inscriptions and sometimes by a more advanced form which is met with regularly only in the records of the Gupta dynasty The letter *t* appears to have been drawn with prongs of unequal length both curved one of them being slightly longer than the other In *tra* the subscript *r* is marked by drawing the free end of the right prong to a little distance to the left thus this ligature and the uncombined *t* are indistinguishable from each other when either of them is badly drawn Of initial vowels the inscription contains *i* (1 5) and *u* (1 6) Subscript consonants, excluding *r* and *y* are expressed by the ordinary full signs of the letters, as in the Gunda inscription described above No final consonants appear in this record Sporadically one notices the flattening out of the serif of the letters into a thin horizontal top line so that in some cases it becomes extremely difficult to say whether the top-stroke is only a serif or the sign of *a e* or *o* which is marked by a slight prolongation of the serif The length in *si* (1 5) is denoted by a distinct spiral which is a further development of the form which was met with in the Gundā inscription To judge by the instance of *lh trabliḥ* (for *bhraiṛbhiḥ*) in line 6 no distinction was made in writing between the subscript *r* and the medial *ṛ*. The diphthong *au* is marked by the addition of an upward stroke slanting to the right, to the sign of *o* On two occasions the engraver has omitted the syllable *tra* in writing *Ashatrapas(y)a* Lastly it may be observed that the first line of the inscription contains four numerical symbols, 100 20 5 and another about the reading of which there is some doubt it may be either 6 or 7

The language of the inscription is a mixed dialect. In this specimen the Prakritisms are slightly more numerous than in the Gundā inscription. One may notice the frequent use of *sa* for the termination of the genitive singular in ll 1 and 2 in addition to the verbal form *utthavīta* [ṃ] in l 6. The sense of the record as it stands is incomplete, and, to judge by the two final syllables *sa[r]ga* in l 6, it should seem that a few syllables or words, in an additional line which is now lost, are missing. [Regarding the irregular genitives (e.g. *mahakṣat* [r]*apasa* l 1) see remarks on Inscription No I—Ed]—As regards orthography the only point worth drawing attention to is the sporadic doubling of the consonant before *r* in *papau* [t]*trasya* in l 2, but it should be added that the reading of the ligature is not absolutely certain. Of words not found in dictionaries the inscription contains one *viz śatra* of which, moreover, the meaning is not known. Prof LUDERS hesitatingly identifies it with the Prakrit word *sala* in an inscription from the Kanheri caves (LUDERS' *List*, No 985), for which he, also doubtfully, suggests the meaning 'seat'.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the king (and) Mahā Kshatrapa Lord Rudrasēna and records the erection of a *śatra* (meaning ?) by the brothers of Khara[r] pattha, the son of Pratasaka of the Manasa *gōtra*. Previous editors of the inscription have read in l 6 *Pranāthaka* instead of *Pratasaka* and *Khara pautra* instead of *Khara[r]pattha*. Our reasons for adopting the reading which we have will be found in the remarks on the transcript, below, p 238. The inscription gives the following pedigree: king and Mahā Kshatrapa *bhadrāmukha* Lord Chāṣṭana, his son king (and Kshatrapa Lord Jayadaman, his son king and [238] Mahā Kshatrapa *bhadra mukha* Lord Rudradāman, his son, king and Mahā Kshatrapa *bhadrāmukha* Lord *Rudrasīha* (Rudrasimha), his son king and Mahā Kshatrapa Lord Rudrasena. This is the longest pedigree of the Kshatrapas of Surashṭra and Malava contained in a single record. It will be noticed that the title *bhadra mukha* 'of gracious appearance, is added before the names of some of the Mahā Kshatrapas but not before the name of the only Kshatrapa mentioned in the record or before that of the last Mahā Kshatrapa named here, *viz* Rudrasena in whose reign the inscription was engraved. The reason for the omission in the last case is not apparent, it would seem however that the title was used with the names of Mahā Kshatrapa only. The names of Damaysada I and Jivadaman who had reigned before Rudrasena but who were not in the direct line of descent, are not included in this list, which is purely genealogical.

The inscription is dated in the year 127 (or 126) on the fifth tithi of the dark half of the month of Bhādrapada. The era to which the date is to be referred is undoubtedly the Śaka era, accordingly the date of the record may be taken to correspond to 127 (or 126) + 78 = A.D. 205 (or 204).

The record contains no geographical name

TEXT 7

- 1 [Va]rshe 100 20 [7][Bhā]drapada bahulasa 5 [*] R[a]jño
mahakshat[r]apasa
- 2 bhadra mukhasa svam[a] Chashtana putra papau[t]trasya rajno
Ksha[tra*]pasa
- 3 svamī Jayad[a]ma putra pautrasya rajno maha Kshatrapasya
bhadra mukhasya
- 4 [sva]ma Rud[r]adama pau[tra]sya rajno ma[ha] Ksha[tra*]pasya
bhadra mukhasya svā[m]i
- 5 Rudrasīha [putra*]sya rajño maha Kshatrapasya svamī Rudra
senasya [*] idam satram
- 6 Manasa-sa got[r]asya Pra[tā]saka putrasya Khara[r]patthasya
bhatrabhih utthavita[m] sva[rga]

7

REMARKS ON THE TRANSCRIPT 8

L. 1 The reading 7 is uncertain it may be 6 DRB reads 5 L 2 D and H *mukhasya svamī* The slanting lines below the *sa* of the first word is an abrasion and not the subscript *y* L 3 D and H *Jayadama bhadra mukhasya* is continued in a slanting direction above the level of the same line L 4 No trace remains of the *i* in *svamī* if it was marked at all L 5 D and H *maha* DRB *Śakri* (for *śatram*) which is very doubtful L 6 HOERNLE'S reading *mana[m]tu Tungolras[y]a* is out of the question and need not be discussed here. D *pranathaka* (the previous syllable is read by him as *Su*) and H *Prata[ra]thaka* (for *Pratasaka*), both of which are inadmissible. The second syllable may perhaps be *na* but the third one cannot be *tha* as *tha* does not contain the vertical bar in the centre which our letter shows the shallow stroke at the lower end of the letter is an accidental mark, of which the rock has many D and H *Khara pautrasya* but the fourth syllable is clearly *ltha* and not *tra* of the same ligature in a subsequent word of the same line. DRB *Khara pitthasya* D and H *bhatrabhih* (for *bhatrabhih*) It is doubtful if the medial *r* would be marked [239] differently from the subscript *r* by the writer of this inscription DRB *bhatrabhih* D *utthavita* and H *utthavita* [i] The top of the fourth syllable is no doubt somewhat thick nevertheless the sign of the length

7 From a set of estampages.

* Explanation of abbreviations —D = BHADRI *Jour Bo Br Roy As Soc.* Vol VIII pp 234f H = HOERNLE *Ind Ant* Vol XII pp 32f DRB —D R BHANDARKAR *Prog Rep Arch Surv of India* II Circle 1914-15 pp 67-8

cannot be looked upon as having been marked. A part of our bracketed [rga] is lost in the crack and not distinguishable on the facsimile. DRB ends line 6 with **utthavita sva*, and then gives an additional (seventh) line [rggasukhartha], which we were not able to trace on the stone.

TRANSLATION

On the fifth (tithi) of the dark fortnight of Bhādrapada in the year 100 20 [7], (during the reign) of the king the Maha Kshatrapa Lord Rudrasena, [son*] of the king the Maha Kshatrapa Lord Rudrasihā (Rudrasimha) of auspicious appearance (*bhadra-mukha*⁹) (and) son's son of the king the Mahā Kshatrapa Lord Rudradaman of auspicious appearance (*bhadra mukha*), (and) grandson of the son of the king the Kshatrapa Lord Jayadaman, (and) great grandson of the son of the king the Maha Kshatrapa Lord Chashtana of auspicious appearance (*bhadra mukha*)—this *satra*¹⁰ was erected by the brothers of Khara[r]pattha, the son of Pratasaka of the Manasa *gotra* heaven

III—JUNAGADH INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF THE GRANDSON OF THE KSHATRAPA JAYADĀMAN

This inscription was first edited with a translation and a photograph in 1876 by BUHLER in *Arch Surv West Ind*, Vol II pp 140 f and Plate XX, the block is rather small and almost useless for purposes of study. In 1935 BUHLER'S text was republished with a few minor alterations accompanied by a facsimile of an inked impression, and a translation of the text in the *Collection of Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions* Bhavanagar, p 17 No 1, and Plate XV. RAPSON gives an abridged bibliography of the inscription, and summarizes briefly its contents in his *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty etc* p lx; No 40. The most recent notice is by Prof LÜDERS in his *List of Brahmi Inscriptions* (Appendix to *Epigraphia Indica*

⁹ *Bhadra mukha* literally means lucky faced, but is here used specifically as the title of some of the Maha Kshatrapas.

¹⁰ This word has not been met with elsewhere and its meaning is uncertain. BHĀU DAJĪ renders it with tank without assigning any reason for doing so: the dictionaries do not support this meaning. HOERNLE suggests that it is a Prakrit form of *satra* which denotes a kind of expensive Soma sacrifice extending over many days: to *satra* of our text he assigns accordingly the derivative meaning of liberality munificence which does not convince us. It was remarked above that Prof LÜDERS refers in this connection to the word *sata* (? seat) occurring in a Buddhist Cave inscription. Mr R. D. BANERJĪ looks upon the word as a Prakrit form of *satra* and would translate it as almshouse which meaning that word has in most of the dialects of North India. Mr D. R. BHANDARKAR reads the word as *Sakti* and connecting it with the following *manasa* regards Sakrmanasa as the *gotra* name: an explanation which does not commend itself to us. It may be noted that *utthavita* clearly implies that we have here to deal with a structure that was raised elevated erected and not dug or sunk.

Vol X (1912), No 966), where we find a complete bibliography of the inscription, a reading of the date (probably from the facsimile in the Bhavnagar *Collection of Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions*) and a summary of its contents

The inscription was discovered, during excavation, in front of one of the cells of an extensive complex of caves situated to the east of Junāgaḍh, close to a modern monastery known as Bavā Pyārā's Maṭh. Regarding the mischances that fell to its lot after its discovery we have the following account by BURGESS. While extricating it, he writes, "the workmen damaged one end of it, but, to add to the misfortune, some one carried it off to the palace in the city, and in doing so seriously injured it at one corner. When I went to photograph it, I had a difficulty [240] in tracing it, at length, however, it was found lying in a verandah in the circle in front of the palace"¹¹. For some time previous to its transference to the Museum the stone used to be kept in the State Printing Press at Junāgaḍh. The misfortunes which have fallen to the lot of this stone since its recovery did not end with those described by BURGESS. As a result of some fresh accident, it is now in two halves probably having split along the fissure which is noticeable in the facsimile publishing in the Bhavnagar *Collection of Sanskrit and Prakrit Inscriptions*, and referred to in the letterpress accompanying the facsimile.

The inscription is engraved on one of the faces of a dressed slab of soft calcareous stone about 2 feet each way and 8 inches thick. The epigraph contains four lines of writing covering a space of about 1 ft 9 in in width by about 6 in in height. The average size of such letters as *n*, *m*, *p*, and *b* is about $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Much of the writing is seriously damaged. The two middle lines are in a fair state of preservation, but the greater part of line 1 and a good bit of line 4 are illegible. Moreover the inscription is fragmentary. The slab has lost a large fraction of its length. How much it is not possible to say. BUHLER assumes that lines 2-4, at their left ends are almost intact, only a couple of syllables being necessary in each to complete them. This is, however, far from being certain. As far as we can judge, there is nothing to show how much is missing on either side of the preserved portion. We can only say that the lost portion of ll 2 and 3 must have contained at least, the names of the son and grandson of Jayadaman as well as the year in which the record was dated expressed possibly both in words and numerical ideograms.

The characters closely resemble those of the Gundā inscription of the time of the Kshatrapa Rudrasimha which have already been minutely described above. It will, therefore, suffice to draw attention here only to a few outstanding features of the alphabet of this inscription. The syllable *mē* in l 3, it will be noticed shows that the sign of *ē* in *mē* was attached to the con

¹¹ *Arch Surv West Ind*, Vol II p 140

stricted part of the letter. The same line offers a specimen of the numerical figure 5. The sign of the medial *u* in *su* (1 1) is seen to open towards the left in *su* (1 3) on the other hand it opens towards the right of the medial *u* marked by a short horizontal stroke appended to the long vertical of a letter this inscription contains no specimen. We have here only one initial vowel namely *i* (1 3) it is denoted by three dots of which two are placed in a vertical line on the left side of the remaining one. In *s* the middle bar which is attached only at one end is almost vertical. The letter *y* shows the simple bipartite form. [In regard to the language we may note the irregular genitives (e.g. *ksha[trapa]sya* 1 2 as in Inscriptions Nos I and II - Ed.]—As regards orthography the only point worth noting is that the inscription offers no instance of the phonetic doubling of consonants.

The inscription must belong to the reign of a Kshatrapa or Maha Kshatrapa who was the grandson (or rather son's son) of the king Kshatrapa Lord Jayadaman and great grandson of Chashtana the name of the ruling prince is lost with the portion of the record which is missing. This Satrap to whose reign the record referred itself was therefore either Dāmaysada I or Rudrasimha I (the brother and successor of the former). The purport of this fragmentary inscription cannot be determined as the portion containing the object of the record is lost. It may be added that from the occurrence of the expression *kevali jana sam[prapta]* (who had arrived at the knowledge of the *kevalins*) in 1 4 it may be surmised that the inscription probably had something to do with the Jainas, since the word *kevalin* occurs most frequently in Jaina literature.

The inscription is dated on the fifth (5th) day of the light half of Chaitra in a year which like the purport of the record cannot be ascertained as it is lost in a *lacuna* of the text.

[241] The only locality which the record mentions is the well known Girinagara which was the ancient name of Junagadh and which survives in that of the adjacent hill of Girnar.

TEXT¹²

- | | | | | |
|---|--|---|-------------|--------------|
| 1 | s = | tatha | sura gan[a] | [kshatri]nāh |
| | pratha[ma] | | | |
| 2 | Chash[anasya pra[pau]trasya rajāh ksha | | | |
| | {trapa]sya svami Jayadama p[au]trasya rajno ma[ha] | | | |
| 3 | [Chai]tra śuklasya divase panchame 5 i[ha] | | | |
| | Girinagare | dēvāsura nāga ya[ksha] ra[ksha]s- ¹³ | | |

¹² From a set of estampages.

4 -thap[u]ram = iva kēvali-[jñā]
 na-sam nām . . . -jarā-maraṇ[a]

REMARKS ON THE TRANSCRIPT.

L. 1. GB reads in the first line *ktṛi* . . , *raga* . . *kshatrapa* ; BI *stathā suraga* *kshatrapa*. L. 2. GB adds *svāmi* in square brackets before *Chāshtanasya*. The bracketed syllable in -p[au]trasya has broken away and become illegible. GB *pōtrasya* ; BI *pautrasya*. The medial vowel of the first syllable is quite uncertain. L. 3. GB, BI, and L read *pakshasya* after °*śukla*. The mistake had its origin in BÜHLER's faulty transcript. GB, BI, and L read *pañchamē* for *pañchamē*. We do not see the *ñcha* ; the sign below *cha*, we believe, is only an abrasion ; in any case *ñcha* is by no means certain. GB and BI °*rākshasēndri* L. 4. GB. *praka(?)miva pa* *kēvali-jñāna-samprāptānām jita-jara-maraṇānām (?)*.

TRANSLATION.

. Also the divine hosts
 the first among warriors (*kshatra*)
 On the fifth (5th) day of the light half of Chaitra in the year
 (during the reign of) king Ma[hā-Kshatrapa]
 . . , son's son of the king Kshatrapa Lord Jayadāman, the great-grandson of
 Chashtana. Here in Giri nagara the
 gods, *asuras*, *nāgas*, *yakshas*, and *rākshasas* city (?)
 . . who had arrived at the knowledge of the *kēvalins* old
 age and death

V—TWO KADAMBA GRANTS FROM SIRSI*

The copper plates bearing the subjoined inscriptions which are now edited for the first time, belong to Mr Subbaya Nagappa HEGDE of Ajjibad in the Sirsi Taluka of the North Kanara District. They have been in the possession of Mr HEGDE's family for a very long time so long in fact that nothing is now known as to when and under what circumstances the plates came into the possession of the family. I obtained them on loan through the good offices of Mr Shankarrao KARNAD High Court Pleader Bombay who at my request kindly induced his colleague Mr V G HEGDE B A LLB Sirsi (a son in law of the owner) to send the plates to me for inspection and to allow me to take impressions from them. I am thus editing the grants from the original plates which were on loan with me for about six months during 1918 and from a set of inked impressions prepared from them in the office of the Superintendent Archaeological Survey Western Circle. The annexed facsimiles were subsequently prepared under the supervision of the Government Epigraphist from the impressions supplied by me. The transcript given below has been carefully compared (in manuscript) with the originals before the latter were returned to the owner. My sincere thanks are due to Messrs KARNAD and HEGDE for this opportunity of offering here a description of these interesting records of the reigns of the Kadamba kings Ravivarman and Krishnavarman of Vaijayanti (Banavasi). Their chief claim to our attention lies in the regnal years in which they are dated. The grant of Ravivarman was made (if my reading of the date is correct) in the thirty fifth year of his reign and that of Krishnavarman in the nineteenth year.

A—PLATES OF RAVIVARMAN THE[3]5TH YEAR

These are three copper plates the first and last of which are inscribed on one side only and each of which measures roughly $5\frac{1}{2}$ long by 3 broad. They are quite smooth their edges being neither fashioned thicker nor raised as rims. Although the plates are fairly thin the engraving, not being very deep does not show through on the reverse sides. The letters show evident traces of the working of the engraver's tool. The entire inscribed surface of the first plate is more or less corroded but only at a few places has the engraving thereby been so far affected as to have become quite illegible. The second plate is in a sense in a worse condition as three of its edges are eaten away and with them the greater part of l 6 about a third of l 17 and some syllables in ll 11 and 16 are completely lost. The third plate is

* [Ep Ind 16 264 72]

fortunately quite untouched, and the engraving on it is in almost perfect state of preservation. The most deplorable part of the havoc wrought on these plates by the destructive agency is that in line 11 some of the letters comprising the words expressing the date are damaged in such a manner that the reading of the date (which is by far the most important element of the record) has to be based on a conjectural restoration from which the element of uncertainty cannot entirely be eliminated. Of no great consequence is, on the other hand, the damage to line 6, for from the preserved fragments of letters we may, I think, safely conclude that the line contained nothing more than a eulogistic phrase or two, which, even if restored, would have added nothing of importance to our stock of knowledge concerning the history of the Kadambas. The plates are pierced by a circular hole so as to receive the ring and seal which are attached. The weight, including the ring and seal, is $38\frac{1}{2}$ tolas. The ends of the ring are securely soldered on to the back of the seal. About an eighth of an inch of the edge of the latter is raised so as to form a rim, the recessed space, which is oblong in shape, is devoid of legend or emblematic design.

The characters, which show great uniformity throughout, belong to the southern variety, and have close affinities with those of other grants of the Kadamba kings, especially with the [265] Halsi¹ plates of the Kadamba Ravivarman published by the late Dr FLEET. The letters *t* and *n*, alike whether used singly or in conjunction with other consonants, are devoid of loops nevertheless they are clearly distinguishable from each other. For in *n* the right limb of the letter is regularly drawn in continuation of the slanting (or vertical) stroke, whereas in *t* the upright stroke is much shorter and distinct from the lower part of the letter, which forms a horse shoe (sometimes with unequal arms), and to which the short vertical stroke is attached at the top. It may be added that owing to this characteristic even the upper half of the letter *t* is sharply distinguished from the corresponding portion of *v*, in which the vertical stroke is regularly drawn in continuation of the right limb (as in *n*), a fact whose importance will be apparent when we shall turn our attention to the subject of the reading of the date of the record. The difference between the forms of *t* and *v* may be studied in the following examples: *Hārīṣi°* and *pratīkṣīti°* in line 3, **patī pratīmah* l 7, *tīthau* l 12, **rakshatī* l 19, *bhavati* l 20, and **vijaya°* l 1, **vipula°* l 8, and **vinaya°* and **visārada* l 9. In ll 7 and 10 occurs an initial *a*, in ll 10 12 *ā*, in l 20 *u*, in l 19 final *k*, in l 14 final *t*, and in ll 17, 21 final *m*. For final consonants as is usual in these records the full forms are used in reduced size, written on a slightly lower level than the rest of the letters of the line. The medial vowel in *nā* is written by bending back the last downward stroke in an upward direction, e.g. in lines 2, 3, etc.—The

language of the inscription is Sanskrit, and, with the exception of the imprecatory and admonitory verses at the end (ll 20-23), the text is in prose. The document, it may be added, begins and ends somewhat abruptly. The grant proper is couched in very terse language. The preamble does not mention any of Ravivarman's ancestors, and the epithets coupled with the name of Ravivarman himself, which are of the stereotyped form, are, relatively speaking few in number. They contain no new historical information regarding the royal donor. In its brevity the record resembles closely the Nilambūr² plates of the Kadamba king of the same name.—The orthography does not call for any particular remarks.

The inscription is one of the *Dharma Mahārāja* Ravivarman of the Kadamba family. We have already the Halsi and Nilambūr plates of a Kadamba Ravivarman. The highest regnal year recorded in these grants is the eleventh. The present grant records (ll 10-19) that on the fifth tithi of the bright half of the month of Karttika in a specified regnal year (the reading of which is uncertain and will be discussed later on) Rāvivarman granted to the Mahādēva temple of his beloved physician the *des āmātya* Nīlakanṭha,³ four *nuvartanas* of land in the village of Sārē (or Sara), of which further specifications will be found in the appended translation. In this portion of the record (ll. 16, 17) there is a *lacuna*, in which some further details of the donation are lost.

The genealogy of Ravivarman is not given. But, as the writing of the present record does not differ in any essential points from that of the Halsi and Nilambūr grants of the Kadamba king of the same name, we may on palaeographic grounds tentatively identify him with Ravivarman the son of Mṛgēśavarman and grandson of Śāntivarman.

The reading of the regnal year is, as stated above, uncertain. The year is expressed in words only (as in all the records of this dynasty that have come under my notice), which I read as *pañcha* [trim]śat[āmā], 'in the thirty fifth.' The compound indubitably contains the element *pañcha*-, which is clear, and another word expressing a multiple of ten which is obliterated. The second syllable of this partly defaced word contains again unquestionably a ś. The choice, therefore lies between *vimśe* and *vimśatitame*, or *trimśe* and *trimśatitame*. As, moreover, the sign of ē does not appear to have been added to ś, the intended *akshara* must be taken to be śa. This circumstance further reduces the possible alternatives at our disposal to *vimśatitame* [266] and *trimśatitame*. Further, the remnant of the *akshara* after śa appears most to resemble a deformed *t*, very faint, indeed but still distinguishable on the plate, a conclusion which is in harmony with the above supposition that the longer form of the ordinal (*vimśatitama* or *trimśatitama*) has been

² Above, Vol. VIII p. 147, and Plate

³ See below, p. 268, foot note 10

used here, and not the shorter (*vimśa*, *trimsā*) Let us now turn our attention to the syllable preceding *śa*. The preserved portion appears to consist of the medial *ṛ* and a short vertical stroke added at the top of a mutilated horse-shoe. Therefore, from what I have said above regarding the shapes of *v* and *t*, it follows that this defaced *akshara* can only represent a *vṛ* and not *tṛ*. This result also fits in with our former observation that the third missing syllable is a deformed *ta* (and not *tṛ*), for an initial *t* requires the restoration *-trimsāttamē* (containing *ta* in the third syllable), while an initial *v* would necessitate the reconstruction, *vimśatitame* (with *tṛ* in the third syllable). I have, therefore, for my part, no hesitation in reading the preserved portion of the first damaged *akshara* as *tṛ*, and supplementing the lost subscript *ṛ* under it. The second syllable is, as already remarked, *sa* beyond doubt. Then I read *t[ṛ]a*, after which there is just sufficient space for the inclusion of *mē*, which syllable, however, is completely obliterated. The complete restored regnal year would therefore, be *pañcha trimsāttamē* 'in the thirty fifth year'. It may be added that, if the reading proposed by me is not accepted, the only possible alternative is *pañcha vimśatitame*, which in my opinion is extremely doubtful.

The village *Sārē* (or *Sāra*), which is the object of the grant and which is mentioned without any specification of its whereabouts, remains unidentified.

TEXT*

[Metre of two verses in || 20-23 *Ślōka* (*Anuṣṭubh*)]

First Plate

- 1 स्वस्ति ॥ श्रीविजयवैजयन्त्यां स्वामिमहासेन
- 2 मातृगणानुध्याता (ना ?) भिषिकानां (॥) मानव्यस[गोत्रा]-
- 3 णां हारितीपुत्राणा प्रतिष्ठितस्वा[ध्या]-
- 4 यच्चार्चोपराणाम¹ कदम्बानां श्लोरोवि[वर्म्म]² -
- 5 धर्म्ममहाराजः प्रतापप्रणतस [कळ] . .³

Second Plate, First Side

- 6 १ . . . [य्यशास्त्रविज्ञानादिभूत]

* [The form *trayas trimsatime* occurs in a Telugu record from Drākshārāma No 349 of the Epigraphical Collection (Madras) for the year 1893—H. K. S.]

¹ From the original plates and a set of impressions.

² Read म्

³ The bracketed letters are conjecturally added, at this point the plate is worn almost to the depth to which the letters were incised.

⁴ The last two or three syllables of line 5 have worn away and become completely illegible.

⁵ The upper edge of this side of the middle plate is eaten away, and with it, the upper portions of the letters in 1-6 are either effaced or completely lost. It is needless to add that the vowel signs are almost all completely obliterated and in the reading given above only conjecturally supplied.

- 7 कदम्बमहासेनापतिप्रतिमः¹⁰ अनेकजन्मा [स्त]-
 8 रोपार्जितविपुलपुण्यसंपादितशरीर [:]¹¹
 [267] 9 नयविनयविशारदः¹² परमधार्मिकात्यन्त-
 10 पितृभक्तः¹³ अनयानुपूर्व्या आत्मायुरै [श्व-]
 11 र्यप्रवर्द्धमानकरे संवत्सरे पञ्च¹⁴ [त्रि] श [तमे]

Second Plate , Second Side

- 12 क [1] त्तिक्मासशुक्लपक्षे पञ्चम्यां त्रिंशो आत्मनः¹⁵
 13 प्रियवैद्यस्य नीलकण्ठ¹⁶ र्यदेशामात्यस्य महा-
 14 [दे] वायतनाय¹⁷ सारेग्रामे दासतडाकस्य [1*] घस्तात्¹⁸
 15 बंधारेतडाकस्योपरि¹⁹ बहुपुत्रो [वि]²⁰ क्षेत्रे
 16 . . . नेन निवर्त्तनचतुष्टयन्दत्तयान्तस्य द्विभागं .
 17 . . . पोषण [1] त्वम् देवायत [न*] प [र्यन्त]

Third Plate

- 18 काश्यपसगोत्रभरद्वाजसगोत्रार्यस्वामिपाशु
 19 पताङ्ग्याश्याञ्च²¹ [॥*] योभिरक्षति तत्पुण्यफलमाक
 20 भवति [॥*] उक्तञ्च [1*] स्वदत्तां परदत्ता वा यो हरेत् वसु-

¹⁰ Here, and in other places below, the rules of *sandhi* have not been observed.

¹¹ The sign of the *visarga* is defaced.

¹² Read धार्मिका°.

¹³ I can make no sense of the syllables अनयानुपूर्व्या. Read अन [पा*] या°?

See below, p 268 n 7 [= 28 *infra*]

¹⁴ The lower portion of all the remaining letters of this line are more or less defaced. Of the bracketed syllables the preserved portion of the first, I am fully persuaded, can be nothing but *ts* (see above, pp 265-6), the next syllable, *śa* is quite distinct and unmistakable both on the plate and in the impression, further more, I believe, it is possible to discern on the plate very faint, but unmistakable traces of a diminutive *t* (which must be a part of a ligature) and somewhat uncertain traces of *m*. I have, therefore no hesitation in supplying the missing subscript *r* below the *ts* and I may say that I look upon the reading *trimsa* as more or less certain.

¹⁵ The subscript *ma* is rather faint, and appears to have left no trace on the impression paper.

¹⁶ Read ष्टा°.

¹⁷ Or सारे ग्रामे.

¹⁸ The final *t* (for which the full sign is used), written below the line is faint, but it can be made out on the original plate quite unmistakably.

¹⁹ Or बड°?

²⁰ The sign of the medial *s* in the bracketed syllable appears to have been crowned out of its natural position (which is a little more to the left, over the hollow of *pa*) by the subscript *ya* of the ligature immediately over the syllable in question. [Possibly the reading is बहुपुत्रि. —H K. S.]

²¹ A short space is left between श्य and यो.

- 21 न्वराम् [1*] पटि वपंसहस्राणि नरके पच्यते त स [11*]
 22 बहुभिर्बसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [1*]
 23 यस्य यस्य यदा भूमि तस्य तस्य तदा फलमिति [11*]

[268] TRANSLATION

(Line 1) Hail¹ At (the city of) victory, the glorious Vajayanti, the *Dharma-Mahārāja*²³—(of the family) of the Kadambas, anointed after meditating on Svāmī Mahāśena and the assemblage of the Mothers, belonging to the Manavya *gōtra*, descendants of Hāriti studying the requital (of good and evil) as their sacred text,²⁴—the glorious Ravivarman before whose prowess (are) prostrate all²⁵ similar to the great leader of the armies of Kadamba,²⁶ (the excellence of²⁷) whose body had been produced by great religious merit acquired in numerous births well versed in (rules of) statesmanship and decorum highly righteous and deeply devoted to his father, on the fifth tithi of the bright half of the month of Karttika in the [thirty] fifth²⁸ year, in an interrupted succession²⁹ augmenting his life and sovereignty, has given³⁰ four *nivartanas* (of land) in the plough land called Bamdupukro[pi] (or Bamdu°) below Dasa tadaka (and) above Mambārē taḍāka³¹ (situated) in the village of Sārē or (Sāra) to the temple of Mahādeva (Śiva) of his beloved physician named Nilakanṭha, the *deś āmātya*³² two parts of it (are given) for maintenance up to the temple to Ārya svāmin and

²² Read तु

²³ Here used as a title Its literal meaning is the *Maharaja* who is devoted to the performance of duty (*dharma*)

²⁴ I have adopted KIELHORN'S rendering of the difficult phrase *pratiskṛti*° and I may refer the reader to his note on the subject *Ep Ind* Vol VI p 15 note 3

²⁵ The rest of the sentence is lost.

²⁶ Compare the epithet *Kadamba senani bṛhād anīaya vy[o]ma-chandramah* († the full moon in the firmament of the great lineage of the Kadamba leader of armies), applied to Kakusthavarman in the Tālagunda pillar inscription of Kūṣṭhavarman ed. KIELHORN *Ep Ind* Vol VIII p 31

²⁷ I suppose we have to supplement here some such words as these

²⁸ See above p 267, note 3 [= 14 *supra*]

²⁹ I propose to amend the text and read *ana[pa°]y = anupurva* The un interrupted succession refers naturally to the king's regnal years. I have not come across the phrase elsewhere but the emendation gives in my opinion quite a satisfactory sense

³⁰ There is a *lacuna* in the text here.

³¹ The expressions *adhastat* and *upari* may have been used with reference to the level of the field under description

³² *Deś-āmātya* literally means 'the minister of the country (or province)' but it may have a more specific meaning here Cf with this expression the modern surnames Deshmukh Deshpande which are undoubtedly derived from original titles of functionaries. Or should we take Nilakanṭha as the name of country?

Pāśupata belonging to the Kāśyapa *gōtra* and the Bharadvāja *gōtra* (respectively)

(Line 19) He who protects it will have a share in the merit accruing from it

(Line 20) It has also been said —

[Here follow two of the customary admonitory verses]

B—PLATES OF KRISHNAVARMAN II THE 19TH YEAR

These plates which are in a much better state of preservation than the foregoing, are also three in number. They measure roughly $6\frac{1}{2}$ ' long by $2\frac{1}{8}$ ' broad. They are quite smooth their edges being neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims. The plates are thin, but the engraving being shallow, though otherwise quite good the letters do not show through on the reverse sides at all. The letters show the characteristic marks of the working [269] of the engraver's tool. The grant is engraved on the inner side of the first and last plates and on both sides of the middle one. The plates are pierced by a circular hole in order to receive the ring and seal which are attached. The ends of the ring are, as in the case of the plates of Ravivarman soldered on to the back of a seal which in this instance, is oval in shape and bears a device. The seal has a raised rim, and inside this there is shown in low relief the figure of a quadruped (perhaps a horse) facing left. The weight of the plates, including the ring and seal is 52 tolas. Each engraved side contains four lines of writing, there are thus sixteen lines in all. Excepting isolated letters which are worn away and now become partly illegible, the record is in a perfect state of preservation and can be deciphered without any uncertainty.

The characters belong to the southern variety and have close affinities with those of other grants of the Kadamba kings. They differ palpably from the characters of the grant of Ravivarman described above and appear to belong to a later palaeographic epoch. The vowel *ā* in *nā* is written by bending back the last downward stroke in an upward direction, e.g. in ll 2 3 etc. One notices the tendency of the vertical lines to slope a feature which later develops into the spiral formation of Haja Kannaḍa letters. Noteworthy is also the doubling of the left limb of *g* (ll 1 2 6 8 etc.) and *ṣ* (ll 4 7, etc.) This record contains the earliest specimen hitherto known in a southern alphabet of the initial *ṛ* (l 8). Initial *a* occurs in l 5, initial *ā* in ll 4 6, initial *u* in ll 11, 13, initial *ē* in l 7, the sign of final *t* in l 7, and final *n* in l 11. One ligature, with the word containing it, has remained undeciphered in l 10, I have never come across the sign anywhere before and can suggest no reading for it.—The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, and with the exception of the imprecatory and admonitory stanzas at the end the text is in prose. The main part of the text (ll 1 11) forms a single sen-

tence and states like the foregoing grant of Ravivarman without much circumlocution the object of the record. The attributes of the donor are of the stereotyped form. In its brevity this record resembles the grant of Ravivarman described above.

The inscription is one of the *Dharma-Maharaja* Kṛṣṇavarman of the Kadamba family. The hitherto known records of the Kadamba dynasty have revealed the existence of two Kṛṣṇavarman in the family. And as the present record neither gives the genealogy of this king nor mentions any circumstance which would help to establish his identity, it is difficult to affirm with certainty whether he is to be identified with either the one or the other Kṛṣṇavarman already known or whether he is a new king altogether, but on palaeographic considerations this king may tentatively be identified with the second Kadamba king of that name whose Bannahalli (now Halebidu) grant,¹² dated in the seventh year of his reign has already been published. The grant proper records (ll 6-11) that on the full moon day in the month of Kārttika, in the nineteenth year of his reign Kṛṣṇavarman granted Kalmakapalli in the Girigaḍa village (*grama*) of the Karvannaḍ district (*viśaya*) to a Brahmana of the Vārāhi *gōtra* named Soma svāmin who was a student of the Rīgveda and a performer of the Soma sacrifice, making the village free from all taxes and dues.

To the proposed identification of the Kṛṣṇavarman of our record with the Kṛṣṇavarman of the Bannahalli grant it may be objected that the title *Dharma-Maharaja* which is here used along with the name of the donor is not found coupled with the name of Kṛṣṇavarman II in any other record, thus, for instance, in the Bannahalli grant itself which is dated in the seventh year of the reign only the shorter title *Maharaja* is prefixed to Kṛṣṇavarman's name. On the other hand the earlier Kṛṣṇavarman is invariably styled *Dharma-Maharaja* in the preambles of the later Kadamba grants. The objection is not valid for it should be noted that Kṛṣṇavarman I was, according to all accounts performer of a [270] horse sacrifice. If our Kṛṣṇavarman is to be identified with this king how are we to explain the silence of the record regarding the sacrifice said to have been performed by him? On the other hand the expression *śīra-mīḍha-yajin* herein applied to the Kadambas as a class, shows that in the time of our Kṛṣṇavarman the epithet *śīra-mīḍha-yajin* had become a hereditary title of the Kadamba family a fact which can be explained only on the assumption that some prolonged interval of time separates the actual performer of the sacrifice from our Kṛṣṇavarman. Moreover there is at least one other instance of the indiscriminate use of the titles *Maharaja* and *Dharma-Maharaja* namely in the case of Muṣṣavarman. Both titles are found used in connection with this king in epigraphic records.¹³

¹² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 18 and pls. c.

¹³ Kuntze's *List of Inscriptions of Southern India*, Nos. 676 and 686.

A word may be added regarding the localities mentioned in the record. The object of the grant is stated to be Kamakapalli, situated in the Girigaḍa village (*grāma*) of the Karvannadga district (*viśaya*). None of these places can be identified with certainty. Mr HEGDE, owing to whose good offices the plates were made available for publication is a resident of Sirsi and has favoured me with the following topographical details, which throw some light on the question. He writes "Sirsi *talukā* (which used to be called Sundā *talukā*) was formerly divided into a number of *māgane*, each of which consisted of a number of villages. One of such *māgane* went by the name of Karur *māgane*, deriving its name from Karūr, a village included in the *māgane*. Another such village was called Girigaḍde. Both these villages still bear the same names." The proximity of Girigaḍde to Sirsi favours the identification of the former with the Girigaḍa of the plates which, as stated above, come from Sirsi itself. Also, in regard to the great and often inexplicable changes which many place-names have undergone, the identification of Karvannādga with Karūr is not an impossible proposition.

TEXT ²⁵

[Metre of the two verses in ll 14-15 *Ślōka* (*Anuṣṭubha*)]

First Plate

- 1 स्वस्ति [॥*] विजयवैजयन्त्या²⁶ स्वामिमहासेनमा²⁷ तृण-
- 2 णानुष्ण्याता (ना ?) श्वमेधाभिपिच्छना²⁸ मानव्यासगोत्राण [१]²⁹
- 3 हारितिपुत्राणा³⁰ प्रतिवृत्तस्वाद्विधायचक्षांपाराणा³¹
- 4 आश्रितजनाम्बाना³² कदम्बाना³³ श्रीकृष्णवर्ममर्ममहा-

Second Plate ; First Side

- 5 राज [: *] अनेकजन्मा [न्त] रोषा [जि] वविपुलपुण्यस्कन्ध [: *] बहुसम [२]
- 6 विजयसमधिगतयशोराज³⁴ श्री [: *] आत्मन " "प्रविर्द्धमानविज-

²⁵ From the original plates and a set of impressions.

²⁶ Read न्या. [The author may have meant this word to be in the ablative case. Cf *Vijaya-Skandhāḍrat* of other inscriptions.—H. K. S.]

²⁷ The length of *mā* is added at the top of the *akṣara*

²⁸ Read "क्षनां मानव्यस".

²⁹ The length of *mā* is added to the constricted part of the *akṣara*. Read "मानव्यसगोत्राणां"

³⁰ Read ना.

³¹ The Raviyarmā plates above read प्रतिवृत्ति. Read पराणा. Here and in other places below, the rules of *sandhi* have not been observed.

³² Read नो.

³³ Read ज.

³⁴ The insertion of the *visarga* is an afterthought.

³⁵ Read प्रवृद्ध.

- [271] 7 यसंवत्सरे⁴⁶ ४७ एकूनविंशे कार्तिकपौर्णमास्या⁴⁸ वारा-
8 द्विसगोत्राय ऋग्वेदप [१*] रगाय यमनियम-

Second Plate , Second Side.

- 9 पराय सोमस्वामिने सोमयाजिने कर्ष्वेक्षाहंविषये⁴⁹
10 गिरिगडग्रामे कमकपल्लि सर्वपरिहार सम . . .⁵⁰
11 सहिरण्यं स्वमातृपितृपुण्यात्वं उदरपूर्वं दत्तवान्⁵¹ [॥*]
12 योस्याभिरक्षिता स पुण्यफलभागभवति यथाप-

Third Plate

- 13 हर्ता स पद्ममहापातकसंयुक्तो भवति [॥*] उक्तञ्च [१*] ५२ बहुभि [:*]
14 वसुधा भुक्ता राजभि [:*] सगरादिभि [:*] यस्य यस्य यदा भू-⁵³
15 मि [:*] तस्य तस्य तदा फल⁵⁴ [॥*] स्वदत्ता परदत्ता वा यो हरेत
16 वसुधरा⁵⁵ [१*] पटि⁵⁷ वर्षसहस्राणि विष्टाया⁵⁸ जायते त्रिभिः [॥*].

TRANSLATION

(Line 1) Hail ! At (the city of) victory, Vajrayantī, the *Dharma Mahārāja*,⁶⁰—(of the family) of the Kadambas, anointed during a horse sacrifice⁶¹ after meditating on Svāmī Mahāsēna and the assemblage of the Mothers, belonging to the *Mānavya gōtra*, descendants of Hārītī, studying the

⁴⁶ The final *t* is written below the line ⁴⁷ Read एकोनविंशे.

⁴⁸ Read स्या. The length of *mā* is added at the top of the *akshara*

⁴⁹ [The last syllable of the name of the district appears to be *ज्ञ*, not *ज्ञ*.—H K. S.]

⁵⁰ The last but one *akshara* remains undeciphered, the very last one of the line is either *va* or *cha* with or without an *anustara* [In my opinion the unread letter is *ikā*, and *malaka* like *hiraṇya* must be a technical term indicating some source of village income In the Nilambūr plates of Ravivarman (text I 8) the same term occurs in the form *malakāru* and Mr T A. Gopinath RAO has taken it as the name of a hamlet—H K. S.]

⁵¹ The final *n* is written below the line ⁵² Red य°.

⁵³ The sign of the secondary *ā* seems to have been also added erroneously to *bhū*

⁵⁴ Read फल.

⁵⁵ Read °तां

⁵⁶ Read °रां.

⁵⁷ Read पटि.

⁵⁸ Read °यां.

⁵⁹ Read कृमि .

⁶⁰ Here used as a title Its literal meaning is 'the *Mahārāja* who is devoted to performance of duty (*dharma*)'

⁶¹ An ancestor of the donor of the present grant is spoken of as having performed a horse-sacrifice, cf the Bannahalli plates of Kṛṣṇavarman II., ed. KIELHORN *Ep Ind Vol VI*, p 18 l 5

requital (of good and evil) as their sacred text⁶², and looking to the Mothers of Mankind for protection—the glorious Kṛṣṇavarman, who during countless births has accumulated an abundant store of religious merit, who has gained fame and the fortune of royalty by virtue of successes in many battles, in the nineteenth year of his prosperous [272] (reign) of victory, on the full moon (day) of Kārtika,⁶³ for the religious merit of his father and mother, has given with pouring-out of water, with gold, (*income*) and (and) with every exemption, Kamakapallī in the village (*grāma*) of Girgaḍa in the district (*tiṣhaya*) of Karvannāḍga to the Soma sacrificer Soma svamin, belonging to the Vārāhi *gotra*, who has completely studied the Rg veda and who follows (the moral and ethical duties known as) *yama* and *nyama*

(Line 12) He who shall protect this (charity) will share in the merit (attaching to the making of it), and he who shall confiscate it will be (guilty) of the five great sins

[Here follow two of the customary admonitory verses]

⁶² I have adopted KIELHORN'S rendering of the difficult phrase *pratīkṣita**, and may refer the reader to his note on the subject *Ep Ind.*, Vol. VI p. 15 note 3 [The next attribute अग्रिन्वजनम्बराणां has been translated by Mr Gopinath Rao, perhaps more correctly, who were (*like unto*) mothers to people (*who were*) dependent (*on them*), above Vol. VIII p. 148.—H. N. S.]

⁶³ The full moon day of Kārtika as a day on which donations were made by the Kadamba kings, is mentioned also in the Nalambūr plates of Ravivarman (*Ep Ind.*, Vol. VIII p. 145) and the Haldī plates of Vijayavarman (*Ind. An.*, Vol. VI p. 24).

VI.—A VAKATAKA INSCRIPTION FROM GANJ*

This inscription, which is now brought to notice for the first time, was discovered by my friend Babu Rakhaladas BANERJI, Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, in 1919, during one of his tours of inspection in Central India. The excellent estampages from which the accompanying blocks have been prepared were made under his direct supervision, and very kindly placed by him at my disposal for publication.

The inscription, Mr. BANERJI tells me, is engraved on a detached slab of stone which he found lying at the bottom of a *doṅgā*, adjoining a hill called Maluhā-tongi near Ganj in the Ajayagaḍh (Ajaigarh) State in Bundelkhand. Close by is a ruined stone structure, probably a dam to hold the waters of the stream passing along the *doṅgā*. The find-place of the record is not far removed from the ruined city of Kuṭhārā, where CUNNINGHAM discovered in 1883-84 the Nāchanēki talāi inscription, which was first brought to notice by him, in 1885, in *Archæological Survey of India*, Vol. XXI, pp. 97 f. and re-edited by FLEET in *Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 233 ff. and Pl. xxxiii B. The Ganj inscription, like the one discovered by CUNNINGHAM, is one of the oldest records of the Vākātaka dynasty, and as such is worthy of being carefully preserved.

From the subjoined transcript it will be seen that the text of our inscription is practically identical with that of the Nāchanēki-talāi record of the reign of *Mahārāja Prthvivishēṇa*, edited by FLEET in *Gupta Inscriptions*; it differs from the latter only in the length and the number of lines, and in the spelling of a couple of words. But our inscription is in a much better state of preservation than that edited by FLEET; at all events the stone has yielded an impression far superior to the one from which the block accompanying FLEET's article was prepared. Consequently we can study the forms of the letters in the subjoined facsimile much better than in that of the Nāchanēki-talāi version. Moreover, the writing of this inscription being perfectly distinct, we can give a transcript which is more reliable, and which at the same time discloses certain minor inaccuracies in FLEET's transcript, errors which even then could have been avoided by a more patient study of the available material.

The writing covers a space about 25" broad by 12" high. In the centre of the first line of the inscription there is a sculpture of a wheel, of which only a part is visible in the facsimile. The average size of such letters as *m*, *p* and *v* is about 2".—The characters belong to the 'southern' variety of alphabets,

* [Ep. Ind. 17-12-14.]

of which the distinguishing features in our inscription, are the hooks at the lower ends of the verticals of *k* and *r*. In particular, we may say that the letters are a specimen of the Central Indian alphabet of the period, which on account of the peculiar 'box headed' tops of the letters is known as the 'box headed' sub-variety of the southern alphabet.¹ In our specimen the boxes are very conspicuous, and uniformly hollow. The letters are unequal in size and uncouth in appearance. It may be added that they betray a conscious effort to substitute angles for curves in the configuration of letters. The letters *t* and *n* are sharply distinguished from each other—the latter has always a knot at its lower end.—The language is Sanskrit, and the inscription is in prose—As regards the orthography the only point calling for remark is the phonetic doubling of the *d* of *dh* in °*d-ā(m)nuddhyālō* (l 2), before *y*, and of the *t* of *th*, before *r*, in *punyā rithē* (l 3)

[13] The inscription, which is a record of the reign of *Maharāja Prithvi shēṇa* (I) of the Vakāṭaka family, states merely that a feudatory of his, *Vyāghradēva* by name, had made something or other for the sake of the religious merit of his parents. The exact nature of this act of piety has been left unspecified just as in the other version discovered by CUNNINGHAM. The silence of these records on the point leads us to infer that the slabs on which the inscriptions are inscribed must have been built into that the making of which they were intended to record.

Our information regarding the Vakāṭaka dynasty is unfortunately very scrappy. All the important events in its history known to us have been succinctly summarized by KIELHORN² in his article on the Bālaghāt plates of *Prithvishēṇa* II, we can even now add nothing of consequence to what has been said there. We do not possess exact dates for any of the kings of this family, nor can we form any clear idea of the extent of the country ruled over by them. Regarding *Prithvishēṇa* I we know that he was the son of *Rudra sēṇa* I and the great grandson of *Pravarasēṇa* I, the latter being either the very first king or one of the early kings of this house. It should seem that the Vakāṭaka king at whose hands the 'lord of Kuntala' had suffered defeat, as recorded in the Vakāṭaka stone inscription at Ajantā³ was this same *Prithvishēṇa*. Beyond these few facts we know nothing of much consequence regarding the king referred to in our record.

About *Vyāghradēva* the feudatory of *Prithvishēṇa* we know still less. Indeed *Vyāghra* appears as the name of chieftains in several well known inscriptions,⁴ but it is not possible to identify our *Vyāghradēva* with any of them.

¹ See BÜHLER *Indische Paläographie* p. 62.

² Above Vol. IX pp. 281.

³ *Arch. Surv. West Ind.* Vol. IV, p. 124 verse 8.

⁴ KIELHORN'S *List of Inscriptions of Northern India* Nos. 270, 337 and 370.

BUHLER⁶ assigns the copper-plates of the Vakāṭaka Pravarasēna II, the grandson of Prithivishēna I, to the fifth or sixth century A.D., it is not known to me on what grounds. I have examined the inscriptions of the Vākāṭaka dynasty and compared them with the allied inscriptions engraved during the time of the Guptas⁷ of the kings of Śarabhapura⁸ of Tivara⁹ of Kōśala and of the early Kadamba kings¹⁰ without being able to arrive at any definite conclusion regarding the age of the Vakāṭaka inscriptions. BUHLER'S date, however, appears to me to be far too early. My impression is that there can be no objection on palæographic grounds to assigning this record of the Vākāṭakas to as late an epoch as the seventh century A.D. I conclude this short notice by drawing attention here to the remark of KIELHORN that the Balāghāt plate of Prithivishēna II, who was the son of the great-grandson of the Prithivishēna of our inscription, "may be assigned with probability to about the second half of the eighth century A.D."¹¹

TEXT¹²

1 ¹²Vakāṭakanā maharāja sri¹³

Prithivishēna pād-a(m)nuddhyāto Vyāghradē

3 ॐ mātāpitrō[h*] ¹⁴puny-artthe ¹⁵kṛtam = iti [||*||]

{14} TRANSLATION

Vyāghradēva, who meditates on the feet of the *Mahārāja* the illustrious Prithivishēna, (of the family) of the Vakāṭakas has made (this) for the sake of the religious merit of (his) parents

⁶ *Indische Palæographie* pp 62 f

⁷ *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* Vol. I Nos. 2-3

⁸ *Gupta Inscriptions* Nos 40-41

⁹ *Ibid* No 81

¹⁰ *Ind Ant.*, Vol VII pp 35-7

¹¹ *Above* Vol IX p 270

¹² From a set of estampages prepared and kindly lent to me by Mr R D BANERJEE

¹³ Read *Vakāṭakanam*. FLEET in his transcript has wrongly spelt this word with the dental *n* in *Gupta Inscriptions* Nos. 53 54

¹⁴ Read *śrī*

¹⁵ Read *puny-artthe*. Here also FLEET has wrongly transcribed the word both as regards the dental *n* and the case-ending. In CUNNINGHAM'S version the word is spelt exactly as here.

¹⁶ The construction is faulty. The verb should be in the active voice.

VII.—TWO NEW GRANTS OF DHRUVAŚENA [1] FROM PALITANA*

I edit here two new Valabhī copper plate grants (one complete and one incomplete) which were presented, in 1918, to the Trustees of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, by the Bhāvanagar Darbar, which is ever ready to further the cause of epigraphic research by placing ungrudgingly the materials, as they are discovered, in the hands of students of Indian history for investigation and publication and, when possible, by having them exhibited in centrally situated museums. The plates under reference were discovered at the bottom of a small tank outside the Śatruñjaya Gate at Pālitānā while the tank was being drained during the time of the late Thakor Sahab of that State.¹

A.—PLATES OF DHRUVAŚENA I, [VALABHĪ] SAM[VAT] 207

The plates, which are inscribed on one side only, are two in number, each measuring roughly $11\frac{1}{2}$ " broad by $6\frac{1}{4}$ " high. The edges are just slightly raised in order to protect the writing, which (excepting portions of ll 1-4) is in a state of perfect preservation. The plates are of fair thickness, but the letters, being deep, show through on the reverse sides. The engraving is well executed. Each of the plates has two holes bored in it. A ring of copper passing through one pair of them serves to hold the plates together at one end. The seal, which is an invariable accompaniment of such plates, is missing. The aggregate weight of the plates is about 102 *lōlas*. Each plate contains twelve lines of writing, the last line but one of the second plate contains the date.

From the foregoing description of the plates, as well as from the facsimiles of them appearing with this article, it will be evident that this record does not differ in any striking particular from any of the hitherto published records of the same king. Only in the portion dealing with the grant proper does the text of this inscription differ, for example, from that of other plates of this king which were discovered some years back also at Pālitānā, and have been edited by Dr Sten Konow in a former issue of this Journal.² The royal donor, Dhruvaśena, as well as the *dūtaka* Mammaka and the writer Kikkaka, are names well known to the Indian epigraphist. It will

* [*Ep. Ind.* 17, 105—110]

¹ My friend Pandit Gijasanakar VALLABHJI of Rajkot, Curator of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay informs me that the five Pālitānā plates edited by Prof Konow (above, Vol XI, pp 104 ff) were discovered at the same place and at the same time as the plates here described.

² Above Vol. XI, pp. 104 ff

therefore, be unnecessary to go here into a minute description of the characters and orthography of this inscription. It will suffice to observe that the alphabet offers a specimen of final *t* (l 15), final *m* (l 23) and the numerical ideograms 200, 7, and 5, and that the name of the founder of the dynasty is spelt a *Bhaṭakka* (l 3). At the end of line 12 is to be found a horizontal stroke, about $\frac{1}{2}$ " long, evidently drawn with a view to fill up the empty space remaining at the end. The reason for leaving the space vacant appears to be that the writer did not wish to commence, at the end of the line, a long word the whole of which would not have been contained in the short space that was left over.

The inscription is one of the *Mahārāja Dhruvasēna* [I] of the Maitraka dynasty, and the grant contained in it is issued from the city of Valabhī. The object of the inscription appears to be to record the confirmation by Dhruvasēna of the donee, a Brāhmaṇa, named Mādhava, of the Śunaka *gotra*, student of the Chhandoga School, and resident of the village of Jyēshṭhānaka (stated to be Akshasaraka *prāvēśya*) in the Hastavapra haraṇī in the possession of some [106] land already enjoyed by him in the village of which he was a resident. Besides Hastavapra which is the modern Hāthab (6 miles south of Goghā in the Bhāvnagar State), and Valabhī which is commonly identified with the modern Valā (situated in 21° 52' N and 71° 57' E), none of the places can be located. The date of the record is the year 207 (given as usual in numerical ideograms), and the 5th (*tithi*) of the dark fortnight of Vaiśākha. The year when referred to the Gupta Valabhī era yields A D (207 + 320) = A D 527.

There are two expressions in this inscription, both occurring in the portion dealing with the grant proper, which deserve some comment. They are *Akshasaraka prāvēśya* (l 12) and *sa śaibaram* (l 16). The latter we will consider first.

Being mentioned along with the well known technical expressions *sa-hiranyadeyam* and *sa bhata-vata*° *sa śaibaram* must be a term of like nature, i.e. a technicality of the lawyers, but what its significance may be I am unable to surmise. There can be no question regarding the correctness of the reading, the letters are perfectly distinct. The word *śaibara* is not to be found in dictionaries, nor have I come across it elsewhere. I can only think that it may be, as it stands, a clerical error, but I am unable to suggest any plausible emendation for it.

The word *prāvēśya* in the other expression referred to above is also one that presents some difficulty to the interpreter. Here it is used in a compound with Akshasaraka, evidently a place-name, and serves to locate more definitely the village Jyēshṭhānaka situated in the Hastavapra *haraṇī*. As far as I know, the word *prāvēśya* has been met with only twice before—once in another Valabhī grant, occurring there in a compound with the same place-

TEXT*

Plate A₁

- 10 परमभट्टारकपादानुद्ध्या(ध्या)तो महाराजधुनसेन. कुशलो सर्वानेव स्वानायुक्त-
कवि नियुक्तरुचाट-
11 भट्टाद्विक्रमहत्तरधुवस्थानाधिरुणिकदाण्डपाशिकादोनन्यश्च⁷ यथासंबद्धयमान-
⁸कननु
12 दर्शयत्यस्तु वरसंविदितं यथा मया हस्तप्रहरण्यामक्षसरकपावेश्य⁹

Plate A₂

- 13 ज्येष्ठानकग्रामे उत्तरसीमि पादावर्त्तशतं पष्ठयधिकं तस्मिन्नव¹⁰ ग्रामव¹¹व्यशुनक-
14 सगोत्राणां छन्दोगसप्रह्यचारीणा¹² ब्रह्मणमाधनपूर्वभुज्यभुज्यमानक¹³(*) मातापित्रा-
15 पुण्याप्यायनायात्मना¹⁴श्रैहिकामुष्मिकयथाभिलपितफलावासिनिमित्ता¹⁵माचन्द्रार्का-
र्णवक्षितिसरित्-
16 पर्वतस्थितिसमकालीनं पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोज्य¹⁶ सशैबर सहि[र*] ण्यादेयं सभूतवा-
तप्रन्यायविशुद्धा¹⁷
17 उदकातिसर्गो ग ब्रह्मदेयं निस्सृष्टं¹⁸[1*] यतः एषां ब्रह्मदेयस्थित्या भुजता¹⁹
कृपतां प्रदिशताश्च²⁰
18 स्वल्पाप्यायथा²¹ विचारणा वा न कार्प्यास्मद्वशजैर²²गामिभद्रनृपतिभिश्च²³ नित्या-
न्यैश्वर्याण्यस्थिरं मानुष्यं
19 सामान्य²⁴ च भूमिदानफलमवगाच्छन्निरयमस्मदायोनुमन्तव्य [1*] (उ) यश्चच्छिन्ना-
दच्छिद्यमान²⁵ वानुमोदे-

* From the original plates, and a set of estampages.

* Up to this the text is practically identical with the text of the Pālitānā plate of Dhruvasena I (dated *samvat* 206), published above, Vol. XI, pp. 106 ff. The only *variae lectiones* are unimportant mistakes of orthography, which it would be unnecessary to register individually as the facsimiles are there for reference.

⁷ Read 'न्याय.

⁸ Read 'काननु.

⁹ In the original a short horizontal stroke after य.

¹⁰ Read 'सैव

¹¹ A short vacant space between व and व्य. Read ग्रामवास्तव्य.

¹² Read 'चारिणां माद्गण.

¹³ Read 'पूर्वभुज्यभुज्यमान'. The *anusūta* is written over the line between क and मा. The letters *purīa bhujya bhujyam-ana-* have been engraved over some faintly incised letters.

¹⁴ Read न.

¹⁵ Read स.

¹⁶ Read ज्य.

¹⁷ Read खं.

¹⁸ Read छ.

¹⁹ Read भजतां.

²⁰ Read तांघ.

²¹ Read 'यापा.

²² Read र[.

²³ Read धा.

²⁴ Read न्यं.

²⁵ Read यथाच्छिन्नादच्छि.

- [108] 20 स्त पंचभिः महापातकैस्सोपपातकैस्संयुक्तस्य^{२६}दपि चात्र व्यासगीताः श्लोक
भवन्ति [॥*] बहुभिर्बन्धुधा
21 मुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [॥*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिः तस्य तस्य तदा
फलं [॥*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत्
22 वसुधरां [॥*] रात्रां शतसहस्रस्य हन्तुः[*] ^{२७}प्राप्नोति क्लिप्तिपां^{२८} [॥*] पूर्व-
दत्तां द्विजातिभ्यो यत्नादक्ष युधिष्ठिरः(ः) [॥*]
23 महि^{२९} महिमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनम् [॥*] दूतकः प्रतीहारमम्मक^{३०} [॥*] .
सं २०० ७ वैशाख^{३१} व ५ [॥*]
24 स्वहस्तो मम महाराजप्र[व*]सेनस्य [॥*] लिखितं निष्क्रेतवि^{३२} [॥*]

TRANSLATION

[LL 1-11 contain the usual preamble, for translation, cf., for instance, that of the opening lines of the Pālitānā plates, No 1, edited by Prof KOVOR, *Ep Ind*, Vol XI, p 108]

(LI 12 16) Be it known to you that for the purpose of increasing the religious merit of (my) mother and father, and for the sake of the attainment of the desired reward both in this world and in the next, I have confirmed, as *brahma देया*, with libation of water, (the enjoyment of) one hundred and sixty *pādārtitas*, on the northern boundary of the Jyēṣṭhānaka village belonging to the Akshasarakā *prāṭiṣṭya* in the Hastavapra *haranī*, which had (formerly) been and are (still) being enjoyed (by the donee^{३३}), for (the benefit of) the resident of the same village, (namely,) the Brahman Mādhava of the Śunaka *gōtra* a student of the Chhandōga School—to last for the same time as the moon sun, ocean earth, the rivers and mountains, to be enjoyed by the succession of his sons and sons' sons,—with (?) *śabara* with gold (and) *śdeya* with *bhūta*, *śala*, and (?) surety of holding (*pratyāya*)

(LI 17 19) Wherefore, no enquiry should be made or obstruction caused (to him) by any one, while he is, according to the proper conditions of a *brahma देया*, enjoying, cultivating or assigning (it to others) And thus our gift should be assented to by those born in our lineage, and by future good kings, bearing in mind that power is perishable, the life of man is uncertain, and that the reward of a gift of land is common. And he who

^{२६} Read स्म्या.

^{२७} Over प्र there is a peculiar sign, the meaning of which is not apparent [I think it is *upadhānīya*—Ed.]

^{२८} Read य.

^{२९} Read ही.

^{३०} Read वैद्यग

^{३१} Read नेति

^{३२} The construction of line 14 is somewhat confused—it is not clear who the donee was, or who, at the time of the grant, was in possession of the land which is the object of the grant. As it stands, the text does not make any sense, my rendering is conjectural

confiscates it or assents to its confiscation incurs the guilt of the five great sins together with the minor ones.

(Ll. 20-22.) There are also two verses sung by Vyāsa about this

* [Here follow two of the customary verses.]

(L. 23.) The *dūtaka* is the *pratihāra* Mammaka. (Dated the) 5th (*tithi*) of the dark (fortnight) of Vaiśākha (in the) year 200 7.

(L. 24.) (This is) the sign manual of me *Mahārāja* Dhruvasēna [I.]. Written by Kikkaka.

:-

B.—ANOTHER PLATE OF [DHURVASENA I.].

This plate, which contains only the opening portion of a land-grant of the Maitraka king Dhruvasēna I., is inscribed on one side only and measures roughly 10½" broad by 6½" high. The [109] edges are just slightly raised, in order to protect the writing, which is in a state of excellent preservation throughout. The letters, which are deeply incised, show through on the reverse side of the plate. The engraving is well executed. The plate has a pair of holes bored at two adjacent corners and intended for receiving the ring and seal, which are missing. Its weight is 56 *tōlas*. It contains fifteen lines of writing. The letters are of the period to which the plate refers itself, and of the type met with on other plates of the Maitraka dynasty. In short, this record is exactly like any of the large number of grants of Dhruvasēna I., that have latterly been brought to light. A detailed description of the characters, language and orthography of these plates, or even an English rendering of the text, seems superfluous. We may take it for granted that the *dūtaka* of this grant was the *pratihāra* Mammaka, and the writer Kikkaka.

The grant was issued from Valabhī by the *Mahāsāmanta Mahārāja* Dhruvasēna [I.] to the Brāhmana Śāntiśarmaṇ of the Ātrēya *gōtra*, [a student of] the Vāji[saṇēya] School and a resident of Nagaraka, either bestowing upon him or confirming him in the possession of one hundred *pādāvarṭtas* of land on the south-eastern boundary of the village of Bhadrēṇikā, situated in *Surāṣṭrā*.

I am unable to identify Bhadrēṇikā. Nagaraka is probably Vāḍnagar, the home of the Nāgar Brāhmins.

TEXT.²³

Plate B

12 . . . "महासामन्तमहाराजध्रुवसेनहनुनाली सम्पन्निव स्वानावुक्तः.

13 विनिमुक्तमहत्तद्वर्गिध्रुवस्यानाधिकमिच्छादीनम्याश्च ययामपदपमानकान-

²³ From the original plate, and a set of estampages.

²⁴ Up to this the text is practically identical with the text of the *Plātānā* Plate of Dhruvasēna I. (dated 206), published above, Vol XI, pp 105 ff. In l 6, read "i-pāḍābhīpranāma" for "i-pābhīpranāma"; and *Maniādinā* for "dinā".

- 14 उदरायत्यस्तु वस्संवित्तिं यथा सुराष्ट्रायां भद्रेणिकामामस्य पूर्वदक्षिण
सिद्धि³⁵
- 15 पादावर्त्तगत नगरक्वास्तव्यमाक्षणात्तन्तिराम्मण आत्रेयसगोत्राय वाजि³⁶.

POSTSCRIPT

A PLATE OF DHIRUVAŚENA DATED SAM 206

Since writing the above I have come across a new Valabhī plate containing the concluding portion of a grant of Dhruvasēna dated in *sam* 206 about which I should like to add a few words in continuation of the above note on the Bhavnagar plates. This new plate was placed in my hands for decipherment by Mr J C CHATTERJEE, Dharmādhyaksha (Secretary in the Ecclesiastical Department) to the Government of His Highness the Gaikwar of Baroda. It was sent to him he told me, officially from Kathiawad for decipherment that is all that I could elicit from him regarding its previous history. The plate is 11½ inches long by 6½ inches broad, the edges are raised to protect the writing which is in a state of perfect preservation, and the characters belong to the period to which the plate refers itself in one word, the grant is similar in every respect to the records of the Valabhī king that have hitherto come to light [110]. The inscription is one of *Māhārāja* Dhruvasēna [I] and records the grant of a village (of which the name must have occurred in the missing portion of the grant and is therefore now lost) to a Brāhmaṇa named Rotghamitra of the Vrajagana *gōtra* a student of the Chhandōga School and resident of Śmhapura, for the maintenance of certain sacrifices. The grant is dated *sam* 200 6 Āśvina śukla 3. The *saṃvat* year, when referred to the Valabhī era yields A.D. (206 + 319) 525. The *dātaka* was Maṇmaka and the writer Kikkaka as usual.

The only point worthy of notice in this grant is the village name Śmhapura, which is mentioned in it as the residence of the grantee. It is tempting to identify it with Sihor in the east of the Kathiawad peninsula, a junction on the Bhavanagar Wadhwan Railway not far from Valā the ancient Valabhī.

[KATHIAWAD PLATE OF DHIRUVAŚENA (I)]

TEXT³⁷

- 1 mṇava kṣhṭi sarit parvata sthṭi samakālinam putra pautr-ānvaya
bhōjyam bah
- 2 charu vaiśvadēv adyanām kriyāpām samutsarppaṇ-ārttham Śmha
pura vāstavya brahmaṇa Rotghamitraya

³⁵ Read सीमि

³⁶ The rest of the inscription is missing

³⁷ From the original plate and a set of impressions

- 3 Vrajagana sa-gōtrāya (Ch) Chhandōga-sa-brahmachārinē brahma-
dāyaṁ niṣṣiṣṭaṁ [*] yatō = sy = ōchitayā brahma-
- 4 dēya-sthityā bhūm̐jataḥ krishataḥ pradiśataḥ = karshāpayataś = cha
na kaiś = chit = svalpāpy = ābādhā vichāraṇā vā
- 5 kāryy = āsmad-varṇasajair = āgūṇmi²⁸-nṛpatibhiś = ch = ānityāny
= aiśvairyāny = asthiraṁ mānushyaṁ ch = āvēkshya sāmānyam
cha
- 6 bhūmi-dāna-phalam = avagachchhadbhīr = ayam = asmad-dāyō =
numantavyō yaś = ch = āchchhindyād = āchchhidyamānaṁ
v = ānumōdēt
- 7 sa pañchabhīr = mahā pātakais = s opapātakais = sarhyuktas =
syād = api ch = ātra Vyāsa gītan ślōkau
- 8 bhavataḥ [|*] shashṭim [*] varsha-sahasrāṇi svarggē mōdati
bhūmidah[|*] āchchhettā ch = ānumantā cha tāpy = ēva narakē
- 9 vasēt [|*] sva-dattām para-dattā[ṁ*] = vā yō harēta vasun-
dharāṇi [|*] gavāṇi śata-sahasrasya hantu[h*] prāpn ti
- 10 kṛbishaṁ[|*] = iti sva hastō mama mahārāja-Dhruvasēnasya
[|*] dūtakah pratihāra Mammakah [|*]
- 11 likhitam Kikkakena [|*] sam 200 6 Āśvayuja śu 3 [|*]

patent to the reader of these accounts, that the author is stretching a point, but a little latitude is always allowed to the constructive historian for the play of his imagination. Now and again he comes across an unsupported assertion that on reflection may be found to fall considerably short of the truth—as, for instance, Vincent SMITH's view that Sri Kakulam (on the lower course of the Kṛṣṇa) was the capital of these 'Andhra' kings—a view which is based on a piece of thoroughly worthless evidence, as is shown by P. T. Srinivas IYENGAR in his article entitled 'Misconceptions about the Andhras'.⁴ But there are yet larger discrepancies which only a rigorous and unbiassed examination of the entire material—epigraphic, historical, numismatic, and legendary—will disclose, such as I had to undertake in connection with the editing of a new inscription of Vasisthīputra Sri Pulumavi,⁵ discovered in 1915 in a little known village in the Bellari District. In that connection I was confronted with the question whether the facts of the Satavahana history necessarily demanded that the home of the Satavahanas should be placed, as has hitherto been done, in (what was later called) the Andhradesa. The results of the investigation and the successive steps by which I arrived at them are set forth in the sequel.

The Hira Hadagalli copper plate grant⁶ which was issued by the Pallava Śiva-Skandavarman for the purpose of confirming and enlarging a donation made by the *Maharaja* Bappasvarman to certain Brahmanas, incidentally supplies us with a very interesting place name to wit Satavahani rattha which *rattha* (province) is there said to include the settlement named Cillareka, of which the Brahman donees were *bhojakas* (i.e. probably freeholders). BUHLER, [23] who edited the grant, did not succeed in identifying the localities mentioned in it.⁷ Indeed the villages remain still unidentified. But we can now claim to be able to locate the province named in the grant, which we are enabled to do on account of the discovery, already mentioned, of an inscription incised in the reign of Sri Pulumavi which contains another place name having evident affinities with the name under reference. This inscription⁸ of Pulumavi (referred to in the sequel as the Myakadoni inscription) is incised on a boulder situated midway between the villages of Myakadoni and Cinna Kadaburu at a distance of about eight miles from Adoni in the Bellari District. The object of the inscription is to record the sinking of a reservoir by a certain householder (*gahapati*), who was resident of the village of Vepudaka situated in the province (*janapada*) called Satavahani hara—a name which at once recalls to our mind the Satavahani rattha of the copper plate grant mentioned above. The inscribed boulder is a perfectly sure landmark fixing a point situated in the ancient province (*janapada*) of Satavahani hara.

⁴ *Indian Antiquary* 1913 pp. 276 ff.

⁵ *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XIV, p. 153 ff.

⁶ LUDERS List No. 1200.

⁷ *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. I p. 2 ff.

⁸ For transcript and translation see the Appendix to this article.

a point which roughly corresponds to the modern Adoni the headquarters of a Taluqa of the same name in the Bellari District

From the copper plates themselves we can elicit nothing regarding the situation of the province mentioned in them for as already stated the village-names also which might have given us an indication regarding the location of the province containing them, have hitherto defied all attempts at identification. But we shall bring to bear on this question the scrap of topographical information gleaned from the Myakadoni inscription namely that the modern Adoni was included in the province of Satavahanu hara and see what result the comparison yields

At the time when the plate were edited the signification of the word Satahanu rattha had remained obscure. But now it is quite evident that this name stands in close agreement with the Satavahanu hara of the inscription. Satahanu and Satavahanu mean one and the same thing the former is only a corruption of the latter. Both place-names are derived from the tribal name of the so-called [24] Andhra kings who as was stated above, all claimed to belong to the family or tribe of the Satavahanas (or Satavahanas⁹). Whether the *areas* Satavahanu hara and Satahanu rattha are identical or not is a question more difficult to answer. *Rattha (rastra)* is generally used to denote a province realm empire or even a country (as in Maharastra Surastra etc.) The word *hara* (i.e. *ahara*) on the other hand which is often used indiscriminately to denote a district or country applies as a rule, to a smaller territorial division than what we understand by a kingdom or province that is it generally refers only to a district. Apparently therefore, the geographical names in the two records as they stand do not correspond exactly with each other. But the precise connotation of the word *ahara* in the Myakadoni inscription appears to be given by its being specifically called a *janapada* and a *janapada* I think very nearly conveys the same meaning as *rattha (rastra)*. Moreover it should be remembered that Hira Hadagalli the village where the plates were purchased is also situated in the Bellari district and it is probably not a matter of mere coincidence that the find place of the copper plate charter and the spot where the Myakadoni inscription stands should both be included within the small compass of the Bellari district. If the find place of the grant may now be supposed to be not far distant from the object of the grant (which is by no means invariably the case) then the modern Hira Hadagalli may be taken to mark approximately another point situated within, or in the neighbourhood of Satavahanuhara-Satahanuratttha. We should at any rate not go far wrong in assuming that the two place-names are terms which if not synonymous were the names of areas situated within or close to each other

⁹ In the sequel I have adopted the spelling Satavahana

However that may be, we have here an unquestionable proof of the existence of a proviso called after the Satavahanas, a country that extended at least as far west as Adoni, and perhaps even further up to the western boundary of the modern Bellari district. The province must evidently have been so called on account of some intimate connection between the land and the people concerned. Of what nature can this relation be? A glance at any map of [25] ancient India will supply the answer. It will show us how common at one time the practice of naming the country after its early inhabitants was. The Matsya lend their name to the Matsya country, the Magadhas to Magadha, the Kosalas to Kosala, the Ratthas (or Rastrakutas) to Maharastra. The kingdoms of the Kalingas, the Colas, the Pandyas and the Keralaputras, which owe their names to the early inhabitants of those countries, preserve these names up to quite modern times. Examples of this usage may be indefinitely multiplied, not only from the history of India but from that of other countries as well. The intimate connection referred to above must, therefore, be one of original occupation. And we may, on ground of the evidence so far considered, not unreasonably surmise that the country had taken its name from the Satavahanas because these people had since very early times, probably already in the pre-historic period established themselves there. As an alternative solution it may, conformably to the theory of the Andhra origin of the Satavahanas, be proposed that the early kings of this dynasty had proceeded thither from their home in (what in mediæval times was known as) the Andhradesa, made themselves master of the country, and renamed the land of their conquest after themselves. The answer to it is that there is no precedent to justify such an assumption. The Satavahanas had carried their conquest far and wide in India, both to the north and south of the Narmada. In the Nasik inscription¹⁰ of the Bala Sri, Sri Satakarni is called the king of Surastra, Aparanta, Vidarbha, Akaravanti, many other lands and mountains are named besides, but all of them retain their names known to us from other sources. The Satavahanas had not ventured to alter the names of the countries of their conquest. These considerations lead us to look upon the province known then as Satavahanu hara (or in later times as Satahanu rattha) as the *original* habitat of the Satavahanas, a conclusion which I fear, will not find favour with scholars as it militates strongly against the accepted view on the subject. It is customary to interpret the history of the Satavahanas as though it were a migration from the east to the west. Thus Vincent [26] SMITH,¹¹ apparently voicing the unanimous verdict of scholars on the point, says 'The Andhras [i.e. the Satavahanas] set up as an independent power under the government of a king named Simuka. The new dynasty extended its sway with such *extraordinary* [italics mine] rapidity that, in the reign of the second king, Krishna (Kanha), the town of Nasik, near the source of the Godavari in the western ghats, was

¹⁰ LÜDERS List No 1123

¹¹ *Early History*, p 207,

included in the Andhra dominions which thus stretched across India. It may not be superfluous to point out that these two heroes, Simuka and Kanha, 'whom eternal night holds unwept and unhonoured owe the resuscitation of their glories purely to the inventive genius of a historian. For, if the truth be told nothing more is known about these kings beyond the bare fact that the name of the one occurs in an inscription at Nanaghat and of the other at Nasik.'

Owing to the heterodox nature of the above conclusion regarding the home of the Satavahanas which is arrived at merely from a consideration of certain topographical information supplied by two inscriptions, it will be necessary for me first to refute the established theory of the 'Andhra' affinities of the Satavahanas from an independent standpoint. Thus I shall do by showing that the hypothesis is in entire disagreement with the other known facts about the Satavahana kings facts which fall into their correct perspective only when we assume that the Satavahanas formed a tribe which was originally not even remotely connected with the Andhra country.¹²

In order to avoid every misunderstanding on the point I must state at the outset that I am not here concerned with the larger question of the home of the Andhra people. My contention is merely that the home of Simuka Kṛṣṇa and their descendants was not the Andhradesa, which is commonly and rightly identified with the country of the basins of the Godavari and Kṛṣṇa. The attempt [27] to seek (as one writer¹³ does) in the passage from the *Aitareya Brahmana* in which the Andhras, Pundras, Sabaras, and Pulindas are referred to as Dasyu tribes living on the fringe of the Aryan civilisation, an indication of the Andhras being a Vindhyan tribe appears to me to be a vicious circle. For, neither do we know the habitat—at least not the original habitat—of the Pundras, Sabaras, and Pulindas nor have we any information as to the exact limits of Aryan domination in those days. The Andhras have, on the other hand, in literature, been far oftener associated with the Kalingas, Colas and Pandyas¹⁴ and as these appear to have from time immemorial occupied approximately the same geographical positions in which we find them at the dawn of history it is not unlikely that the Andhras might have done likewise. Everything points to their having occupied from very early times the same place as in the time of Varahamihira¹⁵ and Hsien Tsang¹⁶ (ca. A.D.

¹² Here I emphasise the point that the arguments set forth in the sequel to discredit the Puranic statement are *absolutely independent* of the above hypothesis that Satavahanihara-Satahaniraththa was the home of the Satavahanas and that it lay outside the Andhradesa in no way do they imply or necessitate its assumption.

¹³ P. T. Srinivas IYENGAR *Indian Antiquary* 1913 pp. 276 ff.

¹⁴ See for instance *Sabhapatti* Chapter 31 and the passage quoted by S. R. G. BHANDARKAR from the *Ramayana* on p. 4 of the *Early History of the Deccan*.

¹⁵ *Bṛhatsamhita* (ed. KERN) Chapter 14 v. 8.

¹⁶ BEAL, *Buddhist Records of the Western World* (Trübner's Oriental Series, Popular Edition), II. 217 ff.

630, when for the first time we come across a definite statement regarding the situation and extent of the Andhra country), but one cannot be absolutely certain. It is true that in the Asoka inscriptions the Andhras are once (Edict XIII) placed in a class different from their Dravidian neighbours, and reckoned with the Bhojas, Pitinikas, and Pulindas. That does not help us further. For, the habitat of the Bhojas is unknown, that of the Pitinikas doubtful, and of the Pulindas (which appears to be a name used vaguely for savage hill-tribes) uncertain. Moreover it should seem that the principle underlying the grouping of these people in the passage under consideration is administrative,—in other words, one depending on the degree of independence enjoyed by the rulers of these countries—and not topographical.¹⁵ The classification is therefore for our purpose without significance.

[28] We shall now turn our attention to the genesis of the assumption that the Satavahanas are Andhras. The very earliest source that connects the Satavahanas with the Andhras is the *Puranic literature*; and it may be added that outside the Puranas there is not a single independent authority that asserts, or in any way implies, this relation. One thinks confusedly of Greek authorities in this connection. It may therefore be emphatically stated that nothing that the Greek historians have to say on the matter can be looked upon as lending colour to the Puranic statement, as any one who takes the trouble of examining the original text may without difficulty convince himself. The fact of the matter is that those passages from Greek authors which explicitly mention the Andhra country and the Andhra people, contain no reference to the Satavahanas; while on the other hand, those in which certain Satavahana kings are mentioned teaches us that the Satavahana kings have nothing to say about the Andhras. It is only constructive history which teaches us that the Satavahana kings mentioned in one place are the same as the Andhras spoken of in another, a fiction at the bottom of which lies the very same Puranic authority. Of the Chinese pilgrims, I believe, only Hiuen Tsiang describes the Andhra country at length; but he has nothing to say about any one of the so-called Andhra kings, an omission which is immaterial as it may satisfactorily be explained on the ground that the Buddhist pilgrim visited the country more than three centuries after the extinction of this line of kings. The Andhra (Telugu) literature is also easily disposed of. We learn with surprise that the Andhras themselves have preserved no memory, not in any shape whatsoever, of those illustrious 'Andhra' kings whose dominions stretched across India and who had succeeded in holding sway over a large part of Southern India for the unusually prolonged period of nearly four centuries.

Regarding the Puranic material itself a word may be added. 'A glance at the formidable list of *variae lectiones* published with the text of extracts

¹⁵ See RAPSON's *Catalogue*, p. xvi, foot-note 2.

collected by PARGITER¹⁶ will convince anyone of the futility of trying to get a reliable and in every way satisfactory text. I shall not dwell on the variant lists of kings, nor on the divergent [29] figures given for the lengths of their reign, nor, lastly, on the ingenious attempts made by scholars to reconcile these discrepancies¹⁷ as it is not necessary for my purpose. It is amusing however, to note that there is no unanimity among the Puranas even as to the name to be applied to this line of kings. Some of the Puranas call these kings Andhras, others call them Andhrabhrtyas, and there are others still that call them by both names.¹⁸ The majority of the Puranas, however, distinguish between the Andhras and the Andhrabhrtyas and state that the Andhrabhrtyas succeeded the Andhras, most of them agree in applying the term *bhrtya* to them, implying that these kings were originally feudatories of a paramount power. The hopeless confusion on the point whether the Satavahanas were Andhras or Andhrabhrtyas will be made still more apparent when it is remembered that while, on the one hand Sir Ramakrishna BHAN DARKAR calls these kings Andhrabhrtyas throughout his account of that dynasty in the *Early History of the Dekkhan*,¹⁹ on the other hand, Vincent SMITH never so much as mentions that name in his *Early History*.²⁰ RAPSON is undecided. Sometimes he uses the term Andhrabhrtya to denote the main branch of the Satavahana family, and sometimes the feudatories of these.²¹ Thus p xv footnote 1, while referring to the Satavahana dynasty he says that it 'was called also Andhrabhrtya or Satavahana', and subsequently while speaking about certain coins from the Chutaldrug district, he observes that these may 'have been struck by the feudatories of the Andhras (*Andhra bhrtyah*) who rose into power in the western and southern districts after the reign of Sri Yajna'.²²

Now if the term Andhrabhrtya is taken to mean 'dependents or feudatories of the Andhras,' there is evidently a deal of difference in meaning between the epithets Andhra and Andhrabhrtya. The feudatories of the Andhras need not necessarily be Andhras. But the ambiguity of the expression covers the difference of meaning, as [30] the compound may be equally well treated as a Karmadharaya (as is done by Sir Ramakrishna)²³ and then taken to mean 'Andhras who were feudatories' naturally of some other power. However, this ingenious way out of the difficulty does not appear to have appealed to other scholars, and with due deference to the veteran Orientalist it must indeed be admitted that, though from the point of view of the gram

¹⁶ *Dynasties of the Kali Age* pp 35 ff

¹⁷ Sir R G BHANDARKAR, *Early History of the Deccan*, (1884) p 23 ff

¹⁸ See PARGITER *Dynasties of the Kali Age* 1 c

¹⁹ See p 17, and *passim*

²⁰ See the Index

²¹ RAPSON'S *Catalogue*, p lxxviii footnote 2

²² *Op cit.*, p 18.

marian the solution proposed by Sir Ramakrishna is unexceptionable it would be more natural to treat the compound as a Dependent Determinative (Tat purusa) especially in regard to the parallel phrase Sungabhrtya²³ applied to the Kanvas and occurring also in the Puranic genealogies in which Sir Rama Krishna²⁴ also sees a pointed reference to the Kanvas being the servants of the Sungas

Having established that the theory of the Andhra connection of the Satavahanas rests upon the uncorroborated and at the same time equivocal statement of the Puranas we shall now turn our attention to other facts of their history with a view to ascertain if the statement of the Puranas is borne out by these facts.

We shall in the first instance turn to the epigraphic material. The first thing we notice is that in none of the inscriptions (about two dozen in number) engraved during the regime of these kings is there any reference to their alleged affinity with the Andhras. In these records they are invariably referred to by their *kula* name Satavahana or a variant of it. The Hathigumpha inscription²⁵ of Kharavela the Gimar inscription²⁶ of Rudradaman and the Talagunda inscription²⁷ of the Kadamba Kakutsthavarman which are among the contemporary records mentioning various Satavahana kings never refer to them as Andhras. If the Andhra nation which was reputed to possess a military force second only to that at the command of the king of the Prasu Chandragupta Maurya {31} had evoked the admiration even of foreign chroniclers,²⁸ one naturally wonders at this conspiracy of silence regarding this illustrious lineage on the part of the contemporary documents. The inevitable conclusion might still be ignored by some critics on account of the negative character of the evidence on which it rests. Let us therefore also examine some positive evidence and see what that yields. The Hathigumpha inscription of Kharavela tells us that the Kalinga king 'without entertaining any fear of Satakani sent a large army to the west'²⁹ evidently with a view to invade the dominions of his powerful enemy. Were we now to take a map of India in hand and try to explain why Kharavela should send a large army to the west when his enemy, who is alleged to be the king of the Andhra country, lay due south of him the incongruity of the Andhra theory will become manifest. Provided that Kharavela was at war with the Andhra king the fate of the invader who indulged in the quixotic attempt of sending his army to the west would not have been a matter worthy of glorification. In any such attempt the invader would inevitably have exposed his flank to

²³ Vayu Purana cattarah Sungabhrtas te nrpah Kantayana drisjah

²⁴ Op cit p 24

²⁵ LUDERS List No 1345

²⁶ LUDERS List No 965

²⁷ Ed. KIELHORN Ep Ind VIII p 24 ff

²⁸ ELLIOT Coins of Southern India pp 9 ff

²⁹ LUDERS List No 1345

a murderous attack all along the contiguous frontier of the enemy king and it will not be seriously suggested that he could have advanced by a circuitous northern route to attack an outlying western possession of his southern neighbour. That would have been equally disastrous. The expedition of Khara vela I maintain, can only be explained on the assumption that, in Kharavela's time at least the kingdom of the Satavahanas lay entirely or at any rate principally to the west of the Kalinga country.

The next point to be considered in this connection is the geographical distribution of the inscriptions of the Satavahanas. By far the largest number of their inscriptions is at Nasik where there are eight records engraved in the reigns of different kings: there are five at Kanheri, three at Karle, two at Amaravati, one large and several very short ones at Nanaghat and one each at Bhelsa, Myakadoni, Cina and Kodavolu. Of the nearly two dozen records mentioned here there are exactly four from the Andhradesa.¹ Thus the [32] topographical distribution of the inscriptions hitherto discovered supports, in my opinion emphatically the view that the centre of gravity or the power of the Satavahanas lay in the west of India.

A study of the distribution of these inscriptions in point of time relative to the locality is still more instructive. The following is a list (approximately chronological) of the inscriptions of the Satavahana dynasty giving the first places and the regnal years. All but three (viz Nos 6, 20 and 21) of these inscriptions are such as either were engraved by order of a ruling prince of this dynasty or refer themselves to the reign of one of them: the three inscriptions which are mentioned as exceptions were engraved by persons in the employ of these kings.

[33] INSCRIPTIONS OF THE SATAVAHANA DYNASTY

Name of king or queen	Find place	Regnal year	Remarks. (The numbers refer to LÜDERS' List, <i>Ep. Ind.</i> Vol. X, App.)
1. Simuka Satavahana	Nanaghat	(No date)	No. 1113. An image of king Simuka.
2. Kṛṣṇa ²⁰	Nasik		No. 1144.
3. Śrī Satakarni, Devī Naganika, queen of Śrī Satakarni and mother of Vedaśrī and Śaktiśrīmat (Hakusiri)	Nanaghat		Nos. 1112, 1114 and 1117. Along with these are to be taken the inscribed images of Kumāra Satavahana and others. ²¹

²⁰ Kṛṣṇa appears to have ruled before Śrī Satakarni. See RAPSON *Op. cit.*

P. XIX.
²¹ These have not been enumerated separately as it is not certain whether the persons concerned had actually reigned.

[34] INSCRIPTIONS OF THE SATAVAHANA DYNASTY—(Continued)

Name of king or queen	Find place	Regnal year	Remarks (The numbers refer to LUDERS List Ep Ind Vol X App)
4 Sri Satakarni	Bhelsa		No 346 Probably an early king His place in the chronological list is uncertain
5 Madhariputra svami	Kanheri	8	No 1001 The name is read as Sakasena which is probably a mislection ³² The first part of this word is probably <i>siri</i> Chronological place doubtful
6 Do		(Year lost)	No 1002 See the remarks against No 5
[34] 7 Gautamiputra Sri Satakarni	Nasik	18	No 1125
8 Do	Karle	1 [8]	1105
9 Do	Nasik	24	1126
10 Vasisthuputra Sri Pulumavi	,	2	1147
11 Do		6	1122
12 Do	Karle	7	1100
13 Do	Myakadom ³³	8	<i>Epigraphia Indica</i> Vol. XIV p 153 ff
14 Do	Nasik	19	Nos. 1123 1124
15 Do		22	No. 1124
16 Do	Karle	24	1106
17 Do	Amaravati	(Year lost)	1248.
18 Vasisthuputra Sri Satakarni	Kanheri		No 994 ³⁴ The king mentioned therein is <i>not</i> to be identified with the previous king Chronological place doubtful
[35] 19 Sri Sivamaka Satakarni	Amaravati		No 1279
20 Gautamiputra Sri Yajna Satakarni	Nasik	7	1146
21 Gautamiputra Sri Yajna Satakarni	Kanheri	16	1024
22 Gautamiputra Sri Yajna Satakarni	Cina (Krishna Dist.)	27	1340
23 Gautamiputra Sri Yajna Satakarni	Kanheri	(Year lost)	987
24 Vasisthuputra Sri Chanda (or Chandra) Satakarni	Kodavolu	? 13	" 1341

³² RAPSON'S (*Op cit* p. xlvii) correction is extremely doubtful³³ For transcript and translation of this new inscription see the Appendix at the end.³⁴ The connection in which the queen is named in this inscription is not apparent Vasisthuputra Sri-Satakarni is commonly identified with the famous Vasisthuputra Sri Pulumavi see RAPSON *Op cit* p. li But to me it is extremely doubtful whether one and the same king can be assumed to bear both the names Satakarni and Pulumavi it appears to me that the terms are mutually exclusive

single country definitely identifiable with any portion of the Andhradesa,—again with the exception of the Dakṣinapatha which as remarked above, may indeed imply any part, or even the whole of the Indian Peninsula south of the Vindhya.³⁷

A word may be added here regarding the language of these inscriptions which is either Sanskrit or some form of Prakrit, no Satavahana inscription written in a Dravidian tongue has yet come to light. This fact has the appearance of supporting my contention that the Satavahanas were not Dravidians. Such is however not the case. The earliest Telugu epigraphic record known I understand is an inscription of the Eastern Calukya king Jayasīma I and dates from the sixth century A.D. It may therefore be that, at the period under consideration Telugu was not yet raised to the dignity of a literary dialect—a fact which would sufficiently account for the use of Prakrit or Sanskrit in the inscriptions of the Satavahanas even though the latter had been unquestionably Dravidians.

The conclusions regarding the home and the movement of the Satavahanas to which we are led by a consideration of the epigraphic material are corroborated in a remarkable manner by the numismatic evidence. The earliest coins of this dynasty, we find, were all picked up in Western India. If we open RAPSON'S *Catalogue of the coins of the Andhra dynasty, etc.*, the very first coin on the register [38] will be seen to be that of Śrī Sata (identified by RAPSON with Śrī-Satakarni of the Nanaghat inscription) of which we are told that it shows the Malava fabric and was picked up in Western India. Coin No. 2 which is of the same type as coin No. 1 was found in Western India, No. 3 was also picked up in Western India but it is doubtful if it belongs to this series. Then follows a coin (No. 4) which will be discussed presently. The subsequent coins (Nos. 5—32) are like Nos. 1—3 from Western India. Thus all the early coins (Nos. 1—32) with the exception of No. 4 were picked up in Western India and presumably were current only there. The exception is a coin of—Vira found in the Andhradesa. Why RAPSON should have placed this coin here more than anywhere else is a mystery unless the reason be supposed to lie in RAPSON'S reluctance to leave the Andhradesa entirely unrepresented in the early period of the Satavahana régime. The obverse of the coin is perfectly plain, on the reverse is figured lion standing. The inscription has not been completely deciphered. So far as it can be made out it reads *raṇo* [—] *ra(?)raṣa* and is therefore unlike any Satavahana legend. Vincent SMITH³⁸ we are told by RAPSON 'attributes these coins provisionally to Gautamiputra Śrī Yājña Satakarni.' Further comment seems unnecessary. We can proceed to the next lot of coins (Nos. 33—46) which are stated to be found in the Andhra

³⁷ RAPSON *Op cit* p. xxxv foot note 4

³⁸ *ZDMG* 1903 p. 625

desa, they are hesitatingly ascribed by RAPSON to a king for whose name the alternatives Sakasada and Sakasena are proposed. A careful study of RAPSON'S remarks concerning the inscriptions of these coins will repay the trouble. About coins No. 42—46 he confesses that it is not always easy to distinguish them from certain coins attributed to Sri Pulumavi. That leaves a balance of only ten coins of this doubtful species in none of them has the inscription been completely read. Of these ten, only four coins show 'uncertain traces' of three or four *akṣaras* each the inscription on the remaining six being completely illegible. With this datum RAPSON reads the legend as being either Sakasada or Sakasena. It will I think be generally admitted that Sakasada is an incredible name and I may add there are reasons for believing [39] that the Sakasena of certain Kanheri inscriptions on the strength of which RAPSON puts forth the other conjectural reading is probably a mislection, however I do not wish to add a third conjectural reading especially as I personally have seen neither the coin nor the inscription. With the material at our disposal namely four coins with uncertain traces of three or four syllables on each and five similar coins which cannot be distinguished from certain others attributed to Pulumavi it would be hazardous to say the least to attempt identification. In any case it will have to be admitted that there is nothing to show that the coins in question have to be attributed to any of the *early* Satavahanas. Thus it becomes evident that of the coins from the Andhradesa the earliest that can with assurance be assigned to a known king of this dynasty are those of Vasisthiputra Sri Pulumavi (RAPSON'S *Catalogue* Nos. 88—89), he is the same king of whose inscriptions it was noticed above that they are the earliest of all Satavahana inscriptions to be found in the Andhra country a significant fact which it should be noted is in entire harmony with my surmise arrived at on independent evidence that the field of activity of the early Satavahanas was confined to the west of India.

At this stage it may be conveniently pointed out that the Jains have preserved a very clear recollection of the connection of the early Satavahanas with Western India. For in Jaina legend Paṭhan (the ancient Pratiṣṭhana) on the Godavari in His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Dominions is the capital of Satavahana and his son Saktikumara who have been rightly identified with Sri Satakarni and his son Hakuṣiri of the Nanaghat inscriptions³⁹. We know moreover that Paṭhan continued to be the capital of the Satavahanas at least until the time of Sri Pulumavi. The Greek geographer Ptolemy is as is well known our authority for this supposition. His words (vii 1 82) *Bathana Basileus [sire]—tolōmaion* can only be taken to convey that Paṭhan was the capital of Sri Pulumavi.

The arguments set forth above and the conclusion to be drawn from them may be briefly summarized as follows

[40] The Myakadoni inscription of the time of Śrī-Pulumavi mentions the *janapada* Satavahani hara and the Hira Hadagalli copper plate grant of the Pallava Śiva Skandavarman supplies us with the place-name Satahani rattha. These places which are possibly identical point definitely to the existence of a province or kingdom situated in the neighbourhood of the modern Bellary District and named after the Satavahanas which must have been so called on account of its being the original habitat of this tribe. The latter conclusion is at variance with the orthodox view that the Andhradesa is the home of the Satavahanas. This view, however appears to be based merely upon the fact that in the Puranic genealogies the kings Śimuka Kṛṣṇa and others succeeding them are called Andhras—It was also pointed out that while some of the Puranas styled these kings Andhras there are others which called them Andhrabhrtyas. The latter term is commonly regarded as synonymous with Andhra but may clearly also mean the 'feudatories of the Andhras' which is quite a different thing—The Puranas are it was submitted our only authority for the assumption of the Andhra origin of the kings in question, there is nothing in the writings either of the Greek or of the Chinese chroniclers that may be adduced in support of this—The oft quoted passage from the Greek geographer Ptolemy has undoubtedly rightly been interpreted to mean that Paithan (the ancient Pratisthana) was the capital of the Satavahana Śrī Pulumavi. This statement not only finds partial corroboration in the Jaina legend that makes Pratisthana the capital of the king Śalivahana (Satavahan) and his son Śaktikumara but fits in better with what we may surmise regarding the habitat and activity of the Satavahanas from a consideration of the geographical distribution of their inscriptions and the provenance of their coins. We are therefore led to conclude that the connection of this dynasty of kings with the Andhradesa has been considerably antedated, properly regarded it is the result of a migration *from the west to the east*, the home of the Satavahanas has to be placed in the south western parts of the Dekkan plateau. On this assumption it becomes intelligible why Kharavela who boasts that he was not afraid of Satakarni (evidently a Satavahana king) should send a large army to the *west* on the same assumption it becomes still clearer why the Maharathis [41] (a western tribe)⁴⁰ should be often closely connected by family ties with the ruling princes of this house. When we place the capital of the Satavahanas at Paithan we can also understand better why the Buddhist *caityas* at Nasik Nanaghat Kanheri and Karle (which on this hypothesis would naturally lie in their home provinces) should monopolise the patronage of these princes to the exclusion of Amaravati the classic *tirtha* of the Andhra Buddhists, situated in the heart of the Andhradesa.

If we admit the above conclusion (i.e. if the activity of the *early* Sata

⁴⁰ *Contra* RAMON (*Op cit* p. xxi) and others

vahana kings be regarded as being restricted to the south western and western corner of the Deccan plateau and if they are supposed to have no connection with the land which in later times is called the Andhradesa) how are we to reconcile with this view the Puranic statement that the Satavahanas were Andhras? There are two possible ways of answering the question. If the Puranic statement be literally correct and the Satavahanas have to be looked upon as belonging to the tribe of the Andhras, then we must assume either that this branch had separated itself early from the main stock of the Andhras (which was settled in the region of the deltas of the Godavari and the Krishna) even before the time of Simuka and Satakarni and settled in the west or that the Andhras themselves had at first occupied the part of the plateau surrounding the province named Satavahanihara and then migrated before the historic epoch from that centre, towards the west and towards the east. But it is after all conceivable that the Satavahanas may not have been Andhras and it is quite probable—this is the alternative explanation referred to above—that the correct designation of this dynasty is really Andhrabhrtya (which was later wrongly abbreviated by some of the Puranas into Andhra) a germ of genuine history being preserved in the appellation Andhrabhrtya. In this case, however the latter compound is properly regarded as a Sasthi Tatpurusa and taken to mean the feudatories of the Andhras. For there is nothing improbable in the assumption that the founders of Satavahana dynasty were originally the vassals of the Andhra sovereigns of whom it may with assurance be affirmed that at or about the time of the rise of the Satavahanas they were the most powerful potentates in the Dekkan.

[42] APPENDIX

TEXT OF THE MYAKADONI INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF
SRI PULUMAVI

- 1 [Si]dha[m] [11*] Rano Satavahanam S[ri] Pulum[a] visa sava &
hema [2] diva 1
- 2 [masa] mahasenapat[is]sa khamda[na]ka.a janapade S[a] tavahanu
hare
- 3, mikasa kumaradatasa game Vepurake vathavena gahapatiena
[kom]tanam [Sambe]na
- 4 talakam khanitam [11*]

TRANSLATION

Success! On the first day of the second [fortnight of] winter in the eighth year (of the reign) of Sri Pulumavi King of the Satavahana (family) the reservoir was sunk by the householder (*gahapati*) resident of the village of Vepuraka belonging to the Captain (*gumika*) Kumaradata (Kumaradatta) in the province (*janapada*) of Satavahanihara belonging to the Great General (*mahasenapati*) Khamdanaka (Skandanaga)

IX—BESNAGAR INSCRIPTION OF HELIODOROS*

Ever since the providential discovery by Sir John MARSHALL of the writing hidden beneath the thick crust of vermillion covering the shaft of the Garuda column of Besnagar, that little Prakrit record has engaged the attention of a number of distinguished scholars interested in Indian history¹ and their patient research has succeeded it may now be confidently asserted in elucidating completely the import of the inscription. The scholarly edition of the text from the pen of Dr (now Professor) J Ph VOGEL, published in an issue of the *Annual* of the Director General of Archaeology in India² contains a succinct review of the readings and interpretations proposed by different scholars in their articles and notes on the subject and in this edition the labours of previous workers in the field may be said to have culminated. Respecting the investigations of these scholars it may be remarked that the historical interest centring round the name of the Greco-Indian king Antialkidas and the fact of the conversion of a Greek ambassador in India to the cult of Vasudeva, preponderates in them so far over every other consideration that the language and textual criticism of the inscription have not received that share of attention and scrutiny which they deserve. It may, therefore be permitted to me to supply the want by adding to what has been already accomplished a few observations on this topic, and incidentally to elucidate a new aspect of this—in many senses—unique record.

The text (A) given by Dr VOGEL in the article just alluded to reads as follows †

- 1 Devadēvasa Vā[sudē]vasa Garuḍadhvaje ayam
- 2 karitē Hēliodorēn Bhāga
- 3 vatēna Diyasa putrēṇa Takhasilākēna
- [60]4 Yonadutēna āgatēna mahārajasa
- 5 Amtalikītasā upa[m]tā sakāsa[m] rañō
- 6 Kāsiputasa Bhāgabhadrasa trātārasa
- 7 vasēna catudasena rājēna vadhamāṇasa³

* [Annals BORI 1 59-66]

¹ See LÜDERS' *List of Brahmi Inscriptions* Nos. 669 and 670 (Appendix pp 63, 64 and 176). To the literature given there is to be added as far as I know only: 1912 VOGEL, *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India 1908-9* pp 126 ff and Plate, and 1914 RAPSON *Ancient India* p 156 f and Plate VI.

² Above 1908-9 p 126 ff.

† [Diacritical marks restored from original typescript found in SUKTHANKAR'S *Analecta*—Ed.]

³ As the following remarks refer chiefly to this inscription only it is unnecessary to reproduce here the Gāthā (commonly designated as text B) incised below it.

Now in the first place with respect to the reading *karīte* (in line 2 of the text) which is adopted by most of the previous interpreters and accepted by Dr VOGEL, it may be remarked that it is not altogether free from objections. According to it, in this dialect the Nominative Singular of a thematic stem would end in—*e* a conclusion which is *a priori* inadmissible in the case of a Western dialect. Furthermore, the facsimile appended to the various editions of the inscription all show quite distinctly that the final syllable of the word in question is *to* as correctly read by Dr BLOCH in the *editio princeps* * the two inked impressions filed in the office of the Archaeological Superintendent Western Circle, which were examined by me also show on their reverse sides a deep dent corresponding to the sign of length (*ā-kāra*) in that *akshara*. There can be therefore, no doubt that the short horizontal stroke appended to the right of the vertical was intentionally incised by the engraver and the correct reading is *karīto*. In this instance the medial *o* is marked by a zig zag sign which reproduces quite faithfully the form of the initial *o*. Other examples of this usage in the inscription before us are *do* in *Heliodorena* (line 2) and *ro* in *raio* (line 5) but an instance of the later cursive form with the bars at a uniform height, is supplied by *Yo* in *Ionadutena* (line 4) the two forms occur here side by side as in other early Brahmi inscriptions.³ The *to* of *karīto* being admitted we are constrained to look upon *dhīraje* (line 1) as a *lapsus plumæ* for *dhīajo* the small stroke corresponding to the length which should have been added to the loop of *ja* has either been left out entirely or is not traceable on the impressions.

In order to accommodate the final vowel of *karīto* to that of *dhīraje* it has been suggested that the small slanting stroke across the sign [61] of length in the *to* of *karīto* is meant to delete that length. To this I have to say that to my mind the chances of the engraver's having omitted to add the sign of length to the loop of *ja* (in which case the slanting stroke across *to* will have to be looked upon as a fortuitous mark on the stroke) and his having incised *to* by mistake for *te* are about equally balanced. But in regard to the locality of the inscription I am inclined to look upon *je* as the incorrect syllable. The question could have been finally settled by reference to another Nominative Singular of a thematic stem in the same inscription unfortunately there is no other instance of it in text A. But it may be noted that the text B which appears to be intimately connected with A, supplies at least one clear example of the requisite form, namely *apramado* *. The vowel marks of the final syllable of *dama* and *cuga* are not

* *Jour Roy As Soc.*, 1900 p. 1065

* BÜHLER *Indische Paläographie* p. 37

* The bar across the top of *da* clearly marks the subsidiary *o* in that *akṣa* as it is true that Dr VOGEL read *da cago* and *apramado* which readings serve my purpose equally well, but see the transcript of the text of the Gāthā by Drs VENIS and BARNETT *Jour Roy As Soc* 1900 1910

clear this much is however certain that neither of them ends in *e*. Thus if the inscriptions A and B are to be looked upon as being linguistically connected with each other the reading *karito* and the correction of *dhvaje* to *dhvajo* become inevitable.

After *karito* some scholars read in the succeeding gap a word *ī[a]* and render the latter by Skt. *īha*. In early Brahmi inscriptions the reality of an initial *ī* is always attended with some degree of uncertainty especially when the inscribed stone is abraded as ours is. Moreover the impressions that I have been able to examine fail to show any definite traces of the succeeding syllable. Thus every reading of a word intervening between *karito* and *Heliodorena* must be looked upon as open to question. With reference to the identification of *īa* with *īha* I must remark that there are no certain cases of the loss of an intervocalic *h* in Prakrit known to me.⁷ One [62] would have to restore, in my opinion *īha* (less likely *īdha*) rather than *īa*. But, it appears to me, that the arbitrary insertion of a word like *īha* is in this instance utterly unjustified. For what is meant by saying that Garuda

⁷ The alleged examples (*Jour. Roy. As. Soc.* 1909 p. 1089) of *īa* from inscriptions all occur in the Kharosthi versions of Asoka's Edicts. Four times in the Shahbazgarhi and once in the Mansera version. Two analogous instances of even a shorter form are cited from the Girnar inscription. The references are as follows —

Shahbazgarhi Ed VI 1 6	<i>īa ca</i>
[62] Shahbazgarhi Ed IX 20	<i>īa loka</i>
IX, 20	<i>[h]īa</i> or possibly <i>īa</i>
IX 24	<i>īo loka</i> or possibly <i>hīaloka</i>
Mansera VI 31	<i>īa ca</i>
Girnar XI 4	<i>ī loka</i>
" XIII 12	<i>ī lokika</i>

The two instances from Girnar need not have been quoted in this connection as in this instance there is no question of any loss of *h*. In *ī loka* *ī* is the demonstrative pronoun and *ī loka* or *ī lokika* is equivalent to this world or of this world. With regard to the examples with uncertain *h* it will have to be admitted that they cannot be looked upon as certain instances of the alleged loss. Thus the evidence adduced reduces itself to the statement that out of the scores of instances in which the word *īha* or its Prakrit equivalents occurs in Asoka Edicts BÜHLER had read in Kharosthi records in three presumably certain cases *īa* in the sense of here. The evidence is not overwhelming and in view of the extreme similarity of the signs for *ī* and *hī* in the Kharosthi alphabet I hold that a re-examination of the inscription *in situ* will be necessary before a definite opinion can be pronounced one way or the other. For the present I shall content myself by remarking that the forms current in the northern dialects appear to have been *hīa* and *īha*. The form *hīa* is, however, not an instance of the total disappearance of the intervocalic *h*. What has happened here is the following. *īha* forms a doublet *hīha* with the same adscript *h* as in Asoka *hetam* for *etam*. Then, as the rules of Indian phonetics do not permit aspirates in consecutive syllables (Grassmann's Rule) one of them (here the second for obvious reasons) is merged hence the form *hīa*. As to the alleged instances of the loss of intervocalic *h* in literary Prakrit see Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen* para 226.

column *was made here* by (the order of) Heliodoros' ? Heliodoros was surely not a manufacturer of Garuda columns¹. Clearly *tha* can only be used with a word like *sthāpita* with *kāṇṭa* it is essentially inappropriate.

In line 3 it has been customary to read the last word *Takhasilākēna*. The correct reading clearly is *Takhasilākena*, as there is no room for the sign of length (marked in this inscription with a *prominent* horizontal stroke) between the syllables *la* and *ke*, which, as it is, almost touch each other. The irregular projection to the right of the vertical of *la* is no more intended to signify the length [63] than a similar appearance in the very first *akshara* of the same line, which for that reason is not read as *vā* but as it ought to be viz *va*. Grammatically the form *Takhasilākena* is indefensible, at least in the sense 'resident of Takasila' whereas *Takhasilakena* (for *Takhasilakena*) is a *tadbhava* of the Sanskrit *Takṣasilaka* or *Tākṣaśilaka* (the form commonly found in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature), in the same way as *Māthura(ka)* is formed from *Mathurā* cf. the *Kāśikā* to Pāṇini IV, 3, 93.

A glaring fact which has been, it appears to me totally overlooked by previous editors is the peculiar construction of the only sentence of which the epigraph consists. The sequence of the words in the sentence is indeed so thoroughly un-Indian that I cannot account for the fact that none of the distinguished indologues who have commented on the inscription has remarked upon it. The sequence of words in Sanskrit or Prakrit, it must be admitted is, on account of the synthetic form of the languages *theoretically* quite free. Notwithstanding practice has prescribed certain rules regulating the relative position of words in the sentence, which are not departed from *in prosa* without sufficient reason.* As a grammatical principle it may safely be laid down that the qualifying word *visesana* almost invariably precedes the word which it qualifies *visesya* the Genitive stands before the word which it governs the dependent noun before the preposition the object and other adjuncts before the verb, etc. In particular, participial adjectives, should, unless used predicatively, precede the word they qualify. If we test our sentence in the light of this rule, it will be found to stand in flagrant contradiction to it. Now one may think what one likes about the position of the words *Bhāgavatena*, *Diyasa putrena* and *Takhasilakena*, which are in apposition to *Heliodorena*. But there are two instances of wrong sequence in this sentence which must be considered very remarkable, and they are firstly, the use of *āgātena* after *Yonadūtena*, and secondly, the position of *tadhamānasa* (following on *Bhāgabhadrasa* of which it is an attribute) at the very end of the sentence. A Prakrit sentence ending with a present participle is an anomaly. Indeed it was at one time thought that [64] the

* See Hermann JACOBI'S remarks on the subject in the introduction to his *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhābhārata* (Leipzig, 1886)

*seventh line was not the last line of the inscription, but we are now assured that the whole of the inscription is before us, and no further lines have been worn out or lost.

It will be remarked that the participle *vadhamānasa* and *āgatena* occupy the same position as finite verbs in dependent clauses. Does it not appear as though the latter mode of sentence construction is peculiar to the style of the writer a mode which is foreign to the genius of the language in which he was writing? If so, how are we to account for this anomaly? The key to the situation is, I think supplied by the phrase *Yonadūtena āgatena Mahārājasa Amtalikītasā upamitā* (lines 4 and 5), the construction of which becomes intelligible only when we remark that it is word for word a Prakrit rendering of the Greek *upō presbeutōn elthōntos para ton megabasileos Amtalikidou* (cf. Heil, 1, 39, An, 1 1, 5), which in Greek is quite correct and natural. The sequence of the words of the above Prakrit phrase being settled by this consideration the chiasmic use of the prepositions places the noun governed by *sakāsam* (line 7) in the position actually occupied by it, with the result that the adjectival phrase beginning with *vasena* (line 7) is pushed to the very end of the sentence. To change the epigraph into correct Prakrit we must set it upside down. Prakrit idiom would necessitate the following *

22	23	24	25	18	21	19
<i>vasena</i>	<i>catudasena</i>	<i>rājena</i>	<i>vadhamānasa</i>	<i>rañō</i>	<i>trālārasa</i>	<i>kāśiputasa</i>
20	17	14	15	16	13	
<i>Bhāgabhadrasa</i>	<i>sakāsam</i>	<i>mahārājasa</i>	<i>Amtalikītasā</i>	<i>upamitā</i>	<i>āgatena</i>	
12	7					
<i>Yonadūtena</i>	<i>Heliodorena</i>	etc				

Before passing on to other questions I would here draw attention to the striking similarity in point of construction between *Bhāgabhadrasa rājena vadhamānasa* and the Greek expression *kūrou basileuontos* (*Cyros regnante*) without wishing to say definitely whether the latter has been of any moment in determining the shaping of the unfamiliar Prakrit phrase.

If I am right in explaining the anomalies of construction referred to above as Hellenisms, or in other words if we assume that we must look to the Greek syntax and Greek mode of thought for an explanation of the abnormalities of construction, and peculiarities [65] of phraseology (if not of all at least of some of them), then some other anomalies become also clear. Consider, for instance, the use of the biruda *tralārasa* (*solēros*) with the name of Bhāgabhadra. I am not aware of any king of Indian extraction who had assumed that title, and it would be surprising if Bhāgabhadra (whoever he may be, provided he was an Indian) had done so. Its use would cause no surprise, however, if the writer of the inscription were a Greek, for, in that case, we could very well understand his tacking on to the name of an Indian

* The numeral above each word indicates its position in the original sentence

prince a royal title which was commonly assumed by Greek kings of his time. Consider again the position of the verb *karito*. Although the sequence *Garuḍadhvaḥo ayaṁ karito Heliodorena* is not faulty—not by any means there are instances of it to be found in other inscriptions as well—the normal Prakrit construction would be *ayaṁ Garuḍadhvaḥo Heliodorena karito*. But in the Greek sentence the position of the verb (which would be a *verbum finitum*) between the subject and the object would call forth no comment. Further for Prakrit I find the sequence *Heliodoreṇa Dīyasa Putrena* somewhat harsh but again it would be the most natural mode of expression for a Greek who is in the habit of saying *parusatis e tou krou mēter*. These facts bear out in an unequivocal manner the correctness of the above hypothesis explaining the position occupied by *agatena* and *tadhamaṇasa* in the sentence, which was the starting point of our enquiry.

The writer of the inscription who thus on my showing must have been a Greek may have been Heliodoros himself. For it does not require any great stretch of imagination to believe that this worthy Greek who was a convert to the Vasudevic cult of Bhakti worship and who had gone to the length of erecting a Garuda column in honour of Vāsudeva had also acquired a working knowledge of the local Indian dialect which was, perhaps, for him the language of the scriptures also.

The last line of the inscription is clear as regards its import but not quite so in point of its construction. Various attempts have been made to explain it, but none of them is entirely satisfactory. One of the chief difficulties has been the phrase *rajena tadhamaṇasa* for it was not realised by any of the previous interpreters that the [66] expression is not merely grammatically irreproachable but even highly idiomatic.¹⁰ The root *īdh* (often combined with *disṣya*) is regularly construed with the Instrumental to express gratulation as in the phrase [*disṣya*] *maharūḥo vijayena tadhate* which means literally 'Your (His) Majesty [fortunately] prospers with victory'. Thus *rajena tadhamaṇasa* means 'prosperous with reigning', or as it is commonly and correctly translated 'gloriously reigning'. A real difficulty however is presented by the expression *casera chaudatera*. The Instrument of Time has in Sanskrit (and I presume also in Prakrit) a special significance¹¹ which, however cannot have been intended here. On the other hand as this *casus obliquus* does not exist in the Greek language that source of explanation seems to be closed in this instance. It may be that the writer of the epigraph had not fully grasped the force of the Indian Instrumental of Time and wrongly employed it here or may it be that it is an instance of anomalous attraction by the following *rajera*? Perhaps some scholar who

¹⁰ This phrase is wrongly put equal to *śāśite* by Dr Vogel about 1900.
p. 128.

¹¹ Panini, II 3, 6 *śāśite* etc.

is better acquainted with the Greek idiom than I am, may be able to assign a reason even for this apparent anomaly.

I append a transcript prepared by me from a set of excellent impressions filed in the office of the Archæological Superintendent, Western Circle, embodying the corrections in the reading of the text proposed above.

TEXT A.

1. Devadevasa Vā[sude]vasa Garuḍadhvaje¹² ayam
- 2 kārto ...¹³ Heliodoreṇa Bhāga-
3. vatena Diyasa putreṇa Takhasīlakena
4. Yonadūtena āgatena mahārājasa
- 5 A[īm]talik [i]tasa upamtā sakāsaṁ raṇo
6. Kāsīputasa¹⁴ Bhāgabhadrasa trātārasa.
7. vasena cha[tu]dasena rājena vadhamānasa.

¹² Read *Garuḍadhvaje*.

¹³ A gap large enough to contain two *akṣaras*.

¹⁴ Perhaps we have to read the second member of the compound as *putrasa*, unless the irregular depression below the sign *ta* is caused by an accidental abrasion of the stone at the point. It is worthy of note, however, that in this inscription the subscript *r* is retained in every other case in which it appears as the second member of a ligature, to wit *putreṇa* (line 3), *Bhāgabhadrasa* and *trātārasa* (line 6).

X —PALAEOGRAPHIC NOTES*

In the field of the palæography of Northern India the beginning of the sixth century of the Christian era is marked by the advent of a new epoch of alphabet, which is chiefly characterised by the acute angles that show themselves at the right or lower ends of letters as well as by the wedges which are superimposed on the tops of the vertical or slanting lines, and which is, therefore, variously styled as the 'Acute-angled' or 'Nail headed' alphabet.¹ The epigraphic documents of the period from the sixth to at least the beginning of the eighth century form an unbroken record of the use of this alphabet in Central and Northern India. This type was in course of time supplanted by a rival alphabet, and the characters of the inscriptions of the next century present the incipient stages of the Northern Nāgarī the fully developed forms of which may be seen in the Kaṭhēm (Mirāj State) copper plate grant of the Calukya king Vikramāditya V (A.D. 1009). The distinguishing feature of this type is the substitution of horizontal covering strokes in place of the wedges, and right angles in place of the acute angles of the previous variety. The general course of the evolution of Nāgarī out of the acute angled alphabet is evident enough² but the determination of the actual period of transition is a problem which naturally presents certain difficulties. The earliest forms of the transition alphabet are differentiated from those of its predecessor merely by the flattening of the above mentioned wedges. These forms are supplied by the characters of the Multai (Central Provinces) plates of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Nandārāja Yuddhasura dated in the year corresponding to A.D. 708-9, and other inscriptions of a later date. In other respects the characters of the Multai plates link on directly to the acute-angled [310] alphabet and BÜHLER was therefore perfectly right in looking upon them as the last phase of this variety.³ The distinctive peculiarity of Nāgarī it must be emphasised lies in the widening of the acute angles into right angles as well as the addition of the flat top stroke which so to say covers the entire breadth of the letters at their upper end. Both these characteristics are unmistakably manifest in the Kanherī inscriptions of the Śīlāhara sculptures Pullaśakti and Kapardin II.⁴ Thus upto the beginning of the eighth century (A.D. 708 the Multai plates) the acute angled alphabet was still current in Northern India, on the other hand as we see from the Kanherī

* [R. G. Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume 309-22.]

¹ BÜHLER *Indische Palæographie* p. 49

² *Indian Antiquary* Vol. 16 pp. 15 ff

³ BÜHLER *op cit* pp. 50 f

⁴ BÜHLER *op cit.*, p. 50.

⁵ Inscription Nos. 15 and 43 see *Indian Antiquary* Vol. 13 p. 135.

inscriptions (A D 851 and 877) Nagari had come to be used as an epigraphic alphabet by the middle of the ninth century

We might therefore set ourselves the question at what period does this change set in? Are there any records⁶ written in Nagari of a date earlier than the above mentioned Kanheri inscription? BÜHLER was inclined to suppose that the northern Nagari was in use at least since the beginning of the eighth century⁷ The inscriptions which appear to lend support indirectly to this view form the following series⁸ (i) the Samangaḍ grant⁹ of the Raṣṭra [311] kuṭa Dantidurga (BÜHLER Palæographic Tables Plate IV Col XXII) bearing a date corresponding to A D 754 from Western India (ii) the Dighvā Dubauli plate¹⁰ of Mahendrapala I and (iii) the Bengal Asiatic Society's plate of Vinayakapala¹¹ (of the Imperial Pratihara dynasty) believed by BÜHLER to be dated in the years corresponding to A D 761 and 794-5 respectively from Northern India. We shall presently return to a detailed consideration of the Samāngaḍ grant but let us first examine the characters of the other two records a little more closely It is true enough that we find here distinctly Nagari characteristics e.g. (i) in the above mentioned right angles of *gha* (Pl IV col XXI 10) *pa* (col XXI 27) *ma* (col XXIII 31) *ya* (col XXI XXIII 32) and *ṣa* (col XXIII 37) (ii) in the flat top stroke of *pa* (col XXIII 27) *ma* (col XXIII 31) *ya* (col XXIII 32) *ṣa* (col XXIII 37) and *sa* (col XXIII 38) Of special interest is the form of *ja* (col XVI XXIII 14) In the Dighva Dubauli plate it has entirely lost its original characteristic element of three parallel bars as for instance in the specimen¹² quoted in the immediately preceding column (XX 14) of the same table but in the other grant the transformation is still more striking The lower portion of the letter forms

⁶ I wish to exclude therefrom the sign-manuals or fac-similes of signatures of Gurjara princes on the copper plates of Kaira (of A D 628 and 633) of Dabhoi (A D 642) of Nausari (A D 706) and of Kavi (A D 736) appended to texts written in a southern alphabet. From these royal sign-manuals it does not necessarily follow that the alphabet in question was used at that period commonly for epigraphic purposes.

⁷ BÜHLER *op cit* p 51

⁸ The earliest of these is dated A D 754 But BÜHLER argued that as an inscription from the Kanarese country viz the Paṭṭadkal pillar inscription of Kirtivarman II (*Epigraphia Indica* Vol 3 pp 1 ff) which was caused to be inscribed by a Brahman from Northern India shows the mixture of the Nagari and acute angled letters, we could assume the use of Nagari since the beginning of the eighth century For my part I must say I have not been able to trace any Nagari letters in this inscription

⁹ Edited by FLEET *Indian Antiquary* Vol 11 p 106

¹⁰ See FLEET *Indian Antiquary* Vol 15 p 106

¹¹ *Indian Antiquary* Vol 15 p 140

¹² Multā plates see FLEET *Indian Antiquary* Vol 18 p. 231

a clearly developed double curve, while the (originally horizontal) middle bar is all but vertical

Now with regard to these alleged specimens of early Nagari the following is to be noted. As far as the alphabet of the Dighva Dubauli plate is concerned the term Nāgari seems to me to be applied to it with doubtful propriety.¹³ BÜHLER has classed it rightly as an instance of the acute-angled variety.¹⁴ The absence of the covering stroke in *gha* (col XXI 10) *pa* (col XXI 27) *ma* (col XXI 31) *ya* [312] (col XXI 32) *ṣa* (col XXI 37) and *sa* (col XXI 38) shows that it has not passed the transition stage while the sporadic acute angles for instance in *ma* (col XXI 31) and perhaps *ṣa* (col XXI 37) entitle it to be considered a phase of the acute-angled alphabet. This is however only a matter of nomenclature. No such doubt can be entertained with regard to the copper plate grant of the Pratihara king Vinayakapala of Mahodaya which is certainly one of the earliest instances (if indeed not the earliest instance) of the use of Nagari forms for epigraphic purposes as far as Northern and Central India are concerned. None the less is the conclusion of BÜHLER regarding the phase marked by these two plates in the evolution of Nagari wrong the reason is that both these records were considerably antedated by him. The mistake lay in the erroneous interpretation put in his time upon the syllables *saṃvatsro* forming part of the date of the record. Here the ligature *tsro* (as was first pointed out by Dr HOERNLE) must be looked upon as consisting of the *t* of *saṃvat* and *sro* which latter apparently stands for the multiplicative factor 100 a conclusion which has now found general acceptance.¹⁵ The numerical symbols thus correspond to the figures 905 and 988 which when referred to the Vikrama era yield the dates A.D. 898 and 931 and therefore, relegate the plates to the end of the ninth and the beginning of the tenth century respectively that is fully 137 years later than the date assigned to them by BÜHLER.

The expunging of these two records from their place at the end of Plate IV of BÜHLER'S Tables has the effect of breaking up the series mentioned above, and with it disappears a solid block of evidence for the supposition that Nagari forms were commonly in use for epigraphic purposes since the beginning of the eighth century. It may be incidentally remarked that even from a consideration of the advanced forms of the plate of Vinayakapala this [313] is a satisfactory conclusion as the latter fits in much better in its

¹³ It is called North Indian Nagari by Dr FLEET *Indian Antiquary* Vol 10 p 106

¹⁴ BÜHLER *op cit* p. 50

¹⁵ An independent proof of the correctness of this view has now been supplied by the date of the newly discovered Partabgarh Ins. noted by Mr D. R. BHANDARKAR in the *Indian Antiquary* Vol 45 (1916) p 122

new place near the Siadoni¹⁶ inscriptions from Central India the dates of which run from A.D. 968 than in juxtaposition with the Multai plates and the Banjaranath¹⁷ inscription. It is however an extremely fortunate circumstance that in this instance the palæographic conclusion finds a substantial corroboration from an independent source of evidence.

But to return to the question of the earliest use of Nagari it may be observed that the alteration in the reading of the date of the plates of the Pratiharas leaves in the main the thesis of BÜHLER untouched for in assigning the earliest known specimen of Nagari to the middle of the eighth century BÜHLER¹⁸ was relying on the Samangaḍ grant¹⁹ of Dantidurga which purports to be dated in the year corresponding to A.D. 754 and it must be admitted that in these plates we find not the slightest trace of the wedge form nor of the acute angles but, on the other hand the frequent use of top strokes (which cover the entire breadth of the letters) and the right angles which as remarked above are so characteristic of Nagari. Moreover as the reading of their date is beyond all doubt certain the existence of these plates is *prima facie* evidence in support of BÜHLER'S view. But on the other hand one cannot entirely ignore the fact that these plates occupy a very isolated position in the progressive development of Nagari. For the next earliest records in which we again find anything like Nagari forms belong to the beginning of the following century viz. the Radhanpur and Vajrapur copper plate grants of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda III issued in the year corresponding to A.D. 808²⁰ but it may be pointed out that in this grant of Govinda III the Nagari characters are used not exclusively as in the alleged grant of Dantidurga [314] but side by side with others which are distinctly acute angled. This distinction is worth noting and I shall shortly have occasion to refer to it again.

As remarked above, there can be no possibility of doubt concerning the reading of the date of the Samangaḍ grant. It is given both in words and numerical figures which tally with each other admirably. But this circumstance does not exclude the possibility that the plates may not actually belong to the year to which they refer themselves and in my opinion the date is too early by at least a hundred years, if not more. It is true that the space of a century often does not make an appreciable difference in palæographic matters. Moreover while tracing the minute changes in the shape of individual letters, even of co-eval documents we are by the nature of the circumstances forced to utilise for purposes of comparison alphabets from whatever locality they happen to be preserved which is not the most satisfactory basis

¹⁶ BÜHLER *op. cit.*, Plate V col VII

¹⁷ BÜHLER *op. cit.* Plate V col I

¹⁸ BÜHLER *op. cit.*, p. 51

¹⁹ *Indian Antiquary* Vol. 11 pp. 106 ff., and facsimile

²⁰ *Indian Antiquary* Vol. 6 p. 59 Vol. 11 p. 158

of comparison. We must further reckon with the personal idiosyncrasies of the engraver which are mostly an indeterminate factor. It is therefore right to add here that the following remarks regarding the age of the Sāmangaḍ grant are made with the diffidence which the circumstances call for.

We shall now turn to the alphabet of this alleged grant of Dantidurga and examine it more minutely with a view to determine the standard of development reached by it. From what I have just said it follows that the best course would have been to select for comparison such documents as belong to the same epoch and are executed in the same part of the country. I should have preferred therefore to cite for comparison two copper plate charters of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇarāja I which have recently been brought to light: the one found at Talegāon (Poona district) has been briefly reviewed in the *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle*, for the year ending March 1910, but the other, found at Bhāṇḍak (Chanda District, Central Provinces), has as yet received no further publicity beyond the bare mention of its discovery. [315] It is regrettable, therefore, that it is not possible to reproduce them here and make them available for the examination of the reader, as no description can adequately take the place of a facsimile. Out of the plates which have already been edited and which lend themselves for use in this connection the Daulatabad plates²¹ of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Śaṅkara gaṇa (dated in the Śaka year 715 corresponding to A.D. 793) are as suitable as any other. When these two sets of plates are placed side by side, it will be noticed at once that there is a wide gap separating their alphabets. The characters of the Sāmangaḍ grant are far in advance of those of the Daulatabad plates, which are executed nearly forty years *later* than the alleged date of the former grant. The difference between them is now the more difficult to explain as the advanced types of the Dighvā Dubaulī and Vināyakaṇḍa plates are no longer available for bridging over the intervening gap.

A comparison between the alphabets of the two plates reveals the following points of difference between them. In place of the covering stroke of the letters *gha*, *pa*, *ma*, *ja* and *ṣa* of the Sāmangaḍ grant we have ornamental protuberances in the other plate. As regards *gha* it is worth noting that an example of the tripartite open form (in line 4, twice) of the Daulatabad plates can be seen in as late a record as the Pehvā Praśasti,²² which is assigned by BÜHLER himself to cir. A.D. 900. Characteristic of a later epoch is the form of *ja* in the Sāmangaḍ grant which originally and even in the Multāī plates (A.D. 708-9) consisted of three nearly parallel bars connected at one end. Subsequent development of the letter is as follows. The lowest bar develops a notch at its free end and the middle inclines downwards. Incidentally it may be observed that this is the form of *ja* in the Bhāṇḍak plate

²¹ Ed. D. R. BHANDARKAR *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. 9 pp. 193 ff., and facsimile.

²² BÜHLER *op. cit.*, Plate V, col. III.

of Kṛṣṇaraja I (A D 772) In the Vinayakapāla plate the notch develops into a curve so that the lower portion of the letter forms a [316] double curve, while the (originally horizontal) middle bar is all but vertical The change is perfectly gradual and is I think, a good index of the age of a document The *ja* of the Daulatabād plates marks an intermediate stage between the two limits the lowest bar is slightly bent backwards while the middle bar, though inclined downwards is near its point of attachment almost horizontal In the Samangad plates however the typical *ja* shows further progress in so far as the lowest bar is bent double while the middle bar is well on its way to become vertical Most noticeable and important are the characteristic acute angles in the Daulatabad plates as for instance in *ma*, *a la* and *sa* In the Samāngaḍ grant on the other hand the acute angles have widened into right angles Thus with respect to the Sāmangaḍ grant the Daulatabad plates of Śankaragaṇa will have to be looked upon as a retrograde type But the latter is no exception in this respect In fact an examination of the hitherto published records of the century intervening between the Samangaḍ grant (alleged date A D 754) and the Kanheri inscriptions (cir A D 850) will prove that it is not possible to produce a single instance of an inscription which is on the same stage of graphic development as the plates of Dantidurga The alphabet of every other inscription of this period will appear archaic or retrograde in comparison with the Samangaḍ grant²

It may be at once admitted that there could be no exception taken to the circumstance that an inscription contains some forms which are slightly more advanced than those of other records of the same or even slightly later period In the above mentioned grants of Govinda III for instance we find side by side types with wedges and those [317] with long covering strokes that is to say a mixture of the acute angled and another more advanced alphabet While on the other hand the Gwalior inscription³ of Bhoja which is roughly fifty years later in date, shows forms which are on the whole acute angled This is quite natural In the case of the Samangaḍ grant however the outstanding consideration for suspecting its authenticity is the circumstance that it contains not merely advanced forms but that these should be used to the entire exclusion of others which must have been current at the epoch The use of the advanced forms is not arbitrary the regularity with which they recur shows that they had become fixed types at the time the document was concocted The consideration that further search may bring

² See for instance KIELHORN *List of Inscriptions of Southern India* Nos. 791 808 809 835 867 In these examples it will be found that the top stroke is attached to the left vertical of the letter and does not cover the entire breadth of it unless the vowel sign is appended to the letter in which case the sign was drawn in continuation of the top stroke Another feature is the sporadic presence of acute angles in the letters *g la pa ma ja* etc

³ BÜHLER *op cit* Plate V col II

to light other records which will supply the missing links seems to me to be a futile consolation. At any rate I should say that an essential preliminary condition for re-establishing the impugned authenticity of this grant will be the actual discovery of a sufficient number of dated records that will supply forms which can bridge over the gulf between the epoch marked by let us say the Multai plates and the Samangad grant. Unless and until evidence of this nature is forthcoming one might in my opinion legitimately doubt if the plates belong to the epoch to which they refer themselves.

Another fact which corroborates the suspicion is the following. It is a matter of common experience that forged plates are generally very inaccurate as regards their orthography. The reason for this may be that the text which was being copied was not familiar to the executors of the forgery. Be that as it may if this be any criterion it will have to be admitted that the Samangad grant stands the test very badly as the text of that record is in a lamentably corrupt condition. Dr FLEET's transcript does not show all the mistakes of the original for instance the very first syllable of the first verse (line 1) Dr FLEET reads as *sa* it is as a matter of fact a clear *sa*. In l 8 the third syllable is *va* Dr FLEET transcribes it with *ti*. But [318] there are worse blunders than these in the text. The half verse beginning with *nitavadhe* etc (l 17) has been mutilated beyond recognition as a comparison with the Bhandak grant of Kṛṣṇaraja will prove.²⁵ But the most significant blunder is the one in the verse beginning with *śrīmad yuiā* (l 16). The first quarter of this verse must in the original have read something like *śrīmad Bhuvagana nama*. The forger having misread the ligature *dbhu* as *dju* must have added conjecturally *ti* after *ta* so as to complete the word *jutali* and then in order to adjust the number of syllabic instants of the quarter proceeded to convert the final *ma* into an *anusvara*. In doing so, however he obliterated completely the word Bhuvagana the name of the queen a word which the writer probably did not know at all. Significant is also the fact that the Samangad grant is the only early Rāṣṭrakūṭa grant, so far discovered in which verses *sabhruiṣbhanga* etc. and *kañciśa* etc. (ll 23 ff) occur in this order elsewhere the latter precedes the former. It is unnecessary however to labour the point any further.

²⁵ *Indian Antiquary* Vol 11 pp 112 ff —

Samangad (Dr FLEET's transcript) —

r āradhe(?)the)mitaśeṣajagatah pal tayati(h)* | Dr FLEET does not translate the dubious *n tatadhemuā* the rest he renders with who protected the expanse of the whole world !

Bhandak plates (verse 12) —

n tatarthamitaśeṣajanatāprārthitayati(m) | Translation (From her he obtained a son) like unto material well being (*artha*) from (ie as a result of) righteous conduct (*n i*) a son who was (as it were) the future (prosperity) prayed for by the whole of mankind

Lastly, I should like to call attention to the use of decimal figures in expressing the date of the Samāṅgaḍ grant. Is this an anachronism? That is no doubt a difficult question to answer. The Sāmāṅgaḍ grant is certainly no longer the earliest known specimen in which the decimal notation comes into use as remarked by Dr FLEET thirty four years ago. But it would be if genuine, still one of the few inscriptions of a date earlier than the ninth [319] century in which decimal notation is used²⁶. As far as the grants of the successors of Dantidurga are concerned, it may be noted that in both the (unpublished) records of Kṛṣṇa I, the Alās plates²⁷ (A D 770) of Yuvarāja Govinda II and all the plates of Govinda III upto the Śaka year 735 (i.e. A D 813) and the majority of his other records²⁸ the date is given merely in words. A noteworthy exception is a record of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kakkaraja of Gujarat of the year A D 757, where the date is expressed both in words and numerical figures. In this instance the symbols which are employed be it remembered are not decimal as in the Sāmāṅgaḍ grant but letter numerals. But with reference to the use of the decimal notation I may add that in view of the mode of dating in the Gurjara inscription²⁹ of the Kalacuri year 346 (A D 594) of the Valabhi inscription³⁰ of the Gupta year 365 (?) (i.e. A D 685?) and some others one might surmise that the Gurjaras and perhaps their neighbours in Gujarāt had adopted the more advanced system of decimal notation much earlier than their contemporaries further south. We know, however, so little definite about the early use of this notation in India that it would be unwise to formulate a solution which happens to suit a particular case. I leave it therefore here as an open question whether we can legitimately assume the prevalence of the use of decimal notation in the heart of the Southern Maratha country as early as the eighth century, especially in epigraphic records which admittedly affected a certain amount of archaism. Worth noting however, is the fact that even to BÜHLER the forms of the numerals in the Samāṅgaḍ grant appeared to be 'strongly modified cursive forms'³¹. But here again we are on shaky ground for want of sufficient material on which to base a definite conclusion.

[320] In this connection one is irresistibly reminded of the Dhūṇika plate³² of Jaikadeva of Saurāṣṭra bearing the date V [79]4 corresponding to A D [73]7. In this instance also the numerals expressing the date are decimal and the alphabet is a well developed form of Nāgarī. The details of the date however, leave (in the concurring judgment of KIELHORN and

²⁶ BÜHLER *op cit* pp 78 f

²⁷ Ed D R BHANDARKAR *Epigraphia Indica* Vol 6 p 209 and plates

²⁸ See KIELHORN *Last of the Inscriptions of Southern India*

²⁹ Ed. DHIRUVA *Epigraphia Indica* Vol 2 pp 19 ff and plate

³⁰ *Journal of the Bengal As Soc* Vol 7 p 968

³¹ BÜHLER *op cit*, p 79

³² *Indian Antiquary* Vol 12, p 155 and plate

Dr FLEET) no doubt as to its being a forgery³³ It is unfortunate, therefore that the details of the date of the Samāṅgaḍ grant are not capable of verification

Taking all things into consideration the balance of evidence points in my opinion, strongly to the conclusion expressed above, viz that the Samāṅgaḍ grant is spurious This conclusion if granted, would have the important result of taking the epoch of the use of Nāgarī in epigraphic documents forward by at least a hundred years. For, as remarked above, if we leave out of consideration the Samāṅgaḍ grant, the next earliest inscriptions which are written throughout in Nāgarī are the Kanheri inscriptions of the Śilahāra princes Pullaśakti and Kapardin II These nearly co-eval inscriptions exhibit the regular use of top strokes covering the entire breadth of the letters as well as rectangles (as opposed to the wedges and acute angles) in *gha* (BÜHLER'S Palaeographic Tables Plate V, col V, 13), *pa* (col V, 30), *ya* (col V, 35), *ṣa* (col V, 40) and *sa* (col V, 41) The Rādhapur and Vanī plates of Govinda III, which contain a mixture of both the acute angled and transition types, appear now in a different light. They do not represent a retrograde movement but a progressive one. Preceding as they do by about fifty years the earliest known inscriptions in which Nāgarī forms are exclusively employed, they represent a true transition stage

As the outcome of the analysis here undertaken we arrive at the following conclusion. The very earliest dated inscriptions hitherto known which are written throughout in Nāgarī characters are the inscriptions (cir A.D. 850) of [321] the Śilahāra princes from the Kanheri Caves in Western India These show (i) the top-stroke covering the entire breadth of the letter, and (ii) rectangular corners. Transition stages leading upto these forms have been already discussed In these the top stroke never covers the entire breadth of the letters, while some characters retain their former acute angles, the form of *ja* is also a significant index The subsequent course of the development of Nāgarī in Western India can be traced with the help of the below noted inscriptions of the Rāstrakūṭas of Mālikhed and Lāṭa belonging to the period cir A.D. 850-950 A minute examination of these records will also provide further support to the inference that the Kanheri inscriptions should be placed at the middle point of the evolution of the Nāgarī out of the acute-angled alphabet. Following are the inscriptions above referred to

1 KIELHORN'S Southern List No 77 Śaka 789 (A.D. 867) The Bāgumā plates of the Mahāsīmantadhupati Dhruvarāja II—Dhruvarāja Nirupama of Gujaraṭ—regarding the alphabet of which BÜHLER remarks

³³ See references under KIELHORN'S List of the Inscriptions of Southern India No 8.

(*Ind. Ant* Vol 12, p 181) that the letters resemble those of the Sāmāṅgaḍ plates

2 Ibid No 81, Śaka 810 (A.D 888) The Bagumrā plate of the feudatory Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇarāja Akālavarṣa of Gujārāt In this instance the top stroke covers the entire breadth of the letter, and rectangular corners are prominent

3 Ibid Nos 86 87 Śaka 836 (A.D 914) The Bāgumrā plates of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Mahārājādhirāja Indra III Here the development of Nāgarī along the two main lines indicated above is completed

4 Ibid No 91, Śaka 852 (A.D 930) The Cambay plates of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Mahārājādhirāja Govinda IV This superbly engraved record may be looked upon as a standard to which the Nāgarī of the tenth century was tending

5 Ibid No 92, Śaka 855 (A.D 933) The Sangli plates of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Mahārājādhirāja Govinda IV the characters of which are of the same type as the Bagumra inscriptions of Indra III

6 Ibid No 94, Śaka 867 (A.D 945) The Sāloṅgi (Bijāpur District) pillar inscription of the reign of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III, Akālavarṣa The forms are perhaps somewhat more archaic than those of the plates mentioned above

Additional reference will be found in BÜHLER'S *Indische Palaeographie*, p 51

So much for the earliest use of Nāgarī in Western India Regarding its use in Northern India, I should like to add the following observation which arises directly out of a fact noted above BÜHLER'S mislection of the date of the Vināyakapāla plate, as we have seen, led him into an error regarding the period at which this alphabet became an epigraphic alphabet in Northern India Having thus erroneously dated this instance of the use of Nāgarī in A.D 794-5 he found that the succeeding that is the ninth, century was practically bare of Nāgarī inscriptions and had to admit that it was not till the middle of the tenth century that this alphabet comes again into general use in that part of India BÜHLER was I think, substantially right in saying that in Northern and Central India the Nāgarī appears first in the copper plate grant of Vināyakapāla, but that event has to be dated in A.D 931 It remains to determine the transitional stages during the latter part of the ninth and beginning of the tenth century, but it would appear as if there are no Nāgarī inscriptions belonging to the eighth or even the early part of the ninth century from Northern India

XI—PROGRESS REPORT OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA, WESTERN CIRCLE, 1916-17*

PART IV

EXPLORATION

SIROHI STATE

1 At the instance of Mr BHANDARKAR I resumed during the last cold season the work of preparing an inventory of the ancient monuments of Rajputana where it had been left by him in 1911. I had mapped out a programme for a five months tour of exploration through Rajputana. I intended spending the first two months of the tour in visiting the places of antiquarian interest in the Sirohi State and then devoting the remaining three months to exploring Jasvantpura Jalor Jaitaran Sojat and a number of other districts of Jodhpur a list of which was kindly placed at my disposal by Mr BHANDARKAR. Unfortunately the tour had to be cut down considerably as on account of pressure of work at the headquarters I could devote barely three months to exploration work. I was not able to leave Poona before the beginning of December 1916 and I was recalled again in the first week of March 1917. As the whole of this period—with two brief interruptions—was taken up with Sirohi itself the rest of the programme had to be abandoned.

2 Though Sirohi had been visited twice already by Mr BHANDARKAR my object in placing this State first on the list was to fill up the *lacunae* in our collection of the inscriptions of the Paramaras of Abu most of which may add are located within the confines of the Sirohi State. The project was completely successful. And we have now in our office an entire set of the inscriptions of this dynasty accessible in Sirohi. With the material I have collected this season along with that which was already on record in this office, it is possible to reconstruct a skeleton of the history of this family of Rajput chiefs from the middle of the eleventh century to about the middle of the fourteenth century A.D. a subject which I intend making the theme of an article for the Director General's *Annual of Archaeology*.

3. The most notable discovery of this year's touring through the Sirohi State must be called the marble temple at Varman dedicated to the Sun god which can easily rank as one of the oldest Surya temples now standing. This monument is interesting alike from an architectural and iconographic point of

view, and, though in a state of advanced ruin is pre eminently deserving of preservation. It is therefore to be wished that the Sirohī Darbār be approached to take the requisite steps towards the conservation of this highly interesting relic of the past and look to its being kept in permanent good repair.

OR.

4 The first village to be visited was Or—the Ur of maps—three miles due north east of Kharāḍī (Ābū Road). Besides the temple of Viṣṇu along with its subsidiary shrines standing on a high platform, the village contains a Jain temple, now dedicated to Pārsvanātha. Both are of a comparatively modern date and from the architectural point of view devoid of interest. The temple of Viṭhālī is a triple shrine, that is, a shrine consisting of three cells in a row. The middle cell contains an image of Viṣṇu, locally called Viṭhālī, while the other two contain Śiva Liṅgas. Although this composite structure forms a single temple now, there can be no doubt that originally there stood in its place two separate small shrines at some distance from each other, which, at a subsequent period, were connected together by erecting side walls so as to form a third central cell. The so-formed triple shrine was then provided with a common closed *maṇḍapa* the outer wall of which is pierced by a finely carved doorway of marble. On the dedicatory block of the lintel is sculptured a figure seated in the conventional attitude of meditation. The superior workmanship of this member, which distinguishes it sharply from other parts of the temple building betrays its extraneous origin and places it in a class with those superbly carved fragments which one notices round about the village of Chandravatī and which are the sole material remains of the once flourishing capital of the Paramaras of Arbuda maṇḍala. On a pilaster of one of the side cells of the triple shrine is engraved an inscription (in a local dialect) dated in V 1589 Bhādrapada sudi 11, recording a money grant to the shrine, from which it follows that the latter was in existence before that date. The outer walls of the central shrines are pierced by niches which hold various Brahmanical deities. Worthy of note are the well-carved alto-relievos [60] of Lakulīṣa and Śiva (Photo Nos 4578 9) placed in the niches in the walls of the shrine on the right. The nature of the object held in the lower right hand of the latter image (Photo No 4579) is not evident at first, but a little reflection will suffice to convince one that it can be nothing else than a begging bowl. The image is carved out of the same kind of stone as the building material, the decorative elements of the niche are also in entire agreement with the style of architecture of the temple. There is therefore, no reason to doubt that the image is contemporaneous with and forms an integral part of the original fane. It was stated above that associated with the triple shrine there were smaller shrines standing on the same platform (Photo No 4577). These contain marble or stone images of Sūrya, Viṣṇu-Chaturbhūja and Śiva and Parvatī. Near the western edge of the

platform lies a fragment of the arch of a *torana* sculptured on both sides the centre of which is occupied by the seated figure of the four armed Śiva as Yogindra. The lower pair of hands are folded together in the lap while the uplifted hands hold a trident and skull. This fragment bears a striking resemblance to the corresponding portion of a *torana* standing amid the group of temples on the bank of the well known Mandakini Kund at Achalgad. The only objectives worthy of notice in the local Jain temple are the two inscriptions dated V 1242 engraved on the base of the images of *diarapulas* which flank the doorway of the closed hall. They contain a village name Odagrama which is undoubtedly identical with that of the village under description. It thus appears that since the twelfth century the village has continued to be known under the name Od or Or. It also follows from the record that formerly the temple was dedicated to Mahavira.

GIRVAR

5 Retracing our steps we turned westward in the direction of Girvar which is eight miles due north west of Abu Road. Girvar is noted for its ancient Vishnu temple of Paṭ Narayana a name which imports as much sanctity as that of any temple on Mount Abu. Mr BHANDARKAR has already done justice to the antiquities of Girvar in the *Progress Report* for the year ending March 1907 and in particular to the two inscriptions (Inscr Nos 2737 8) one of which throws a flood of light on the obscure history of the Paramaras who held sway over the country round Abu. We might therefore pass on to the consideration of a site (Photo No 4581) from which there has been recently unearthed among other things a large Śva Linga and pedestal. The massive dimensions of these objects of Śva worship may be gathered from the following figures. The diameter of the *pindī* is 15 while across the *yoni* the diameter measures nearly 3 10' the height of the *pindī* above the *yoni* is 20' but above ground level its height must have measured as much as 3 6. As remarked above the whole of this massive Linga was buried under a mass of debris leaving only a portion of the polished edge of the *pindī* exposed to view. The curiosity of the villagers at first actuated I suppose by the evident traces of the ruin of a temple building with which the site abounds led them to dig around the exposed edge of the *pindī*. Great was their surprise when they lighted upon this Linga. Shortly after the discovery of the latter a well preserved sculpture of Nandin was exhumed. These are clear traces of there having stood on this spot a Śiva temple the antiquity of which is attested by the massive proportions of the Linga and the style of decoration of the mutilated members that are lying around in abundance. These fragments are mostly well-carved and very carefully finished. The Linga, we are told has not been moved. And as the *pranalika* (water channel) points regularly to the north it is possible that the Linga is even now nearly *in situ*. In the close vicinity of the site of

this ruin stands a brick structure which attracted our attention by the large size of its bricks. They measure on an average $16'' \times 10\frac{1}{2}'' \times 2\frac{1}{4}''$. Of the same size are the bricks of a face of a wall exposed to view during the excavations carried out by the villagers which from its position appears to have been the retaining wall of the plinth of the old Śiva temple. The above mentioned brick structure serves now to shelter a number of idols of Brahmanical goddesses, such as Kālī, Indrānī, Brahmānī and others. It is not clear what sort of a *sikhara* the Śiva temple had, if, indeed it did have one, for, although I closely examined the exposed fragments, I found nothing which could with certainty be looked upon as having formed a part of [61] the spire. It might have been worth while exploring systematically the site, which within a circumference of about 80 or 90 feet from the Linga is studded with brick bats and broken members of buildings. It is therefore, a great pity that the villagers have already set about building a temple in which to enshrine the Svayambhū Śiva () on the very spot where the Linga was unearthed thus obliterating all traces of the older temple.

DATANĪ

6 Our next halt was at Datānī a village situated 6 miles north west of Girvar. Datānī is believed to be the scene of the battle fought in V 1640 between Mahārāo Surtan of Sirohī and Emperor Akbar, in which the Mahārāo was victorious. There are three temples in the village, none of which contains any feature of architectural note. But the local Śiva temple of Siddheśvara contains a sculptured memorial stone which on examination, turned out to be the record of a dread rite called *kamal pūjā* performed by one Suja in this very temple in V 1688 Phalgunā sudi 2. The sculpture above the inscription represents the figures of a man and his wife standing side by side with hands folded together in an attitude of worship. It appears that the *kamal pūjā* culminated in the offering of the worshipper's own head which was severed by a crescent shaped instrument specially devised for the purpose. The widow of this martyr immolated herself at the same time on his funeral pile. The motive of the suicide is not stated.

MAKĀVAL

7 While at Datānī we secured impressions of an inscription (No 2739) of the Paramāra Dhārāvarsha, the importance of which will be made clear presently. The inscription is engraved on a plain octagonal monolith of marble, about eight feet in height, standing on the brink of a small pond three miles due north-west of Datānī. The name of the adjoining village is Makāval. There is no other monument in sight, the pillar stands by itself. The inscription is dated V 1276 Śrāvaṇa sudi 3 Monday. The stone is unfortunately very much the worse for weather action and the inscription is barely legible, and so the purport of the record cannot be made out. Clear, however, are the names of Dhārāvarshadeva and his capital of Chandrāvātī which datā

enable us to ascribe the record to the time of the Paramara Dharāvarsha, son of Yasodhavalā. The Vikrama year in which the record is dated viz., 1276 becomes thus highly important, for this is the latest year so far found for Dhārāvarsha. His earliest record the one from Kayadra (Sirohi State) is dated in V 1220 and as this one bears the date V 1276 it follows that his rule extended over the somewhat prolonged period of 56 years if not more. It is unnecessary to point out the importance of this piece of information in the matter of settling the chronology of the Paramaras.

8 During the Christmas holidays I visited the Dilvaḍa temples on Mount Ābū and drew up notes on the work of repair going on there, for the guidance of the Superintendent in anticipation of his annual visit of inspection which had necessarily to be of very short duration as he was at that time busy excavating in Sind and had very little time to attend to work elsewhere.

NITORA

9 About four miles to the north west of Roheḍa Station is situated the village of Nitorā which contains several temples, of which only two are deserving of special notice, and they are the shrine of Sūrya and the temple of Parsvanatha. The former faces the east and stands along with several other shrines inside an enclosed court. Inside the cella there are two marble images standing on an elevated platform one of them is Surya wearing Hessian boots, and the other, small in size, is the image of a two-armed goddess. In one hand she holds a lotus and in the other an object which looks like a *kalasa*. On account of the absence of any distinguishing vehicle as also the paucity of symbols it is difficult to identify the goddess. But there can be no doubt that she is in some way associated with Surya (and may be even the Śakti of Sūrya) for, the images exhibit similar decorative details, the same stiff attitude, in fact, the same technique throughout. It is worth noting that the legs of the goddess are represented as slightly bent at the knee as though she were about to kneel. In the centre of [62] the small porch of this temple is a kind of a *chaumukh* stand bearing on its top a polished circular slab of stone (Photo No 4582). A curious aspect of the orientation of the square pedestal is that its corners point to the cardinal directions. At Vāsa about a mile and half to the north-east of Roheḍā there is a large Sūrya temple, in the porch of which is placed a similar *chaumukh* stand, but the latter culminates in a flat full blown lotus. In the Indian Museum Calcutta there are I understand two or three such pedestal with full blown lotus on top. But in our specimen it is impossible to think that the circular disc above alluded to stands for a lotus. We must look for its explanation in some other attribute of Sūrya. It will be remembered that the car of Surya has only one wheel, in fact, *ekachakra* is one of the epithets of the Sun god. Such being the case I see no reason why the un-

decorated flat disc should not be looked upon as an emblem of the vehicle (*āhara*) of Surya (like Garuḍa of Viṣṇu and the Nandin of Śiva) which is in fact nothing more or less than the visible disc of the luminary—The only other temple in Nitara that is worthy of special mention is the temple of Parsvanātha. The cella contains the typical marble image of a Jain *tirthamkara*. But it is doubtful whether this image was originally meant to be one of Parsvanatha for the emblem engraved on its pedestal is not a serpent as is to be expected in the case of Parsvanatha but a wheel which latter by the way finds no mention at all in the canonical list of emblems of the four and twenty *tirthamkaras*. In the south west corner of the enclosed aisle is a marble image with protuberant belly. Locally the image is known under the name Babāji. On the *mukuta* of the figure is carved a representation in miniature of a seated *tirthamkara*. The inscription on the base which reads

- (1) Samvat 1491 varshe Vatsakha sudī 2 Guru dine
(2) *Yaksha bala ki murtiḥ* *subham bhuvataḥ ||*

shows that it is the representation of a Yaksha an attendant of Kubera. The image has four hands in the uplifted right he holds trident in the lower right rosary while in the uplifted left there is a *pasa* (noose) and in the corresponding lower hand *kamandalu* (water pot)

KOJRA

10 Our next halt was at Kojra which is situated about 10 miles due north-east of Nitara. Opposite the Jain temple of Sambhavanatha stands the inscribed slab conveying the gift of the village to the Purohita of the royal household. The record belongs to the reign of the Chohan (*Devaḍa*) king Surataṇa and is dated on the 9th of Ashāḍha vadī V 1634. It states that the gift was made at the request of Dharabai the queen dowager. In the middle of the village stands a temple of Viṣṇu locally known as Paraśurama which is highly popular with the Kumbhars (potters). We were in fact told by a local Bhaṭ that the temple was built in V 900 by a Kumbhar. Although the chronicle may be right as regards the caste (i.e. profession) of the builder of the temple the style of the architecture does not support the claim to the alleged antiquity. I was interested to know what sort of image they make of Paraśurama and so visited the temple early in the morning in order to inspect the god while he was being bathed as that is the only occasion on which the image is undraped. It was disappointing to find that the so-called Paraśurama was no other than the four armed Viṣṇu Chaturbhujā—Close by this temple standing on an eminence is the Jain temple dedicated to Sambhavanatha. The oldest portion of the structure dates probably from the twelfth century but many additions and alterations have been made in the intervening period. Even now the temple is undergoing elaborate renovation at the hands of the local Bania community. The

image which at present finds itself in the main shrine is undoubtedly that of Sambhavanatha as the *laichhana* on the base of the image is a horse and thus the temple is rightly called the temple of Sambhavanatha. But an inscription engraved on a pillar of the *gudhamandapa* tells a different story. Only two lines of the inscription (No 2740) are now visible from under the coat of *chunam* with which the pillar has in recent times been covered and they are

- 1 [Sam]vat 1224 Śravaṇa vadī 14[Some]
- 2 Śrī Parasva natha deīa chaite Rana Patā

As there is every reason to believe that the pillar is *in situ* it follows that the temple was originally consecrated to Pārsvanatha.

[63] BAMANVARJĪ

11 Ten miles from Kojra and nearly as far from Sirohi lies the popular *tirtha* of Bamanvarjī which attracts pilgrims not only from all over Sirohi but even from other states of Rajputanā. The group of temples stands at the foot of one of the small hillocks which lie along the main road between Sirohi and Pindvada. A high wall encloses the temples and the secular buildings built all around for the convenience of the pilgrims. The main temple, which is dedicated to Mahavira locally called Bamanvarjī belongs probably to the 14th or 15th century but it has undergone extensive additions and alterations in the interval. The *pūjari* has a fable—too fantastic to be repeated here—to tell in explanation of the word Bamanvarjī. But in older inscriptions the place-name occurs as Bambhanavadaagrama containing the element *vad(a)* which occurs at the end of so many other place-names e.g. Anhilvad, Dilvad etc. Curiously enough, in the heart of this sanctum dedicated to Jain worship a Śiva Linga also finds a place, and from all accounts has occupied that place from time immemorial. Within recent years the Jain community had attempted to oust this emblem of Śiva but its restoration was speedily brought about, we were told by a royal mandate. From an architectural point of view the temple is unimportant. An inscription (No 2742) on the architrave of one from the row of small shrines that surround the courtyard records the dedication of that shrine in V 1519 by a Pragvaja (Porvad) Bania living in Viravataka. This village is to be identified with Viravada (Birwara of Quarter Sheet 20 S. E.) situated a mile to the north west of Bamanvarjī. In the same inscription the *tirtha* itself is called *Bramhanavada grama mahasthana*—In the south west corner of the enclosure of the temple there is a small shrine dedicated to Mahadeva. Outside the shrine stands an inscribed stone (Inscr No 2743) built into the outer wall of the shrine. The edges of the stone are chipped and its lower portion is also damaged. In places the hollows have been filled in with cement. The record which is short, is dated in V 1249 (A.D. 1192) and refers itself to the reign

of the Paramāra king Dhāravarsha I have alluded to, inscriptions of this ling dated in V 1220 and 1276. The inscription in Bāmanvārjī gives us thus only an intermediate date. The stone being highly weather worn, the contents of the record could not be made out satisfactorily. The language appears to be a local dialect. The name Bambhanavāḍa grāma is clearly discernible, and thus probably the record is one of a gift either to this temple or some other temple in this village. The inscription begins as follows —

(1 1) Om Samvat 1249 varashe Śrī Dhatā[va*]rsha sam[rā]je

Bambha

(1 2) *navada grāme*

BALDA

12. From Bāmanvārjī we had intended to proceed directly to Śirohī. But on receiving intimation that Balda, a village only six miles away, contained a very old Jain temple we turned away from our objective and made a *detour* of a couple of miles in order to visit Balda. Great was our disappointment when on arriving there we found that the very old Jain temple of which we were told was a temple of the 14th or 15th century with no pretensions to architectural interest. The temple stands on a high platform and consists of the main shrine, a large hall and an enclosed aisle of cells which latter are empty. The main shrine contains an image of Mahāvīra installed in V 1697. The temple is however, much older than the image, for, in the inscription (No 2744) engraved on the lintel of the door opening into the cella it is recorded that in V 1493 Jyeshtha sudi 7 Monday Guṇa bhadra renovated the temple built by his ancestor Baladeva. Also at the same time an image of Mahāvīra was installed there. The sum needed for getting the image made was subscribed by several pious Jains whose names are also recorded in the inscription.

SIROHI

13. At Sirohī we made a short halt in order to lay in a store of provisions in anticipation of our protracted sojourn in comparatively wild tracts and also in connection with certain slight differences that had arisen in our dealings with the local authorities and that were happily adjusted through the kind mediation of the Dewan Sāheb. While there I wanted to inspect the Vasantagaḍh inscription of Purnapala (dated V 1099) which was removed from its find place and brought [64] to Sirohī for safe keeping. However as no one at the Darbar knew where it had since been housed I had to abandon the pursuit in exchange of a promise on the part of the Secretary to the Musāheb Alā to make further enquiries and let me know.

KOLAR

14. At the foot of the eastern mountain range running from Sirohī northwards lie to the east of the cart track the remains of the old township

of Kolar (about five miles due north-east of Sirohī) which is all but deserted now. At present the only habitation there is that of the family of the *bujārī* attached to the temple of Ādinātha and a few Banias. The temple has been restored in recent times by the Jain community of Palādī, which lies about five miles further north. It possesses no architectural features of note. Those of the images in the temple that bear dedicatory inscriptions date from the 18th or 19th century of the Vikrama Era. Worthy of notice is the sculptured Makrānā lintel (Photo No 4583) of the central bay of the pillared corridor adjoining the *sabhāmandapa* on the side of the entrance door of the temple. On this architrave is carved in high relief the pictorial representation of a legend, probably from the life of a Jaina *tīrthamkara*, the full significance of which, however, is not evident. In the left corner of the sculpture is represented a queen reclining on a canopied couch. Then follow in succession from left to right the following fourteen objects—elephant, bull, *śārdūla* (or horse), Gaja lakshmi (with elephants), an unintelligible symbol, the Sun and Moon, *ankuśa*, *kalaśa*, walled town, river (to be identified by the fish and tortoises swimming in its water), temple, *śahasra lūga*, and lastly *ratha*. The connection between these fourteen objects and the sleeping queen is elucidated by the following legend in Nāgarī characters of the 12-15th century engraved in the left corner of the sculpture—*Mahārājñī Uśālādevī caturdaśa śvapnāni paśyati* : 'Mahārājñī Uśālādevī dreams fourteen dreams'. The space above this picture is carved with a design of pointed leaves separated by ornamental chains of beads. On the soffit of the architrave is sculptured a row of rosettes arranged in narrow panels. This odd architrave of marble has been undoubtedly imported from the ruins of an older temple. It may be noted that Makrānā does not otherwise come into use in the construction of the temple under description—Kolar might have been a big sized town at one time. Prominent among the ruins are the dilapidated remains of the bastions and buttressed walls of a disused fort which overlooks the village from the crest of the adjoining hill.

PALADĪ

15 Pālādī is a large village situated about ten miles to the north-east of Sirohī. My object in making a halt in Pālādī was to secure impressions of an important Chāhamāna inscription from the local temple of Mahāvīra, an inscription which by virtue of its position is a piece of direct evidence of the gradual encroachment of the Chāhamānas of Mārvār into the territory of the Paramāras of 'Abū in the beginning of the 13th century A.D. The temple is in religious occupation of the community. It faces the north and consists of a *gūḍha*- and *sabhāmandapa*, an elaborate porch, and an enclosed aisle of cells, some of which contain images of *tīrthamkaras*. The *sabhāmandapa* has a domical ceiling supported as usual on an octagon of pillars. Between the monolithic shaft and the capital is inserted a short length of

ornamental necking consisting of a fluted vase resting on a fluted cushion in order to secure the requisite height (Photo No 4584) Seven of the pillars are inscribed with short records giving the name (or names as the case may be) of the donor who contributed the sum needed for erecting the column. All the inscriptions (Nos. 2745—50) are dated on the same day, viz., Friday *Aṣṭādha vadi 1* in V. 1248. In the *gūḍhamandapa* there is a marble image of standing *dvārapāla* on either side of the shrine door, and smaller images of *tirthamkaras* are placed in the niches of the eastern and western walls of the main shrine. The inscription (No 2751) for which we came here is engraved on a stone of the outside wall near the porch of the temple. It is dated in V 1249 *Mūgha sudī 10* Thursday and refers itself to the reign of *Mahārājādhrāja Śrī Kelhaṇadeva* and his son *Jayatasīha deva*. It also mentions the latter's chief minister *Vilhaṇa* and another person named *Rāja deva*, son of *Sū(Bhū?)madeva* who was in some way related to *Jayatasīha's* minister [65]. The abraded condition of the stone leaves unclear what it was that *Rājadeva* did to this temple of *Mahāvira*. The king *Mahārājādhrāja Kelhaṇadeva*, to whose reign the record refers itself, is undoubtedly the *Chāha māna Kelhaṇa* son of *Alhaṇa* whose capital was at *Naḍol* (*Naḍḍūla*). *Pandit Gunshankar* in his *Hindi history of Sirohī (Sirohī rājya ka Itihāsa* p 56 footnote) gives the date of this record as V 1239. This is, however, a mislection as the details of the date (which were kindly verified for me by my learned friend *Dewān Bahādur Swamī Kannu PILLAI*) are correct only for the year V 1249 and not for V 1239. The date thus corresponds to Thursday, 14th January, A.D. 1193. As the name of the *Yuvarāja* is mentioned in the record along with that of his father, it is possible that the *Yuvarāja* had been enjoying the country around *Palaḍī* as his *bhukti*. The real importance of the inscription lies however, in the conclusion deducible from it that even before the end of the twelfth century the *Chāhamānas* had penetrated into the kingdom of the *Paramāras* as far as *Palaḍī* which is not more than forty miles direct distance from *Chandrāvati* the capital of the *Paramāras*.

VAGIN

16 From *Palaḍī* we visited *Vāgin* which is about a mile away from the former village. The two *Jaina* temples of *Vāgin* stand side by side on an eminence surrounded by a high walled enclosure. One of these temples is consecrated to *Ādinātha* and the other to *Śantunātha*. The plan of both is exactly alike, the temple of *Ādinātha* is however slightly larger than the other. The exterior of the temples is devoid of ornamentation excepting a narrow horizontal band decorated with lozenge shaped leaves. Originally the temple of *Ādinātha* which may roughly be attributed to the 12th or 13th century, appears to have consisted only of the shrine *gūḍhamandapa* and porch. At some subsequent period the porch was extended by the addition

Chohān king of that name, son of Chāchigadeva. The date of the inscription is as remarked above, the latest hitherto known date of Sāmvatasiṃha. Unfortunately the stone is highly abraded and the inscription is to a great extent illegible, though it seems almost certain that the record consists chiefly of an inventory of a large number of donations made to this Śiva temple by various persons at the same time. Both the Jain temple (Photo No 4585) and the temple of Ūthamesar (Photo No 4586) must be anterior to the inscriptions found there. The massive torus mouldings and the width of these and the other horizontal courses point to the 10th or 11th century as the period of their construction. The curvilinear *śikhara* of the Mahādeva temple is made of brick and has been roughly plastered over in recent years. The diaper relieving the outer walls of the shrine is preserved and, though simple in pattern, is executed with clearness and decision. In the Jain temple the torus moulding is somewhat more slender than in the other specimen, and the former temple may perhaps on that account be attributed to a slightly later period.

RARABAR

18 Midway between Palaḍī and Rārabar, which is two miles east of Pālādī are to be seen on the bank of the river Sukṭī two small Śiva temples. A high wall surrounds the platform on which they stand. The locality is known as Pāṃch devaḷī. The name would lead us to expect a group of five temples at that place. And in fact we are told that at one time some more shrines had stood there, some of which were carried away during the inundations of the river. However that may be, there are only the two above named fanes to be seen there now. Above the doorway of one of the shrines there is an inscription dated in the V 1231 referring itself to the reign of [the Chāhamāna] *Mahāśajadluraja* Kelhanadeva—At some small distance from Rārabar, lying in the folds of the mountains is a shrine dedicated to Mahādeva known by the name of Gangūpiyā. At the annual *mela* of this temple the Bhūts and Menas of the neighbourhood assemble in large numbers make a confession of all their misdoings of the previous year before the Great God and lay down at the same time a portion of the spoils at the God's feet. And woe betide him who hides a secret guilt at this confession, for he lives not to see the year out! The confession is meant only for the ears of the God and no royal official dares to disturb the sinners in the midst of this confidential interview. So we were told by the *pūjari* of the Pāṃch devaḷī shrines.

LĀS.

19 Our next halt was at Lās about ten miles due north west of Palaḍī with which we reached the northernmost point of our tour. In Lās there are altogether five temples—two Jain and three Hindu. None of them show any architectural features of note. One of the Jain temples dedicated to

size. The curvilinear *sikhara* of the central shrine is larger than those of the side shrines. In the middle cell there is an undated image; but the image of Sūrya (on the left) and that of Viṣṇu (on the right) in the other shrines are both dated in the year 1741 and refer to the reign of Verisāla [Vairisāla] I, chief of Sirohī. The temple is built out of odd members belonging to other and older temples. A low parapet runs round the platform on which the shrine stands. The skew brackets embedded in the front wall of the shrine indicate that the open space in front was intended to be covered by a domical roof. The niches at the back of the temple contain images of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and the Sun; those of Gaṇeśa and the Sun are placed in the niches of the lateral walls. Lying near the parapet adjoining the shrine of Viṣṇu I noticed a low marble stool, polyhedral in section, about a foot in height and eighteen inches in diameter. The sides are covered with a bold diaper-pattern and the top is carved in the form of a conventional lotus. It is the lotus emblematic of the Sun-god.

21. From Gol we moved to Jāvāl (Zawal of Quarter-Sheet 20 S. E.) and from there we visited Deldar and Maṇḍvariā. But none of these places contains anything worthy of notice. *En route* from Jāvāl to Sanvādā we halted at the village of Kālandrī about six miles south-west of Jāvāl. Besides a modern temple of Viṣṇu there is at Jāvāl a Jain temple dedicated to Mahāvīra, of perhaps the fourteenth century. In the main shrine of this temple there is placed a sculptured panel representing in high relief a worshipper (*upāsaka*) in the act of feeding a pigeon, a representation which has probably reference to some incident in the life of a *tirthaṅkara*. Worthy of note is the short record of four lines below the sculpture, which is an unequivocal testimony of the prevalence of religious suicide in the fourteenth century. The inscription, which is dated V. 1389 Phālguna-sudi 8 Monday, records that on that day the whole of the Saṃgha committed suicide by abstaining from food (*ṇaśanena divaṇ gataḥ*). The names of the prominent members of the Saṃgha who immolated themselves in this way are given. The name of the village is given as Kālandrahī.

22. At Sanvādā about fifteen miles due south of Kālandrī we halted in order to visit the neighbouring villages of Tokarā, Asāvā, and Devakhetaṛ, the antiquities of which will now be described in succession.

TOKARA.

23. Tokarā, which lies about two miles to the south east of Sanvādā, cannot now boast of more than a few isolated huts of shepherds, though at one [68] time it must have been a large flourishing village. On the brink of the rivulet that streams through the hamlet, stands on a natural elevation a neglected group of shrines, the principal one of which is dedicated to the Sōnādhārī Mahādeva. In the south-west corner of the courtyard stands a dilapidated little shrine consisting of a cella and porch (Photo No. 4590).

On the architrave of the door frame is sculptured the image of Ganapati. The curvilinear *sikhara* of stone is ornamented with a design of elongated horse shoe shaped *chaitya* windows. The finely carved *amalaka* is entire and in position. The shrine is empty and serves as a store room for chunam. On the left door jamb of the sanctum is engraved the following inscription (No. 2763)

- 1 Samvatu 1232 Phāguna vadi 6
- 2 *deva pratishtā Rāo Vijadū karā-*
- 3 *pitā*

It thus attributes the "establishment of the god" in that shrine to one Rāo Vijadū. Now, among the places of antiquarian interest described in his Hindi '*History of Sirohi*,' Pandit Gaurishankar OJHA has included Ṭokarā. There Pandit Gaurishankar speaks of a short record incised on a pillar of a shrine situated in the enclosure above alluded to. The inscription, he says, is dated V 1333 Phālguna vadi 6 and adds that the shrine was built by Rāva Bijada, the Chāhamāna king of that name. The Pandit proceeds to conclude from this that previous to the said year, viz., V 1333, the Devadās (the Chāhamāna family to which the present rulers of Sirohi belong) must have extended their sway as far as Mount Ābū, evidently because (as he imagines) the Chohān (Devadā) king Bijad had erected a shrine at Ṭokarā. It will be noticed that all the details of the inscription described by Pandit Gaurishankar agree with those given above by me except in the matter of the reading of the year. The date as given by the Pandit is 1333, while I have no doubt that the inscription I found on the very same spot bears the date 1232. This is a serious discrepancy, what might be possible in 1333 is certainly not possible in 1232. Moreover, assuming for the sake of argument that the year as given by Gaurishankar is correct even then the absence of any royal title (such as *Mahārāja* or *Yuvarāja*, etc.) coupled with the name of the donor, would be, I think, a serious objection to any attempt at identifying Rāo Bijadu of the inscription with any royal personage whatever. It is hardly necessary to point out that the abbreviation Rāo of the inscription may stand for Rāval or Rāthod or any similar clan name beginning with Rā. Unless therefore the Pandit has through some oversight confounded the date of the inscription described above by me with some other inscription, it must be said that the learned Pandit is mistaken in his view regarding the extent of the possessions of the Devadās in the thirteenth century.

ASAVA

24 About two miles to the south-east of Sanvādā is the village of Asāvā, with which hangs a story of the slaughter of Brāhmanas and the subsequent act of atonement for this transgression. It is narrated that Ham-mīra, the younger brother of Jagamāla of Sirohi, was both avaricious and impetuous. Blinded by his greed he attacked and seized by force several

villages belonging to his brother. During a raid on the village of Asāvā he slaughtered several Brahmanas, whereupon their widows immolated themselves over the corpses of the victims of this aggression. Subsequently through the intercession of the relatives of this Hammīra the village of Asāvā together with a large part of the adjoining land was handed over in V 1545 to Brahmanas as Brahmadāya free of taxes and every other due. No royal official was ever to enter the village. Such is I believe also the purport of some Marvāṇi inscriptions of the sixteenth century outside the local temple of Viṣṇu. In this same village there is a well carved image of Hanumat (about 5 feet high) of which the chief interest lies in the fact that it bears a date. From an inscription on the base we learn that it was fashioned for Bhūmnā son of Virasīha in V 1355 Magha sudi 10 (Inscr. No 2764). The resinous oil poured over the image by countless devotees has formed such a thick crust over it that it is not possible to get a clear idea of the contour of the original sculpture (Photo No 4591).

[C9] DEVAKHETAR

25 Not more than a mile away from Asāvā lies the village of Devakhatar and about two miles to the east of the latter are situated the ruins of a group of temples within an enclosing parapet wall. Devakhatar was visited by Mr BHANDARKAR in 1906 and its antiquities are described by him in the *Progress Report* for the year ending March 1907. I shall therefore restrict my remarks to the description of three short inscriptions discovered by me within the temple precincts. One of them which is incised on a pillar of the *sabhamandapa* of the large Śiva temple records the obeisance of the Sūtradhara and incidentally gives the name of the god as Sidhesar (Siddhesvara). One often comes across short records containing salutations of *sūtra-dharas* engraved on different portions of religious buildings. These names I may add are not of some *sutradhara* or other who had come there on a pilgrimage but of the particular *sutradhara* who had planned and built the edifice. For such records are not confined to religious buildings but are found in connection with secular buildings also as for instance in the Tower of Fame (Kīrtham) at Chitorgad. The second inscription which appears to be dated V 1230 (or 1234 ?) is engraved below an image of Śiva and Parvatī. It has suffered severely from the effects of weather and is almost illegible. It contains the name Devakhatar from which it follows that the name of the locality has remained unchanged during the intervening nine centuries. The third and last inscription is a fragmentary record in a local dialect engraved on the base of a column pertaining to the porch of the main temple. The inscription is of some importance for the reconstruction of the history of the Paramaras as it refers itself to the reign of the Paramara king Sumasīha (Somasīmha) and bears the date 1293 which is the latest date hitherto found for him. The earliest date is that which we gather from a

chhabutrā in the village is a memorial stone on which is sculptured in high relief a mounted rider armed with a spear. Below is a short record of three lines giving the date V 1347 and the name of him in whose memory the stone was set up viz, Arjuna son of Paramāra Patala. Paramāra is a very common clan name among the Rajputs. So there does not seem to be sufficient reason for identifying this Paramāra Patala with the Paramāra chieftain Pratāpasunha and investing the latter, on the strength of it with a son of the name Arjuna as one antiquarian has done.

UDRAT

28 While at Dhāndhapur I was told that there were at a distance of not more than a couple of miles some ruined temples which were well worth a visit and so I set out to look for them. After some hours of careful search in the wilderness I lighted upon the wreckage of two temples. The site is covered with lintels, columns, bases and capitals lying in a wild confusion as though the ground on which they were standing had been convulsed by an earthquake. Portions of the masonry plinth of one temple are still intact and in the debris lying around I discovered the fragment of a large slab forming part of the *mandovara* that was sculptured in high relief with the image of a *tirthamkara* seated in an attitude of meditation. It may thus be that a Jain temple had stood there once upon a time. Not many yards away lie the remains of another temple conspicuous amongst which are the deeply carved fragments of the stone *śikhara*. The presence of the Śiva Linga pedestal is evidence of its being once a temple dedicated to Śiva worship. From the character of letters engraved on the fragments the temple may be ascribed roughly to the eleventh or twelfth century, a conclusion which is not at discord with the style of the ornamentation of the *śikharas* which are deeply sculptured with a design consisting of *chaitya* windows.

JOLPUR

29 On leaving Hanādra we halted at Revadhar so as to be able to inspect conveniently some villages in the neighbourhood of the latter town. The first village to be visited from here was Jolpur situated about four miles from Revadhar. The only temple in the village is in a state of advanced ruin. It consists of three shrines standing on a solid masonry plinth. The porch is in a highly dilapidated condition. The middle shrine contains a Śiva Linga which goes by the name of Kalesar (Kālesvara). The doorway of this shrine is elaborately carved. To judge from the general style of workmanship the temples cannot belong to a date anterior to the twelfth century.—But about a mile or so from Jolpur are standing the remains of a complex of highly dilapidated temples which are several centuries older than the one just described. The group as it stands consists of two large shrines and three subsidiary shrines standing at a short distance behind the former. One of the larger shrines contains fragments of a massive pedestal of a Śiva Linga of

which the *yoni* lies just outside the porch. Near the remains of the pedestal is lying what appears at first sight to be a dwarf pillar with section changing from a square to a circle through an octagon. But as its dimensions agree exactly with those of the internal section of the above mentioned *yoni* and pedestal there can be no doubt that this shaft was once fitted into the circular opening of the *yoni* and is the actual *Linga*. The other large shrine sheltered one whole and another mutilated image of Mahishāsūramardīnī. The broken icon is fashioned out of granite—a stone not usually met with in these parts—and though not unlike the other image, which is of soft limestone exhibits much finer workmanship and greater finish of detail. Of the three subsidiary shrines one is completely demolished (only the lowest course remaining *in situ*) while the other which is better preserved is empty. The third subsidiary shrine contains a well-carved image of Surya, broken in twain across the knees. The stone *sikhara* of most of these fanes have fallen in, but wherever isolated blocks of these are still standing in position their ornamentation is seen to consist of repetition in miniature of deeply carved *chhatra* windows and façades. Many stones of the debris showed the same design. The size of the *sikhara* may be judged from the fragmentary sector of an *amalaka* with a radius of twelve feet six inches. For the antiquity of the temple speak the large size of the undecorated stone blocks [71] of which the walls are built, the massive size of the plain moulding and the large clear horse shoe shaped *chhatra* windows which form part of the designs of the deeply carved *sikhara* (Photo No. 4596-A).

JIRAVAL.

30 About five miles to the north west of Revadhar lies the village of Jiraval. In inscriptions of the 14th century in the local Jaina temple situated at the foot of a hill to the west of the village the name of the village occurs as Jiraula or Jirala. The sanctum of this temple contains an image of Neminātha characterised by his *lanckhana* of the conch. But it is amply clear from the inscriptions (Nos. 2773-80) engraved on the jambs and lintels of the doorways of the subsidiary shrines that the temple was originally consecrated to Parśvanātha—a fact which is well known to the inhabitants of the village of Jiraval who give the following reason for the change of denomination. They narrate that during the regime of a Muslim king (whom they called Bokāda Padashah) the temple was attacked, desecrated and plundered by a band of Muhammadan troops. During this raid the image of Pārśva nātha was pulled down and smashed to pieces by the bigotted iconoclasts. A long time after when the temple was resuscitated, an image of Neminātha was made and installed in the place of the old image. The subsidiary shrines which form the enclosed aisle are all empty. The jambs and lintels of over forty of them are inscribed with dedicatory inscriptions giving the names of the donors the quondam pontiffs, etc. The earliest of them is dated in

chhabutra in the village is a memorial stone on which is sculptured in high relief a mounted rider armed with a spear. Below is a short record of three lines giving the date V 1347 and the name of him in whose memory the stone was set up viz Arjuna son of Paramāra Patala. Paramara is a very common clan name among the Rajputs. So there does not seem to be sufficient reason for identifying this Paramara Patala with the Paramara chieftain Pratapasimha and investing the latter on the strength of it with a son of the name Arjuna as one antiquarian has done.

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antiquarian interest for which Varmān is justly famed is the [72] marble temple dedicated to the Sun god which even now in its decay is an imposing structure (Photo Nos 4598-4616) The careful finish of its carving the proportion of its members and the parsimonious use of decorative detail, all tend to show that the building must have been constructed at a time when temple architecture was a vitally living art The temple, which faces the east consists of the shrine, *sabhāmandapa*, *pradakshinā* and porch. The oblong outline of plan is broken by projecting niches and windows from the *mandapa* and the circumambulatory (see drawing No 1392) The *sikhara* of the shrine has fallen away and the roof of the porch and *mandapa* is also partly demolished Where the foundation has subsided or the pillars given away the loosened stones have slid off one another and are lying scattered round the ruin (Photo No 4598) In the debris I discovered a standing image of Surya (broken clean across the knees) which must have occupied the main shrine (Photo No 4612) I discovered also finely carved but partially mutilated images of the *navagrahas*, and the eight *dikpālas* (Photo Nos 4615 16) The finest piece, however, is a mutilated group, the principal figure of which is the form of the Sun god called Sūrya Nārāyaṇa (Photo No 4609) To this group belongs the pedestal resting in the niche in the western wall of the sanctum (Photo No 4600) The pedestal is sculptured in the form of a chariot drawn by seven steeds which is a marvellous piece of realism Unfortunately most of the sculptures found here are fragmentary, and even the fragments are highly mutilated Several of the pillars of this temple are engraved with inscriptions (Nos 2782 87) in which the god of the temple is referred to as Brahmanā svāmin. One of the inscriptions belonging to the reign of the Paramāra Puṇḍarīka, son of Dhandua (Dhandhuka), states that in V 1099, Jyeshtha sudi 30 Wednesday, Nachaka, son of Sarama repaired the temple. Another dated V 1076 Chaitra sudi 7 (*ratha saptaṁi*) records that Sohapa, while on a visit to the temple, presented to the god two fields. A third inscription belonging to the 'prosperous and victorious reign' of Mahārājakula Vikramasinha, and dated in V 1356 Jyeshtha vadi 5 Monday, gives the place-name clearly as Brahmanā mahāsthāna There can be, therefore, no doubt that Brahmanā is the sanskritised form of Varmān Three other records are dated respectively in V 1315, 1330 and 1342

32. As it would not be possible to do justice to larger questions of architectural and iconographic interest connected with this temple without the help of drawings and illustrations which cannot be reproduced here, I intend contributing an illustrated article to the Director General's *Annual of Archaeology* where these subjects will be discussed in detail

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V 1421 and the latest in V 1483. The donors seem to have been all Osval Banuas and this is the class to which the present Bania community of the village belongs. Visalanagara and Kalavanagara appear among the names of the places of residence of some of the donors. It is well known that at Visalanagara there was a large colony of Osval Banuas. The temple which is probably of the same date as the above mentioned inscriptions viz the fourteenth century of the Christian era contains no features of architectural note.

VARMAN

31. The village of Varman lies along the main road leading from Devadhar to Mandar a little to the west of the Sukli river which is a tributary of the Banas. The place seems to have been at one time of considerable importance but now it has lost its grandeur and is reduced to the condition of an insignificant hamlet. About a mile to the north of the village there is a gigantic Vata (*Ficus indica*) tree which together with its off shoots covers quite an acre of land and must be a growth of untold generations. To the south of the village stands on a high eminence a Jain temple dedicated to Mahavira. The main shrine is empty. But a large image of Mahāvira which is awaiting ceremonial installation is placed temporarily in the *guḍḍamandapa* which contains also several other smaller images. Among these is a finely sculptured image of Kubera. In the pillared corridor to the east of the *sabhamandapa* there is a sculptured ceiling panel which bears an inscription dated in the year V 1242. The central figure of this slab is Gajalakshmi with elephants pouring water. The original temple is probably not older than this sculpture. The *sikhara* which is very high and therefore a prominent land mark was erected we were told within the last century. Quite recently a large *sabhamandapa* was added to the temple, as also a high wall enclosing the latter on all sides. The columns of the *sabhamandapa* are not uniform and betray the fact of their having been brought over from the ruins of older temples. In the enclosing parapet are built in on the inside two coarsely sculptured panels in one of which the central figure is that of Neminatha and in the other an unidentifiable *tirthankara*. The village also contains a Śiva temple called the temple of Varmesar (Photo No 4617). In the enclosing wall of this temple are built in sculptured figures which had once formed a part of the local Surya temple. Noteworthy is a large sculpture of Gajalakshmi placed in the courtyard of this temple. Water drawn by dwarfs from the reservoir is passed on to women sitting on a higher level who are represented as handing it over to elephants standing above them these in their turn pass it on to a pair of elephants standing on a still higher level which empty the *kalaśas* over the head of the goddess seated on the *kamalasana*. This sculpture, the design and execution of which are extremely happy deserves to be transferred to and exhibited in a central museum. But the object of

the modern village of Girigadde in the Sirsi Taluka while it is conjectured that Karur, which is the name of a neighbouring village may not be unconnected with the district name Karvannadga of the grant.

2 To the keen interest taken by Mr P B GOTHOSKAR Librarian of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in the search of Indian antiquities we owe the recovery of two interesting copper plate charters purporting to be issued by the Chaulukya Karnadeva of Anahilapataka. It was after a great deal of trouble that Mr GOTHOSKAR succeeded in obtaining the loan of them from him for the purpose of photographing them. The negatives have been purchased by me for this department, and will be filed in my office. It is intended to contribute a detailed descriptive note on them to the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. Dr SURESHKAR in whose hands the photographs have been placed for publication in his report on them, says that both the sets refer themselves to the reign of the Chaulukya Karna and are dated respectively on Tuesday the eleventh day of the bright half of Margasirsha in the Saka year 996 and on the eleventh day of the bright half of Kartika in the Vikrama year 1131. The curious circumstance regarding these grants which are dated on different days is that both of them are made in favour of the same person and convey the very same village. The wording of the grants is however quite different in the two plates. Moreover there is also great difference in the writing while on one the letters (to judge from the photographs) are deeply cut and uniform in size though their shapes are neither good nor neatly finished on the other they are shallow and very poorly cut and their shapes are distinctly ill made. Again while the first grant begins with a salutation to Vasudeva and a *mangala* stanza the other begins abruptly with the genealogy of the Chaulukya kings. It is as difficult to give a reason why two grants should have been made conveying the same village to the same person as to explain the difference in the dates and the writing. It does appear though, as if the first set, namely, the one that is evidently the better of the two is the original genuine document, the other seems to have been made later in imitation of it as a substitute for it. The grant was made by the *Mahamardalesara* Durlabharaja belonging to a feudatory Chaulukya family of Nagasirika (Nasari) which acknowledged the suzerainty of the Gujarat Chaulukyas of Anhilvada. The preamble of one of the grants contains the genealogy of the donee up to three generations. Durlabharaja we are told was the son of Chandraraja, and the grandson of Gamgeya of the ancient lineage of the Chaulukyas. The donee was the Brahmana Pandita Mahudhara son of Rudraditya of the Mandavya gotra who had come to Nasari from Madhya desa. The object of the grant was the village Dharmalachchha situated apparently in the district of Talabhadrika Thirty six. The boundaries of the village are given as follows —to the east, Kalagrama, to the south, Torana

XII—PROGRESS REPORT OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA, 1917-18*

PART II

EPIGRAPHY AND NUMISMATICS

(A) Epigraphy

I—Hindu and Buddhist Inscriptions

1 In December last Dr SUKTHANKAR received from Mr Subaya Nagappa HEGDE of Ajjibal in the Sirsi Taluka of the North Kanara District two sets of copper plates for inspection. The plates have been preserved as curiosities in Mr HEGDE's family during several generations so that it is not definitely known now how they came into the possession of the family. One of the plates refers itself to the reign of the Kadamba king Ravivarman and the other to that of Krishnavarman (probably the second king of that name) belonging to the same family. The regnal years in which the grants are dated are worthy of particular notice. The plate of Ravivarman (if Dr SUKTHANKAR'S reading is correct) is dated in the thirty fifth year and that of Krishnavarman in the nineteenth year of the king's reign. It should be remarked that the only other hitherto known grant of Krishnavarman II refers itself to the seventh year of his reign while the highest regnal year recorded in the copper plate records of Ravivarman is the eleventh. The uncertainty regarding the date of Ravivarman's grant is due to the fact that the words comprising the date have been almost completely eaten away. We have therefore, to depend upon a conjectural restoration of the words, but Dr SUKTHANKAR'S conjecture has every probability in its favour. Both the plates have their rings and seals attached. The seal of Ravivarman's plate is blank, but that of the other plate bears a horse as device. Ravivarman's grant which is dated on the fifth *tithi* of the bright half of Kartika in the [thirty] fifth regnal year of the king's reign records that on the specified day Ravivarman of the Kadamba family granted four *nuvartanas* of land in a village called Sare (or Sara) to the temple of Mahadeva of his beloved physician Nilakantha. Some further specifications of the donation are lost in a *lacuna*. The grant of Krishnavarman records that on the full moon day of Kartika in the nineteenth year of the king's reign he granted Kamakapalli in the village of Girigade situated in the Karvannadga District. From the topographical information supplied to Dr SUKTHANKAR by Mr HEGDE he concludes that the Girigade of the grant is to be identified with

grama; to the west, Avala (or Amvala) sati-grama; to the north, Kachchhavaligrama. The Atlas sheet gives two villages called Dhamadachchha and (to its south) Tarangam as situated in the Nausari District. In regard to the fact that the donor was a Jagirdar of Nausari, as also that the plates are now stated to belong to a resident of Dhamadachchha there is no difficulty in the way of identifying Dhamalachchha, with Dhamadachchha and Toranagrama with Tarangam. The other place-names remain unidentified. It is perhaps worth noting that in the grant which is above held to be the original document, the portion containing the boundaries is written at the very end of the document and was added *secunda manu*, which is palpably different from that in which the rest of the grant is written, and which rather resembles the clumsy lettering of the other grant under reference. The problems raised by this pair of grants cannot thus all be looked upon as solved.

3. A set of two copper-plates was sent to this office for examination by

Two Valabhi
Plates.

the Bhavnagar Darbar, which the Darbar has since presented to the Trustees of the Prince of Wales Museum.

Dr. SUKTHANKAR, in whose hands the plates have been placed for decipherment and publication, reports that they are dated in *samvat* 210, and were issued by order of the *Mahasamanta Maharaja* Dhruvasena I, the Maitraka king of Valabhi. The seal, which is attached, bears the usual Maitraka device and legend. The charter records the gift made by Dhruvasena of certain lands at the villages of Chhedakapadraka and Malakara in the Hastavapra-aharani to a certain Nanna residing at Valapadra, for the performance of sacrificial rites. The exact date of the grant is the 13th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Sravana in the year 210, which year when referred to the Gupta-Valabhi era yields A.D. 529-30 as the approximate date of the charter. At Baroda, Mr. J. C. CHATTERJI, the Dharmadhyaksha of the Baroda State, showed to Dr. SUKTHANKAR a single copper-plate which was sent to the Dharmadhyaksha from Kathiawad for decipherment. The plate on examination was found to contain the latter half of a Valabhi charter dated *samvat* 206, Asvina-sukla 3, and issued, like the previous one, by order of Dhruvasena I. The donee was Rotghamitra of the Vrajagana gotra, a resident of Simhapura, which place is to be identified with Sihor, near Bhavnagar, a junction on the Sihor-Palitana Railway.

4. Dr. SUKTHANKAR has in hand for editing two interesting inscriptions engraved on the pillars of an old grammar

Two Inscriptions
from Dhar.

school called the Bhoja Sala at Dhar, from the time of the Paramaras of Dhar. The inscriptions are known

as *sarpabandha*, because they are engraved in the form of intertwining serpents with their bodies twisted lengthwise and crosswise leaving oblong spaces within for letters. One of the inscriptions is a chart of the Sanskrit alphabet and the other of verbal terminations. The latter are taken from a chapter of the Sanskrit grammar called the Katantra which was specially

II—Muhammadan Inscriptions *

* 7 A large number of Muhammadan inscriptions were copied during the year. The majority of these are unpublished and some even unnoticed —

(a) *Sultans of Malwa*—An inscription of Sultan Alauddin Mahmud Shah Khilji was discovered by CUNNINGHAM in a modern Lohangi Pir Masjid on the top of the hill near Bhilsa railway station on which the tomb of Lohangi Pir stands. It records the erection of a Masjid by one Khojendi who bore the titles of 'The sword of the State (*Saif ul mulk*) and The Lord of the east (*Malik ush-Sharq*) during the reign of Sultan Alauddin Mahmud Shah Khilji in the year 862 A H (1457 A D). CUNNINGHAM read the date as 864 A H. The Jami Masjid at Sipri

Jami Masjid Sipri was built a few years earlier. The inscription on this monument was pointed out to me by Mr M B Garde B.A. Inspector of Archaeology Gwalior State. Unlike the majority of the Muhammadan inscriptions of India this record is incised. It records the erection of the Jami Masjid during the reign of Sultan Mahmud Shah Khilji in the year eight hundred and forty five (1441 A D) by Muhammad Tarkan and Ahmad Tarkan. The date of this record is given both in words and in numerals.

(b) *Sultans of Gujarat*—The only dated inscriptions still to be found among the ruins of Champaner are those on the two Gates of Citadel Champaner gateways of the citadel. Each of these gateways now called Halol and Godhra gateways bear inscribed slabs. The inscriptions on both of the gates are identical. The latter half of that on the Godhra gate has become illegible in many places but it has an additional line incised vertically which gives us the name of the scribe. Both of the inscriptions contain the name of Sultan Nasir ud din Abul Fath Mahmud Shah son of Muhammad Shah (II) son of Ahmad Shah (I) son of Muhammad Shah (I) son of Muzaffar Shah and the date which is the month of Zi l-qada 889 A H (1484 A D).

(c) *Sultans of Bijapur*—The majority of ancient monuments in the hill fort Panala are still intact and what is still more interesting the inscriptions on almost all of them are still in position. The ruins on this fort which was the scene of great revolutions in the history of Deccan are mentioned in COUSENS *Revised List* but not in detail. None of them appear to have been surveyed prior to my visit in September 1917. Some of the inscriptions are

* [In the original file copy of the reprint Dr Sukthankar has entered his signature just before this section. It is, therefore, not clear if he is responsible for the present section but it is reproduced here in view of the fact that his authorship of the section is not improbable.—Cf his *Catalogue of Antiquities in the Bijapur Museum*.—Ed.]

mentioned in the *Bombay Gazetteer* but none of them appear to have been properly noticed or published as they are not included in Dr HOROWITZ's list of Muhammadan inscriptions published in the *Epigraphia Indo Moslemica*. They were copied for the first time in 1917. The oldest of them is an inscription found in the Somala tank which records the erection of a tank (*hauz*) during the reign of Sultan Mahmud Shah Bahmani by a nobleman named Adil Khan Ghazi. Unfortunately the date of the inscription is miss-

ing which makes it impossible for us to identify this Panala. Adil Khan. The rest of the inscriptions were incised during the rule of the Adilshahi Sultans of Bijapur and most of them contain their names. The outer gate of the Tin Darwaza bears

Tin Darwaza slab which records the erection of the Fort of Panala which is called the Gate of the Kingdom (*Dar ul saltanat*) in the year 954 A.H., (= 1547 A.D.), during the reign of Ibrahim Adil Shah I. A small

Nagihari. spring on the hill side was converted into a walled reservoir by one Daud Aqa, evidently an Abyssinian in the next year (955 A.H. = 1548 A.D.) during the same reign. A large tank

(*hauz*) was excavated near the site of the Char Dar Tank. waza by one Malik Jafar during the reign of Ibrahim Adil Shah I in the year 964 A.H. (= 1556 A.D.). It is one of the largest reservoirs excavated on the top of a hill. An inscription built into the walls of a modern Hindu temple near the site of the Char Darwaza gate records the erection of a tower (*burj*) during the reign of Ali Adil Shah I by one Shamsuddin Shahaswar in the year 985 A.H. (= 1577 A.D.). A large

inscribed slab belonging to the Char Darwaza gate has Char Darwaza been fixed on a modern tomb in the courtyard of the Mausoleum of the local Muhammadan saint, Sa'ad ud din familiarly called Sadoba. It records the erection of a gate of the fort by one Maqsur during the reign of Ibrahim Adil Shah II in the year 994 A.H. (= 1585 A.D.). The

residence of the former Qiladars is now used by the Qiladars Palace. State of Kolhapur as a guest house. An inscription now placed in the walls of one of the chambers, records the erection of a palace (*mahal*), by one Maqsur Aqa during the reign of Ibrahim Adil Shah II in the year 1000 A.H. (= 1591 A.D.). The builder of this place, Maqsur Aqa, appears to be the same person as the one who built the Char Darwaza gate of Panala Fort six years previously.

(B) Numismatics.

8 No coins having any special significance were discovered in the Province during the year under review. The Treasure

Inscribed Puri Kushan Coin. Trove coins sent to me for examination by the Government of Bihar and Orissa contained some unique coins.

The most important among these is a copper coin of the type which is called Puri Kushan by Numismatists. This coin with several others of the same

type were sent to me for examination by His Honour the Lieutenant Governor of Bihar and Orissa and were found among the collection of the late Chief of Baudh. Coins of this type are found in large numbers in Orissa but hitherto no inscribed specimen has been discovered. The coin found in the Baudh State is unique inasmuch as it bears a legend. This legend consists of two syllables only : *tanka* "a coin". The characters belong to the north-eastern variety of the Indian alphabet. Incidentally the coin helps us to fix the date of the Puri-Kushan coinage for which we had no reliable data so far.

A find of 448 silver coins of Farid ud-din Sher Shah found in the Shahbad District was sent to me for examination. This find
 New Mints. contained some specimens from a new mint : *Panduah*. There is a town of the same name which for sometime was the capital of the Mussalman sovereigns of Bengal. This town was a mint town during the reign of the Independent Sultans of Bengal on whose coinage it appears as *Firuzabad*. It is situated a few miles to the north of Gaur or Laghnauti, the ancient capital of Bengal. The same hoard contained a few specimens of the issues of Sher Shah from the mint at Chunar. Half a century ago
 - Mr. E. THOMAS had published an unique coin of Sher
 and types of the coinage of Sher Shah. Shah of the same mint. On his coin the mint name is spelt Chunar but on all specimens in this find it is spelt Chanarh, which is to be pronounced either as Chanadh or as Chanara. The find contained a new type of the Kalpi mint, which has a circle of arabesque work on each side instead of the plain circle.

MISCELLANEA

AN EXCURSION ON THE PERIPHERY OF INDOLOGICAL RESEARCH*

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

Indology is as you all know, the discipline which has for its object the study of Indian literature history philosophy and kindred subjects. Indological studies in the widest acceptance of the term, may be said to date back to the distant period of hoary antiquity which witnessed the birth of those truly remarkable specimens of linguistic analysis the *Nirukta* of Yâska, the *Sikṣās*, and *Prâtisakhyas*, which contain such a wealth of significant phonetic, etymological and grammatical observations on the Vedic *Samhitās*. The beginnings of linguistic study in India must be even older than these works, but the results of those early speculations had probably not crystallized into systematic treatises, and if they had they have certainly not been preserved.

The tradition of these scholastic pursuits had been carried on more or less uninterruptedly during the intervening centuries or rather millennia, and we can look back with pride, admiration and gratitude, on the massive literary monuments left to us by our ancestors by—to mention only a few well known names—able grammarians like Paṇini Kātyāyana Patanjali and Hemacandra, commentators like Aśvaghoṣa Mallinātha and Sayana, rhetoricians like Bharata Bhamaha Dandin and Vāmana, historians like Vakpati Bilhana and Kalhana, not to speak of the unknown compilers of Puranic genealogies the writers of the history of the Buddhist and Jaina churches the chroniclers of the lives of saints, and lastly the keepers of the records of Hindu cloisters and monasteries.

This vast store of fact and fiction, accumulated through the critical exegetical and historical activities extending over centuries has been studied and re studied in recent years by successive generations of scholars. This thesaurus has finally [94] been turned into a searchlight, and made to illuminate the obscure periods of the history of our country, and to contribute its quota to the elucidation of problems thrust on the threshold of our consciousness by the Memory of a half forgotten Past in other words by Communal Memory. In our own times and here in our midst the torch has been kept alight through the zeal for learning of scholars like Bhagvanlal INDRAJI Sir Ramakrishna BHANDARKAR and Shams ul ulma Dr

* [A discourse delivered on 20th August 1923 at a gathering of the Institute, on the 14th Anniversary of the late Mr K. R. CAMA—Journal 1924 pp 93-104.]

Jivanji Modi, men who have nobly consecrated their lives to the work of unravelling the history of India of interpreting Indian life and thought and have worthily upheld the scholarly traditions of this Land of R̥ṣis

Within the last two decades the domain of Indology has extended by leaps and bounds, it has expanded, so to say, both vertically and horizontally

The advance made in the comparative study of language literature mythology and art, the exploration and excavation within and without the confines of India has each served to advance our knowledge of the past in multifarious ways While this advance has happily solved certain old riddles it has in turn given birth to others that are entirely new I have proposed to myself to take you out this evening for an excursion on what may be termed the periphery of Indology, in contradistinction to the central portion which concerns itself with the interpretation and reconstruction of the past from sources purely or chiefly indigenous I propose to acquaint you with some of the results of research and explorations in fields lying on the horizon of our cultural influence indicating briefly those problems that have arisen in the wake of the progress of our research

I will commence my review with a survey of topics which are not exactly new, but which lie outside the conventional grooves of Indian research as the term is understood in India.

It has been surmised that long before the commencement of the Christian era the Dravidian races had developed independently considerable culture of their own Some of these Southern kingdoms carried on for a protracted period a thriving trade first with Western Asia and Egypt, and then with the Greek and Roman Empires Literary evidence appears to suggest that the Tyrians imported from South Indian seaports ivory, apes and peacocks And we have also evidence to show that at a still later epoch India—to a great extent South India—exported rice spices precious stones and a large quantity of cloth muslin and silk Who were these adventurous traders on the Indian side? How did they solve the problems of transport and exchange? How long did that trade continue and what stopped it in the end? These are some of the questions one may readily ask They are not however as easily answered The question of the early commerce of India with Babylon was examined at length by KENNEDY in JRAS, 1898 In recent years Egypt and the sites of ancient Assyria and Babylonia have been systematically explored and objects of antiquarian interest have been recovered from those sites on an unprecedented scale We have therefore every reason to hope that when the new material has been thoroughly sifted and studied by experts the results of their investigations will confirm the surmises and conclusions based on literary evidence and throw additional light on the obscurities relating to the early intercourse between India and the Western World

We will next turn to a field where the intercourse between India and a foreign country if not so ancient, was evidently much more extensive and, lying as it does within the historical period supplies far richer material for study and investigation

One cannot imagine a more fruitful field for a study of the evolution on foreign soil of Indian thought and Indian art and architecture, than the little island of Java. The ascendancy of Indians is really the first great epoch in the history of Java. The Javanese temples which still bear the name *Chandi*: *Bima Chandi*, *Kali Chandi*, *Durgâ Buro Buddur* and the like tell their own story which in part is set down on stone in indelible letters. The island abounds in splendid temples and *vihâras* of the Hindu period and they are noteworthy examples of an architecture which attained as in India a high standard without the use of mortar and arches

The most important of these ruins is the temple of *Buro Buddur*, which has justly been characterized as a great picture Bible of the *Mahâyana* creed, and which ranks among the architectural marvels of the world. *Buro Buddur* is not really a temple, but rather a hill encased with imposing terraces constructed of hewn lava blocks surmounted by a *dagoba* and crowned with sculptures illustrative of the *Mahâyâna* doctrine. The subjects treated in the lowest enclosure are of the most varied description forming a picture gallery of landscapes, scenes of outdoor and domestic life mingled with mythological and religious designs. As one proceeds the subjects grow [96] in depth and complexity. It would seem that the architect had intended gradually to wean the devotees from things of this world. When they once begin to ascend from stage to stage of the temple hill they are introduced to the realities of religion and, by the time they reached the *dagoba* they had passed through a process of instruction and were ready with enlightened eyes to enter and behold the image of the Buddha, symbolically left imperfect as beyond the power of human art to realize or portray

The ruins in Java are by no means exclusively Buddhist. There are temples devoted to the cult of *Śivaism* also. Here we come across sculptured panels representing *Śiva* as a *Yogi* and again as *Kala* or Time the Destroyer reminiscent of similar panels at *Elephanta*.

Col YULE has pointed out that there are distinct traces of a fine coat of stucco-covering on the exterior and interior of Javanese buildings and he has compared in this respect the cave walls of *Elura* the great idols at *Bamian* (a once renowned town of Afghanistan) and the *Doric* order at *Selinus* (an ancient city on the southern coast of Sicily)

The Indo Javanese remains have been in part photographed and studied in recent years by Dutch archaeologists. But it is desirable—and it is high time—that these ramifications of Indian culture should be studied from an Indian view point by Indian archaeologists who are familiar with Buddhist

and Hindu mythological and religious lore and are conversant with the development of Indian art and architecture. It is needless to emphasize the importance of these archæological remains for a study of Buddhism or of the ancient and mediæval Hindu art.

Important results are likely to be obtained in other fields as well from a study of Javanese antiquities. The Mahabhārata was translated into the Kāvī language about 1000 A.D. And in this translation we find embedded a large number of Sanskrit verses and hemistiches, the prose narrative moreover reproduces very frequently Sanskrit words and phrases. As we happen to know the exact date of the translation, it is a very valuable asset in Mahābhārata criticism. In our gropings in the dark recesses of Indian history we have to accept gratefully even such feeble and precarious guidance. This Kāvī version is I may add being used with great advantage in the preparation of the new and critical edition of the epic undertaken by a sister Institute.

[97] We shall next turn to Iran. With Iran our connection dates back to prehistoric times. We are all familiar with the evidence which establishes the connection between the Hindus and the Iranians through affinities in language and tradition, religious beliefs, ritual observances and even manners and customs. In more recent times further evidence has been placed in our hands by certain cuneiform inscriptions on clay tablets which the German Professor Hugo WINCKLER discovered in 1907 at Boghaz kot (the ancient Pteria) in Cappadocia. I shall not go into the details of this find because the subject was dealt with at length in the course of a learned discourse on Indo-Iranian migrations in the light of the Mitanni tablets delivered in this very Institute on a similar occasion not many years ago by the late Dr GUNÉ of Poona. I may be permitted however to refer to the find briefly as it falls within the province mapped out by me for survey. The tablets contain a record of treaties concluded between the king of the Hittites and the king of the Mitannis about 1400 B.C. The only fact that concerns us here is that the treaties include the invocations of the tutelary deities of the respective kings for protecting the solemn agreements contemplated, and among the gods called to witness are deities common in part to India and Persia. We find here the names *Mi it ra U ru wna, In da ra Na sa at ti ia*. One easily recognizes in them the Vedic gods Mitra, Varuna, Indra and the Násatya respectively. The inscriptions as I have said date from about 1400 B.C. and the names appear not in the Iranian form but so far as we can judge from the imperfect orthography of cuneiform inscriptions in the form which they show in the hymns of the Rgveda. We may ask, Are the four deities invoked in these Mitanni tablets proto-Iranian or Vedic or Aryan? Were they the gods of a tribe which was on its way to India or of a tribe which had retraced its steps and returned to an earlier home? Or were they again merely borrowed gods? Did the king of the Hittites or the Mitannis worship Vedic gods? Unfortunately this tantalizing find suggests many more

questions than it answers. There is nothing to be gained by dogmatizing over the results of this discovery though it is galling to realize and acknowledge our helpless ignorance. All that we have to go upon is that in the 15th century B.C. four gods who figured conspicuously in the Vedic pantheon were in the region round Boghaz-koï considered for some reason fit to be invoked as supernatural witnesses to a solemn and important state treaty. This information is clearly too flimsy for the erection of any solid superstructure of theory. But it may be pointed out that the mention of the Vedic gods in these treaties is but the crystallization at one particular point [98] of a diffuse complex which could not have subsisted unsupported, so to say hanging in the air. It necessarily implies reflexes, reactions and ramifications, which it will no doubt be possible to isolate with the increase in our knowledge and the refinement of our instruments. We may reasonably hope may expect, that these discoveries are but the first fruits of a rich harvest which may be reaped by patient study and untiring exploration.

We shall pass on to another field where we shall be on more solid ground. There was a time when Pali was regarded as a subject lying on the fringe of oriental scholarship. And our worthy University faithful to the old world standards, probably still regards Buddhism as a heterodox religion. And yet in Pali it may be said lies enshrined much of—not only Indian—but Oriental culture. The spread of Buddhism from India to Central Asia and thence to the Far East is probably one of the most important contributions India can claim as having made to the general uplift of mankind. Having discarded Buddhism as a religion, we are apt to overlook the fact that this religion, which had its birth in India, is still the religion of China, Japan, Siam, Burma, Ceylon and Nepal. It is still the credo of millions of men and women. Gandharan art, which was adopted by the Buddhists of Northern India as a medium for expressing its ideals in plastic form, was carried by Buddhist missionaries in painting and sculpture to the caves of Central Asian deserts and thence to China, Japan and Korea.

Outside India Buddhism found the most fertile soil in China. An intimacy with the Chinese language has long come to be regarded as an essential prerequisite for a thorough study of Buddhism. In fact it may be said that nowadays one cannot do justice to Buddhist studies without a first-hand knowledge of Chinese sources. But Buddhism reached the Middle Kingdom not directly from the land of its birth but, as I have already hinted, by the route of Central Asia. Thus in following the outward and onward march of Indian culture our eyes are first turned towards Central Asia and especially to the highlands of Pamir and to the oases of the Gobi and the Takla-makan deserts.

The first convincing proof that the arid soil of Chinese Turkestan held buried valuable archaeological treasures was furnished by the series of finds

of Sanskrit manuscripts, of which almost the first was the Bower Manuscript discovered accidentally in 1890. Apart from their philological interest, these manuscript finds had value in showing that Sanskrit, the sacred language [99] of the Brahmans, was cultivated, and assiduously cultivated, even in those distant regions beyond the Hindukush, at such an early period. The expectations raised by the discovery of these manuscripts have been amply justified. In fact it may be said that during the last thirty years no other undertaking has been more fruitful for the study at once of Indian, Iranian, and Far Eastern history, has opened out wider vistas for research, laid bare higher treasures of ancient cultures, and, lastly, afforded, deeper insight into the ancient intercourse between East and West as the archaeological exploration of Central Asia.

An early appreciation of the importance of these finds for philological, historical and archaeological studies led the Russian, French, British, and German Governments as also some learned societies, to send organised expeditions—they were peaceful penetrations, the army of explorers being armed with nothing more frightful than spades and pickaxes and a plentiful supply of writing materials and packing cases—to explore those little-known regions, and to recover objects of archaeological interest from the sand buried sites of the ancient cities of Chinese and Russian Turkestan. Undoubtedly the most successful of these explorations have been those financed by the Government of India and carried out under the direction of that patient, thorough and indefatigable archaeologist Sir Aurel Stein. Through an inborn love of enterprise and adventure, through the rigorous discipline he underwent as a student in a German University, through prolonged study of Indian languages, tradition and history, he was eminently qualified to undertake the gigantic operations involved and carry them to a successful termination. By laying bare the regions which had served as the main channel for the interchange of the civilisations of India, China and the West, his explorations have once for all shattered the illusive barriers which it was once thought had separated the east and the west.

The task of an explorer in those inhospitable regions is no bed of roses. His task is very different from that of the scholar, comfortably lodged in his snug study, deciphering manuscripts, examining art treasures discovered by the explorer, and weaving his fabric of theories. The great archaeologist tells us that just when he was completing his exploratory task, by an ascent to the ice-clad summit of the main Kun lun range, at an elevation of about 20,000 feet, he suffered a severe frost bite which cost him the toes of his right foot. It was as a helpless invalid that he had to get himself [100] carried somehow over the three hundred miles of rough mountain track on the Karakoran route with its high passes reaching to over 18,000 feet before medical aid could be obtained. The capital importance of Sir Aurel Stein's services to science was recognised among other bodies by the Royal Geo-

graphical Society in 1909 with the award of the highest distinction in its gift, the Founder's Gold Medal

However to return to the spoils of these expeditions STEIN's excavations of 1900-1 at the ruined sites in the Takl'makan desert round Khotan established beyond all doubt the great historical importance of that ancient culture which, as the joint product of Indian, Chinese and Western influences once flourished in the oases of Chinese Turkestan. Khotan was but a stepping stone in the march of Indian culture eastwards, but the bygone culture of Khotan, as has been irrefutably established rested mainly on Indian foundations. In the fine statuary exhumed in or near Khotan, it is easy to recognise the influence of the same Græco-Buddhist art which was developed in Gandhara and the modern Peshawar valley. In the pictorial relics of those regions we find again the leading features of that school of Indian painting with which we have been made familiar by the frescoes at Ajanta in the Nizam's Dominions. These remains will have a special appeal to students of Indian art, since in India itself little has survived of early Indian painting.

The discoveries of these evidences of Indian cultural influence in far Turkestan recalls an old tradition recorded by the Chinese pilgrim Huen tsiang and repeated in old Tibetan texts, to the effect that the territory of Khotan was conquered and colonised about the second century B.C. by Indian emigrants from Takṣaśilā (Greek Taxila), that is roughly Peshawar District and the Frontier Province. This old tradition has now been confirmed through the discovery in that region of manuscripts in Kharoshthi script, which attest the use, for ordinary practical purposes, of a Middle Indian dialect. In the report on STEIN's second tour of exploration (1906-8), he tells us that from ruins now situated at a distance of fully 100 miles from the nearest supply of drinkable water, he recovered conclusive evidence that the use for administrative purposes of the same Indian dialect extended in the first century of the Christian era as far as the most remote corner of Central Asia.

I will not describe the mass of Chinese, Uigur, and Tibetan manuscripts in part still undeciphered and the historical and philological interest that attaches to them since they lie [101] outside the scope of the present discourse. I will restrict my remarks to a few important finds, which are of special interest to the Indo-Iranian student.

I have already referred to the Bower manuscript. This manuscript is written in a Central Asian form of Brahmi the script current in India during the centuries immediately preceding and following the commencement of the Christian era. The manuscript contains portions of an Indian medical treatise. The Ayurvedic system of medicine appears to have been popular in Central Asia in the first millennium of the Christian era, and it would

not be surprising if some of the Indian formulæ had travelled thence further eastwards. Subsequent to the find of this manuscript, portions of another medical treatise were discovered by STEIN in the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas, situated in the most remote corner of Central Asia. This second manuscript is even more interesting than the first; for it contains besides the Sanskrit text, a literal translation into a hitherto unknown Iranian dialect. It has been surmised that this language is the Tokharian, the language of the Tokhari tribe. Other works written in the same dialect have been discovered in the same region; but these works are all fragments of Buddhist religious and philosophical texts. Owing to its secular character the medical fragment is helpful for the elucidation of such Tokharian words of secular import as are not met with in the translations of Buddhist texts.

The majority of manuscripts recovered from the ruined sites of Chinese Turkestan are however fragments of well-known Buddhist works written in various languages and dialects, some known and some still unknown: Among the manuscripts discovered by that intrepid and ill-fated French explorer Dutreuil du RHINS is a Prakrit version of the Buddhist psalmody. Dhammapada. The Prussian Turfan expedition succeeded in rescuing from oblivion a Sanskrit version of the same text. These taken along with the old Pali text furnish three different versions of that beautiful collection of ennobling gathas. The discovery of bilingual and trilingual versions of Buddhist texts has had one consequence of far reaching importance. It has led us to perceive that the Sanskrit and the Pali canons are both traceable to a common source, and we must therefore conclude that the original Buddhist canon was written in a third dialect, which must have been an Eastern Middle Indian dialect, a Prakrit of the province which was the chief scene of Buddha's activity.

As I remarked above, the explorations in Chinese Turkestan has brought to light many a language unknown till then, one of [102] which I have mentioned already. I should like to draw your attention to one other which is of special interest to Iranian scholars. This dialect, by some called the North Aryan, appears to have been the language of the Śakas of Indian tradition and Sakae of the Greek. In this dialect we have portions of the Buddhist works Vajracchedikā, Prajñāpāramitā, and Aparamitāyussūtra, and possibly others. To the two well-known Indo-Aryan dialects, the Indian and the Iranian (in other words, the Sanskrit and the Avestan), this new dialect is related in a peculiar way. Phonetically the language of the manuscripts is clearly Iranian, but in the matter of its vocabulary it is strongly influenced by the Indian branch; in other words, it is Indianized Iranian. Genetically an Iranian dialect, having for centuries stood under the cultural influences of Sanskrit, it borrowed the religious and philosophical termini from the more advanced sister dialect, which is an illuminating commentary on the spread of Buddhism and Buddhist culture.

But I suppose the most remarkable manuscript find, the last one that I am going to speak about this evening consists of the fragments of Buddhist dramas which were found by Dr Von LE COQ, the Director of the Prussian Turfan expedition, in one of the cave temples of Ming-Öi by Kysyl, west of Kuja, on the fringe of the Taklamakan desert. Despite the epoch making importance of its contents, the publication of the manuscript has awakened little interest in India¹ The palm leaf fragments were edited in 1911 by Geheimrat H LUDERS of the University of Berlin in a facsimile entitled "Fragments of Buddhist Dramas. The largest fragment, which is made up of 8 or 9 smaller pieces is not more than 345 cm. long. The minute pieces were fitted together with infinite care and patience by Geh. LUDERS with the assistance of his wife, who is an equally ardent student of Indian Literature. The fragments, which number nearly 150 yield a not inconsiderable portion of two Buddhist plays in Sanskrit and Prakrit. The character of the writing, which is an incontestable evidence of their age and authenticity, is identical with that of the inscriptions of the Northern Kshatrapas and Kushanas, it also clearly shows that the manuscripts were prepared in India. One of the dramas was an allegorical play, introducing as characters the personified qualities of Buddha, Dhṛti and Kṛti. In another the author introduces the figures of Sāriputra, Maudgalyayana, two of Buddha's pupils, and of the Enlightened One himself among the *dramatis personæ*. Evidently they were Buddhist plays. It is interesting to note that the characteristic figure of the Viḍṣaka the Clown of the Hindu drama, is not absent from these plays. This is not the [103] place to enter into the bearing of these plays on various literary historical problems. They contain the usual alternation of Sanskrit and Prakrit, and the passages in prose are punctuated with verses in artificial meters. In the Prakrit passages we can distinguish three dialects, Śauraseni Māgadhī, and Ardha māgadhī. From the linguistic point of view the most important feature of these plays is that the Prakrit they contain is in a stage much older than that which is stereotyped in the dramas of the classical and the post-classical age. From a colophon of another fragment, which was discovered a little later, we learn that the author of one of the dramas was no less a personage than Aśvaghoṣa, that prodigy of learning who has left his mark on every branch of literature and philosophy he touched. Some of the plays thus belong definitely to the first century of the Christian era. They supply us with an incontestable proof that in the first century A.D. the Hindu drama had already assumed its characteristic form, a conclusion which has an important bearing on questions relative to the origin of the Hindu drama or at any rate of the Sanskrit drama. These fragments, picked up in Turkestan and now housed in a Berlin museum, are portions of the oldest Hindu drama and almost the oldest Indian manuscripts available up to now. It

is therefore difficult to overrate their importance for the study of Indian palæography, linguistics, and dramaturgy.

This hurried survey has, I hope, served to give you an idea of the nature and scope of some of the problems lying on the fringe of Indological research. These are not more important than what I call the central problems. And, of course, no hard and fast line can be drawn between them; they are not mutually exclusive, but merely complementary to each other. Both are equally important, each in its own way. It is to be hoped that the rising generation of Indian orientalists will distribute their time and energy evenly over the whole field. The excellent work done in the past by the K. R. Cama Institute fills one with the hope that the scholars associated with it will turn their attention also to the solution of the new problems that have arisen with the birth of the present century.

Will the results repay the trouble? A certain number of people will answer the query with a shrug of shoulders, and some even in the emphatic negative. To me the study of the Past seems to be a categorical imperative of civilized life; I shall not try to justify it otherwise. I am fully persuaded that under all conditions of civilized life there will always be found people willing to "waste" either their own time and incidentally [104] the time of others by applying their energy to a study of the Past, to a study of dead languages, buried antiquities, and civilizations by-gone. These unselfish silent workers will be encouraged in their arduous labours by the sincere homage and generous appreciation of men like Mr. Damodhardas Sukhadvala. These men are not satisfied with acting as spectators in the academic inquiry whether the aims and objects of historical research are wise or otherwise; they attest their lively interest in the work of scholars with the seal of material and munificent assistance. So long as our country produces such generous and unselfish donors, we need not fear for the future of Indological Research in India.

V. S. SUKTHANKAR.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES ON MAMMAṬA'S KĀVYAPRAKĀŚA

I—THE TWO AUTHORS OF THE KĀVYAPRAKĀŚA*

Tradition ascribes the Kavyaprakāśa to Mammaṭa and Mammaṭa is for all intents and purposes the single author of the Kavyaprakāśa (KP). Another tradition reminds us however that the KP forms one of the few exceptions to the efficacy of the Nandi to ensure the *nirvighnāpārasamāpti* of the undertaken work—in other words that its author never lived to complete the work he had begun. This last tradition by itself carries some weight in so far as the old Hindus were so ticklish about confessing to any such exceptions that a rumour of this nature could not possibly acquire the currency it has were it not grounded on fact. These two conflicting traditions are reconciled in light of the evidence of the author of Nidarsana—one of the older Vyākhyas of the KP—who confirms the latter statement and tells us that up to the Alampkāra Parikara the KP is the work of Mammaṭa—and that includes all the nine chapters together with nearly two thirds of the tenth and the last chapter—he ascribes the rest of it to one Allāṭa about whom nothing more is known. In support of the view he adduces two verses composed by two different authors which refer to the tradition according to which M left his work unfinished. The first of these is quoted in Jhaṭakikara's edition¹ of the Kavyaprakāśa at p 852

kṛtāḥ śrīmammaṭācāryavarjaḥ parikarāḥ adhiḥ |
prabandhāḥ pūrtāḥ seṣo vīdhayallāṭasurina ||²

* [ZDMG 66 477-490]

¹ Kavyaprakāśa a treatise on poetics by Mammaṭa edited by JHAṬAKIKARA Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit Series Bombay 1901. References throughout this article are made with respect to the figurings of this edition. A single figure following KP denotes the page and double figures denote the numbers of the Ullāsa and the Kārikā respectively.

PETERSON first called attention to this stanza (JBombBrRAS XVI p 23). Being misled by an evidently corrupt passage in the commentary of one of the manuscript copies of KP he had acquired he was led to imagine that the metrical portion—the Kārikas alone, belong to M while the prose commentary is the work of Rājānaka Ānanda. Prof BÜHLER's reconstruction of the corrupt passage in question clearly pointed out PETERSON'S mistake (Ind Ant XIII [478] pp 30-31). Prof BÜHLER remarks in the course of the same article. Though I am unable to accept Prof PETERSON'S main theory I think that he has done a service to the history of Sanskrit literature by showing the existence of an old tradition according to which the KP is the work of two authors. I do not see any reason for doubting this statement. An independent proof of the common authorship of the Kārikas and Vṛtti is afforded by the Kārikā mala tu pūrtat in

[478] This fact—quite probable in itself—has, to my knowledge never been further investigated; and the two facts just quoted are the only ones on which the theory of the double authorship of KP so far rests. A comparison of the Kāvyaśāstra (KL) with on the one hand the part of KP attributed to M and on the other, that attributed to Allāṣa, as I intend to show, sets the matter beyond the pale of doubt. Such a comparison discloses the different sources which the two authors have used. While the author of the latter end of KP depends for his whole material practically on KL, and does not hesitate to borrow expressions and phrases verbatim from the latter, M himself makes use reservedly of the new ideas brought into the *Alaṃkāraśāstra* by Rudraṣa and looks for his authorities amongst writers older than Rudraṣa.

From *Parisaṃkhyā* on to the end of the portion dealing with *Suddha Arthālaṃkāras*—which, for convenience of reference I will name the “second” part of *Ullāsa* 10, in contradistinction to the remaining portion of the same *Ullāsa* which will accordingly be referred to as the “first” part—there follows a set of new *Alaṃkāras* nearly all of which are borrowed from KL, and in the following I will try to show that the definition in KP agree word for word with those in KL or at best, offer only a paraphrase of the latter. A comparison of the number of illustrations in KP borrowed from Rudraṣa's work shows us that there are in the “second” part as many as 11 out of a total number of 48 illustrations borrowed from the KL, while in the “first” part there are only 18 out of a total of 378.

The following is a synopsis of the points of agreement between KL 7, 72 to the end of that *adhyāya* and KP 10, 118—131, comprising the nine *Alaṃkāras* 1 *Paṅkara*, 2 *Parisaṃkhyā* 3 *Kāranamāla*, 4 *Anyonya*, 5 *Uttara*, 6 *Sāra*, 7 *Milita*, 8 *Ekāvalī*, 9 *Vīṣama*. As in the KL one whole *āryā* is devoted to the definition of each single *Alaṃkāra*, while in the KP the style of enunciation is much terser, only the significant portion of each will be cited for purposes of comparison.

1 *Paṅkara* (KL 7, 72, KP 10 118)

KL definition *sābhīprayatn viśeṣanāṣ vastu viśiṣyeta* |

KP has *sākūṭatn* instead of *sābhīprayatn* and the definition runs *viśeṣanāṣ yat sākūṭatn uktih* |

[479] Rudraṣa mentions four varieties of *paṅkara* according as the *viśeṣya* is a *dravya*, *guṇa*, *kriyā*, or *jāti*. In KP it is not further divided. This is the last verse attributed to Mammata.

2 *Parisaṃkhyā* (KL 7 17, KP 10, 119)

the *Alaṃkāra Rūpaka*, where *purvavat* must refer to *mālopanā* which has been mentioned in the *Vṛtti* on *Upamā* as it can refer to nothing else in the *Kārikās*, themselves, *mala* never being mentioned in them.

KL definition

*prīṣṭam apīṣṭam sad gunadī yat kathiyate kvacit tulyam |
anyatra tu tadabhavaḥ pratyate seti parī° ||*

KP definition

*kim cit prīṣṭam apīṣṭam iva kathitaṃ yat prakalpate |
tadṛganyavyapohaya parisaṃkhyā tu sāmīkṛtā ||*

KP *tādṛg°* corresponds to KL *tulyam anyatra tadabhāvaḥ*—Kāvyapradīpa explains in fact, *tādṛg tulyam | vyapohaya vjavacchedāya |* KP illustration 1 is built on the same pattern as KL illustration 1, and KP illustration 3 = KL illustration 2

3 *Kāraṇamālā* (KL 7, 84, KP 10 120)

KL definition

yathapūrtam eti karanatam arthanam pūrtārthāt |

KP definition

yathottaraṃ cet pūrtasya pūrvasyārthasya hetuḥ |

KP illustration *yutendriyatam* etc. embodies the same idea as KL illustration *vinayena bhavati* etc. Possibly both are made in imitation of a common model, more likely however as KP illustration is quoted by Maṃmaṇya again in Ullāsa 7 to illustrate a *doṣa*, the latter is an older verse and R. has transformed it into an *aśya*

4 *Anyonya* (KL 7, 91 KP 10 120—121)

KL definition

*yatra parasparam ekah kārakabhāvo
'bhīdheyayoh kriyaya saṃjāyeta |*

KP definition

kriyayā tu parasparam tatlunor janane |

Here the re-semblance is obvious

5 *Uttara* (KL 7, 93, KP 10 121—22)

KL definition

*uttarāvacanaśraṇat unnaṣṇam yatra
pūrtāvacanānām praśnād apī |*

KP definition

*uttarāśrutimatratāḥ praśnasya unnaṣṇam yatra kriyate |
tatra iva satī ||*

[480] Here again the similarity is striking. The structure of KP illustration 2 *kāraṇamālā* is the same as that of KL illustration 2 *kṛmīstargā*

6 *Sāra* (KL 7, 96, KP 10, 123)

KL definition

*yatra yathāsamudāyāt yathāikadeśam kramena gunavad iti |
nīrdhāryate parāvadhi niratisayaṃ tad bhavet sāmam ||*

This complicated definition of this simple *alaṃkāra* of R is compressed into half an *āryā* with the retention of all the significant elements of R's definition

uttarottaram utkarso bhavet sāmā parāvaddhi |

KL *yathāsamudāyāt yathāikadeśam gunavat* implies the same idea as *utkarṣaḥ* and *kramena* = *uttarottaram* *Paravaddhi* is the same in both Further, KL illustration = KP illustration

7 *Mūlita* (KL 7, 106, KP 10, 130)

KL definition

*samanacihnena harṣakopādī |
āparena tīraskṛtyate nityenāgantukēnāpi ||*

KP definition

*saṁena lakṣmana vastu vastuna yan nigūhyate |
nījenāgantunā vāpi ||*

In this definition, KL *saṁena cihnena* is the exact equivalent of KP *saṁena lakṣmanā*, *tīraskṛtyate* of *nigūhyate*, *nityenāgantukēnāpi* of *nījenāgantunā vāpi*

Ekāvāṇī (KL 7, 109, KP 10, 131)

KL definition

*ekavāṇī seyaṃ yatīrārthaparaṃparā yathālābham |
ādhiyātē yathottaraviśeṣanā sthityapohābhyām ||*

KP definition

*sthāpyate pōhyate vāpi yathapūrvam paraṃparam |
viśeṣanatayā yatra vastu saikāvalī smṛtā ||*

Here KL *paraṃparā yathottaraviśeṣana sthityapohābhyām* are exact equivalents of KP *paraṃ paraṃ yathā pūrvam viśeṣanatayā* and *sthāpyate pōhyate vāpi* respectively

KP illustration 1 is taken from Navasāhasikacaritam and illustration 2 (to which KL illustration 2 is not at all unlike) is from the Bhaṭṭikāvya

Here we will also consider

9 *Viśama* (KL 7, 47—55 and 9 45—47, KP 10 126—127)

In its natural sequence it comes in both the works after *Sāra* and before *Mūlita* I did not however consider it there, as it differs [481] from the other eight beginning with *Parisaṃkhyā* in so far as it is an *alaṃkāra*

with several varieties—described by R. once under Vastavya* and again under Ātiśaya *alaṃkaras*—all of which have not been adopted in KP. The varieties however which are common to the two show as striking points of similarity as the other eight. Only the varieties which are common to both are here quoted.

KP variety 1 *kvacid yad ativaidharmyan na sleso ghaṭanamiyat |*
and *vṛtti* to it *dvāyor atyantavilaksanātaya yad anupapadya manatā*
yaiva yogah |

KL 7 49 *asaṃbhatyobhavo va abhidhāyate |* which is to be taken in conjunction with KL 7 47 *vakta viḥaṭayati, kam api saṃbandham |*

The illustrations in both are formed with *kva kva*

KP variety 2 *kartuh kriyaphalavaplur naiva nartkas ca yad bhavet |*

KL 7 54 *yatra kriyavipatter na bhavéd eva kriyaphalaṃ tavat |*
kartur anarthas ca bhavet ||

KP variety 3 4 *gunakriyabhyaṃ karyasya karanasya gunakriye |*
kramena ca viruddhe yat sa eṣa viśamo mataḥ ||

KL 9 45 *karyasya ca karanasya ca yatra virodhak parasparam*
gunayoh | tadvat kriyayor atihava ||

Further as in KL illustration 1 (9 46) so in KP illustration 3 (= Navasahasikacaritam) the properties of objects sword and fame bearing the relation of cause and effect are contradictory to each other. KP illustration 4 – KL illustration 2 (9 47)

These nine *Alaṃkaras* with the exception of *Viśama* follow each other in the same order both in the KP and KL as may be easily verified by comparing the numbers indicating the order in which they appear in the two works quoted above. Further there are no other *Alaṃkaras* in the first part of the tenth *Ullasa* which agree in wording so minutely with the corresponding *Alaṃkaras* in KL. A comparison of the analysis of these nine with those immediately preceding them should leave us in no doubt as to the difference of authorship of them respectively.

The above *Alaṃkaras* from 1–8 do not follow each other in KL, un-interruptedly in the same order. Rudraṭa mentions six more *Alaṃkāras* between *Parikara* and *Ekavali* viz *Parivṛtti* *Vyātreka* *Avasara* (= KP *Udatta*) and *Hetu* *Sukṣma* and *Lesa* (KL 7 77 86 87 98 100 103) which remain to be noticed. Of them the first three have been dealt with by Mammāṭa himself in the first part of the tenth *Ullasa* (KP 10 113 105 115) and so do not come properly under our consideration here. In passing however it may be mentioned that a comparison of the treatment of *Parivṛtti* and *Vyātreka* in KL and KP offers a significant contrast to

the *Alaṃkāras* just examined. In the definition of *Parivṛtti* although Mammaṭa does not bring us anything new which is not [482] there already in Rudraṭa's definition still the two definitions are utterly unlike each other in wording. In Vyatireka, moreover, while quoting Rudraṭa's own illustration (7, 90) of this *Alaṃkāra* Mammaṭa points out that it has been wrongly classified by the former, and in fact, in opposition to Rudraṭa, he maintains that there can never be in good poetry a superiority (*ādhikya*) of the standard of comparison (*Upamāna*) over the object compared (*Upameya*). Further, he mentions sixteen varieties of Vyatireka against Rudraṭa's four.

Hetu, Sūkṣma and Leśa form a characteristic group in the *Alaṃkāra-śāstra*. Bhāmaha uncompromisingly rejects them³, Daṇḍin, on the other hand most emphatically claims great excellence for them⁴. Vāmana and Udbhaṭa do not mention any of the three. Rudraṭa again has all three but his Sūkṣma is different from that of his predecessors. In KP, Leśa is not mentioned at all. Hetu is explicitly denied. Sūkṣma alone is recognised. As regards Sūkṣma and Hetu the other author of the KP shows the influence of M. R.'s. Hetu has been identified by the former in the *vṛtti* to *Kāraṇamālā* (10, 120) with *Kāvyaśiṅga*, but in doing so, he quotes R's illustration⁵ to Hetu and observes, so to say as an apology to R, that the verse (although it is no illustration of Hetu) deserve to rank as good poetry in so far as it contains a *Komalānuprāsa*. In his treatment of Sūkṣma both his definition and the *vṛtti* show that our author borrows his material from Daṇḍin's definition KD 2 260. KP illustration 2 is in imitation of KD 2 261. This treatment of Hetu, Sūkṣma and Leśa must be looked upon as a characteristic of the school to which M. belonged and be not allowed in any way to affect our conclusions with regard to the remaining *Alaṃkāras*. Here ends the list of the *Vastava Arthālaṃkāras* of Rudraṭa from Pankara to the end of *Adhyāya* seven.

To summarise the results of the foregoing analysis taking our stand point at R's Pankara all the remaining fourteen *alaṃkāras* have been accounted for. Of these, eight follow each other in the same general order in both the works, the definitions of seven of them have been copied in KP without any significant alteration, three of them have not further been noticed in KP as they are already dealt with in the "first" part of *Ullāsa* 10, three more, viz. Hetu, Sūkṣma and Leśa, have been treated admittedly differently. The different numberings of these in the two works depend chiefly on these very facts and on the addition of two other *Alaṃkāras*, *Viśama* and *Sama*. Of these *Viśama* has already been noticed, [483] *Sama*

³ Cf. *Bhāmahālaṃkāra* (Appendix VIII to *Pratāparudrayaśobhāṣaṇa*, ed. Trivedi BSS. LXV) 2, 86.

⁴ *Kāvyaśiṅga* (- KD) 2, 235.

⁵ Cf. Section III of this paper (Hefi IV).

appears for the first time in KP and is there defined as the converse^a of Viśama

Next come under our consideration the fifteen remaining Alamkaras in K.P.—ten of which are met with for the first time with Rudraṭa two more (Vyājokti Samādhī) for the first time in KP—at least under these names. They are the following Vyājokti Asaṅgati Samādhī Adhika Pratyāñika Samarāṇa Bhṛāntimān Pratapa, Samānya Viśesa Tadguṇa, Atadguṇa Vyāghata Saṁsṛṣṭi, Saṁkara. These Alamkaras differ in the two works under consideration from the others earlier examined in so far as they do not follow each other in the same sequence in the two works, in KL they are spread over Adhyāyas 8 and 9 according, as they are upameya or Atiśaya Alamkāras on the other hand, in the KP they are jumbled together anyhow. It may, however be noticed that (1) nearly in every doubtful case our author mentions in the *vṛtti* whether the Alamkara in question is based on an *upamā* or an *atiśaya*, (2) that our author does not borrow wholesale from R (as he did the Vastava Alamkaras) but that he picks and chooses his material and often freely paraphrases R's expressions. It is however, noteworthy that out of a total number of 18 new Alamkaras introduced by the author of Kavyālamkāra in Adhyāya 8 and 9 eleven find acceptance in this part of Ullasa 10 of KP in more or less unaltered condition.

Of the fifteen Alamkaras above enumerated four Vyājokti Samādhī Atadguṇa¹ and Saṁsṛṣṭi are not known to R, Pratyāñika Pratapa, Vyāghata are treated differently in KP and KL, and Saṁkara is considerably elaborated in KP. Out of the remaining seven agree with each other in the two works very closely—sometimes even in wording. We will consider first these last seven following the order in which they occur in KP.

10 Asaṅgati (KL 9 48—49, KP 10 124)

KL definition

viśpaṣṭe samakalaṁ karanam anyatra kārjyam anyatra |

KP definition

bhinnadeśatayā tyantam karyakāranabhūtaṣoḥ |
yugapad dharmayoḥ khyatīḥ ||

The *samakalam* corresponds to *yugapat anyatra anyatra* to *bhinna desatayā kāranam* *kārjyam* to *karyakāraṇaṣoḥ*. These are all the important elements of the definitions. The *vṛttikāra* observes that the Alamkāra is based on an *atiśaya*.

* In the younger Alamkāraśāstra some new Alamkāras were obtained by simply inverting the old ones, thus *Sama* is obviously the converse of *Viśama*, *Atadguṇa* of *Tadguṇa* more remotely *Vinokti* of *Sahokti*.

¹ *Atadguṇa* is the converse of *Tadguṇa*. See note 1.

[484] 11. *Adhika* (KL 9, 28 ; KP. 10, 128):

KL. variety 2:

yatrā 'dhāre sumahaty ādheyam avasthitam tanīyo'pi |
atiricyate katham cit tad adhikam ... ||

KP. definition :

mahator yan mahiyāmsāv āśritāśrayayoh kramāt |
āśrayāśrayinau syātām tanutve'py adhikam tu yat ||

note the *vṛtti*, *āśritam ādheyam | āśrayah tadādhārah*. KP. illustration
1 = KD. 2, 219 to Atiśaya.

12. *Smarana* (KL. 8, 109. 110 ; KP. 10, 132):

KL. definition :

vastu viśeṣam dṛṣtvā pralipattā smarati yatra tatsadṛśam |
kālāntarānubhūtam vastu anantaram ity adah smaranam ||

KP. definition :

yathā 'nubhavam arthasya dṛṣṭe tat sadṛśe smṛtiḥ | smaranam.

Here, *dṛṣtvā*, *dṛṣṭe*, *smarati*, *smṛti*, *tatsadṛśam*, *tatsadṛśe*, *kālāntarānubhūtam*, *yathānubhavam* form the parallel series in the two

13. *Bhrāntimān* (KL. 8, 87. 88 ; KP. 10, 132):

KL. definition :

arthaviśeṣam paśyann avagacchad anyam eva tat sadṛśam |

KP. definition :

anyasamvit tat tulyadarśane |

Arthaviśeṣam paśyan and *tatsadṛśam avagacchet* correspond to *tulya-darśane*, *anyasamvit*. The terms, *prākaraṇika* and *aprākaraṇika* in the *vṛtti* show that the *Alaṃkāra* is based on an *upamā* and in fact the *vṛttikāra* expressly states that it is not an *atiśaya* : *na ca eṣa rūpakam prathamāliṣa-yoktir vā*

15 14 *Sāmānya* and *Tadguna* :

To understand properly the relation of these we must examine the genesis of these *Alaṃkāras*. These two figures run into each other very closely and they appear in the two works considerably mixed up. They were forcibly separated by Rudraṭa and although this separation is not accepted without reserve by our author, he betrays Rudraṭa's influence quite distinctly. The older *Alaṃkāra* writers knew an *Atiśaya* which was, the desire to depict some quality of the matter in hand (*prastuta vastu*) which surpasses the commonly acknowledged limits, cf. Daṇḍin, KD 2, 214 :

visakṣū yā viśeṣasya lokasimāntarātmikāḥ |
asāv atiśayoyuktih syūt alaṃkārottamā yathā ||

[485] to which the classical illustration was the description of the whiteness of the moon, which makes invisible the white-clad *abhisārikās*, with white garlands, anointed over with *candana* (KD 2 215) The same we meet with again in Vāmana's Alamkārasūtravṛtti 4 3 10

sambhāvya dharmatadutkarsakalpanā 'tisayoktīh |

The illustration (which is very likely a quotation) plays on the same idea of the moonlight and *abhisārikās* Daṇḍin knows an *atīśayopamā* which he illustrates but does not define. It is based on the idea that (as an *Atīśayoktī*) the *upamāna* and the *upameya* would be utterly undistinguishable from each other, but for some accident or for some one trifling property, which is always present in the *upamāna* or the *upameya* cf KD 2, 22, where the moon is said to be different from the face only because the moon is to be seen in the sky and her face on herself Rudraṭa, who has an *atīśaya* and an *upamā* but no *atīśayopamā*, sees in Daṇḍin's illustration to *Atīśaya* a state of things in which there is a description based on *Atīśaya* of two objects, which when placed side by side are no longer distinguishable, the same property being present in each (*tadguna*), while in Daṇḍin's *Atīśayopamā* he sees only an extreme similarity (*sāmya*) and no *Atīśaya* In KP we find that the KL *Tadguna* variety 1 (= Daṇḍin's *Atīśaya*) corresponds to KP *Sāmānya* illustration 1 and KL *Samya* variety 2 (= Daṇḍin's *Atīśayopamā*) corresponds to KP *Sāmānya* illustration 2, while KL *Tadguna* variety 2, which is a new *Alamkāra* takes its place in KP, as *Tadguna*.

KL. *Tadguna* variety 1 (KL 9 22)

jasminn ekagūṇanam arthanāṃ yogalakṣyārūpānām |
saṃsarge nānātām na lakṣyate tadguna sa itī ||

KP defines it as an *upamāya alamkāra* (KP 10 134)

KP definition

prastulasya yad anyena guṇasāmānyatvayā |
ekatmyam badhyate yogat tat sāmānyam itī smṛtam ||

R's illustration is an imitation of the old model and KP illustration = Vāmana's illustration to the Sūtra above quoted Further cf *ṛṣi prastuta tadanyayor anyūnatiriktatya nibaddham dhātalatām ekatmaketuḥ ata etā pṛthagbhāvena na tayoḥ upalakṣanam* which reminds us of R's definition *ekagūṇanam arthānām nanātām na lakṣyate*

KL. *Samya* variety 2 (KL 8 107)

sarvakaram jasminn ubhayor abhidhātām anyathā samyam |
upameyotkarakaram kūrīta uttam anyat yat ||

is not further defined in KP, but cf illustration 2 to *Sāmānya* and the *ṛṣi*, *prathamapratiparṇam chṛēdām na tyudasitum ut* [486] *sakate*

(„cannot do away with the antecedent apprehension of identity"). It is an *upamā-alaṃkāra* in both.

The other *Tadguṇa* defined by R. is faithfully copied, almost word for word, by M's successor.

KL. *Tadguṇa* variety 2 (9, 24) :

asamānaguṇaṃ yasminn atibahalaguṇena vastunā vastu |
saṃsr̥ṣṭam tadguṇatām dhatte 'nyas tadguṇah sa iti ||

KP. 10, 137 :

svam utsṛjya guṇaṃ yogād atyujjvalaguṇasya yat |
vastu tadguṇatām eti bhanyate sa tu tadguṇah ||

Here we see that the KL., *atibahalaguṇena* corresponds to KP. *ujjvalaguṇasya*, *tadguṇatām eti* to *tadguṇatām dhatte* and *saṃsr̥ṣṭam* to *yogāt*.

16 *Viśeṣa* (KL. 9, 5—10, KP. 10, 135 and 136) :

The three varieties of R. are identical with those in KP.

KL. variety 1 definition :

kiṃ cid avaśyādheyaṃ yasminn abhīdhēyate nirādhāram |
tādṛg upalabhyamānaṃ vijñeyo 'sau viśeṣa iti ||

KP. variety 1 definition :

vinā prasiddham ādhāram ādheyasya vyavasthitā |

KL illustration = KP. illustration 1. -

KL variety 2 definition :

yatrakam anekasminn ādhāre vastu vidyamānatayā |
yugapad abhīdhīyate ... ||

KP Variety 2 :

ekātmā yugapad vṛttir ekasyānekagocarā |

KL. illustration embodies the same idea as KP. Prakṛt illustration

KL. variety 3 :

yatrānyat kurvāno yugapat kāryāntaraṃ ca kurvīta |
kartum aśakyam kartā vijñeyo 'sau viśeṣo 'nyaḥ ||

KP. variety 3 :

anyat prakurvataḥ kāryam aśakyasyānyatastunah |
tathaiiva kāraṇaṃ ceti . . ||

Here the similarity does not need to be pointed out. In the *vṛtti* the author points out that this *Alaṃkāra* is based on an *Atiśaya*.

There remain to be considered the three new *Alaṃkāras* *Pratyāṅika*, *Pratīpa* and *Vyāghāta* which occur both in KL. and KP and which still are differently treated by the two authors. The *Pratyāṅika* and *Pratīpa* of KP,

have indeed some similarities [487] with those of R., but their treatment is widely divergent from that of the 16 *Alaṃkāras* above considered. In *Pratīpanika* (KL 8, 92-93, KP 10, 129) an angry opponent (in KL, the *upamāna* wishing to conquer the *upameya*, in KP not the *upamāna* at all) persecutes an innocent third party (in KL, any third party, in KP the ally of the invincible offending party). In *Pratīpa* both in KL and KP there is disparagement of the *upamāna*, but the result is arrived at, according to the two authors in two different ways. In KL (8, 76-78) the *upameya* is censured or pitied as the case may be, on account of its comparability with the *upamāna* which comparability is made possible only by the presence of some temporary flaw obscuring the excessive beauty of the *upameya*. On the other hand in KP (10, 133) it is *Pratīpa*, when the *upamāna* is condemned as being useless, since the *upameya* is quite capable of serving its purpose or else when the *upamāna* is turned into an *upameya*. R's illustration *garām asaṃśaya* etc. (8-78) is indeed quoted in KP as an example of the same figure, but the author explains it in a slightly different way if, as I take it, *duravastha* is a necessary condition in R's definition. KP has not „*duravastha*“ and he sees in the verse only the turning of the lotus (*upamāna*) into an *upameya* which, according to him, constitutes its condemnation *upameyīkaraṇam eva utpālānām anādarāḥ* | The figure *Vyāghāta*, which we meet for the first time in KL and which is the last figure but one mentioned by R. (excluding of course, the separate chapter on *Śleṣa*, which does not come here in consideration) is also the last one of the *Suddhalaṃkāras* in KP. Beyond the names however, the two *Alaṃkāras* have nothing in common. In KL (9, 52-53) it is *Vyāghāta* when a cause does not produce its [natural] effect even when not hindered by other causes—which would otherwise explain the absence of the effect following that cause. The underlying idea is an *Atisaya*. On the other hand in KP (10-138) there are two agents, and by the very means by which one of them accomplishes an act, the other one undoes it. The underlying idea here is *Virodha*. The definition reads

yad yatha sadhitaṃ kenāpy aparena tadanyathā |
tathaita yad vidhiyeta sa vyāghāta itī smṛtaḥ ||

In the *Vṛtti* we find *sādhitavastuvyāhātīhetuḥ itī vyāghātaḥ* 'it is V because it is the cause of the frustration of an end already achieved', and in my opinion Bhaṭṭojī quite rightly explains *kāryavastuḥ karanatū jātyaṃ prayojakam*. I do not find any of these things in R's definition of V, nor have I been able to identify the V in KP with any of R's *Alaṃkāras*.

We will now turn to the 'first' part of *Ullasa* 10 of KP. The most cursory comparison of the *Kāṅkas* 87 to 118 of KP together with the *Vṛtti* to them with *Adhyāyas* 7, 8-9 of KL in [488] which R deals with the cor

responding Alamkāras convinces us that though it would be quite incorrect to assume that Mammāṭa ignores Rudraṭa's work altogether still we are justified in saying that he did not take the latter for his model. He has indeed borrowed R's illustration⁹, and even adopted some of the Alamkāras which we meet for the first time with the author of KL but on the whole M shows an individuality of treatment and even in the cases of the Alamkāras which are directly borrowed from R we find them presented in KP in a distinctly different garb.

Rudraṭa was so far as we at present can say the first writer on Poetics who categorically classified all Alamkāras so as to make them finally rest on a simple description of Vastu (Adhyāya 7) or on an Upama (Adhyāya 8) or an Atiśaya (Adhyāya 9) or a Śleṣa (Adhyāya 10). Thus there arises a series of parallel¹⁰ Alamkāras sometimes bearing different names which are to be regarded as *vastava* or *aupamya* according as we look at them as implying a coordinate description of two different things which may have some common properties—and in that case it is a *vastava*—or we consider it as a description of only one of the objects (i.e. the *prastuta*) to which the other with similar properties (i.e. the *aprastuta*) is compared. This craving after an almost mathematically precise analysis characterises the whole work KL. This is not the only instance in which R forsakes the trodden path. In the KL he introduces a row of new Alamkāras and adds new varieties to the old ones. M on the other hand follows the older school and his work betrays the influence of Udbhaṭa who himself was a follower of Bhaṃṇa. He treats KL in no kindly spirit. When he quotes R it is to show that he is wrong¹¹ with the single exception of the verse KL 4/32 which he quotes with approbation naming at the same time the author. Compare here the Alamkāra Samuccaya, which as a Vastava Alamkāra we meet for the first time with R. R defines three varieties. M accepts only two of them. In the Vṛtti he specially mentions that those who try to make out that there is a third variety are wrong¹²—here he must have R's classification in mind for the reason above mentioned—in so far as that variety is included in his first. That both the authors understand the first variety in the same sense follows from M's illustrations and Vṛtti to them. M's definition is different from that of R and it must be admitted that the former is better than the latter. R defines Samuccaya KL 7/19

yatraikatranekam vastu param syat sukhatahady etā |

⁹ I think there is no doubt about the fact that R illustrated his rules exclusively by examples composed by himself. See further on.

¹⁰ cf. Sahokū (KL 7/13–18 and 8/99–100) Samuccaya (KL 7/19–22 and 8/103–104) Saṃya (KL 8/105) and Tadgūṇa (KL 9/22–23) etc.

¹¹ cf. KP 83L 83S Samuccaya KP 781 Vyatireka

¹² cf. Section II of this article

tenth Ullasa there have been borrowed six illustrations (out of a total number of 84) from the little known Kavya Navasahasikacaritam¹² while of the preceding 518 illustrations there is not a single one which is traceable to that Kāvya

In view of these facts taken all together I think we are justified in assuming for true the tradition regarding the two authors of the Kavya prakāśa and I am inclined to think that the statement of the author of Nidarsana agrees correctly to the very verse, as Paṅkara is just the hinge where the two parts are most likely to be joined together

II—A NOTE ON MAMMAṬA'S SAMUCCAYA *

In the following it is intended to point out that a portion of the Vṛtti to the definition of the Alampkara Samuccaya in the Kavyaprakasa does not originate from either Mammaṭa or Allaṭa and that it must be regarded as a later interpolation Mammaṭa defines two varieties of Samuccaya The definition of the first variety KP 10 116 runs as follows

Definition

tatsiddhīhetav ekasmin yatrayat tatkarṇam bhavet samuccayo sa |

When there is already one cause for its production (viz of an effect) there are also others doing the same (i e producing the same effect) it is S

Vṛtti

tasya prastutasya karyasya ekasmin sadhake sthite sadhakantaram yatra sambhavanti sa samuccayah |

When there being already present one cause of an effect in question other causes are present it is S

Illustration 1

*durvaratī smaramarganah priyalamo dure mano tyulsukam
gadham prema nalam layo tikaṣṭhinah pranah kulam nirmalam |
strītvam dhairya virodhi manmathasuhṛt kālāḥ kṛtānto kṣamo
no sakhyāś caturah katham nu virahah soḍhavya titham śaṭhaḥ ||¹*

Irresistible are Madana's arrows the beloved is at a distance the heart is full of longing love deep age young life painful family stainless womanhood is the reverse of firmness the Season is the friend of Madana Death is inexorable the friends are not shrewd¹ How is this perfidious separation to be endured²

¹² For this data I am dependent on the alphabetical index of the illustrations in the KP at the end of JHAṬAKIKARA's edition of the work as the Mahākāvya is as yet known only in MS.

* [7DMG 66 533 43]

¹ Sārngadharapaddhati 3753

[534] *Vṛtti*

atra virahasahatīṃ smaramārgaṇa eṇa kuraṇi taduparī priyatama durasthityadī upāttam |

Here Madana's arrows by themselves make the separation unbearable over and above this (such other causes, as) the fact of the lover being away etc. are mentioned

Vṛtti

eṣa eva samuccayah sadyoge sadyoge sadasadyoge ca paṇavasatīḥ na pṛthak lakṣyate | tatha hi ||

This same S includes (that variety) where there is a *sadyoga asadyoga* and *sadasadyoga* and hence the latter is not separately defined by us for instance

Illustration 2

*kulam amalīṇaṃ bhadra murtiṃ matih śrūtisalinī
bhujabalaṃ alaṃ sphūta lakṣmīḥ prabhūtiṃ akhaṇḍitam |
prakṛtisubhaga hy eṇa bhava amibhīṣaṃ ayaṃ jano
vrajatī sutarāṃ darpaṃ rajanīḥ ta eṇa tarāṅkusah ||*

Family stainless appearance noble mind enriched with (the knowledge of) the *śruti* strength of arms adequate wealth abundant lordship undivided these conditions are naturally charming though this one owing to them becomes concerted these same o king are your goads (which keep you on the path of virtue)

Vṛtti

atra tu satam yogah | uktodaharane tv asatam yogah ||

In this there is a combination of good things (*satam yogah*) but in the example (first) mentioned there is a combination of bad things (*asatam yogah*)

Illustration 3

*śaśī dūṣasadhūṣato galitayautana kamini
sato tīgataṭarīṇaṃ mukham anakṣaraṇaṃ stakṛteḥ |
prabhur dhanaparayanah satatadurgatīḥ sajjanah
nṛpaṅganagataḥ khalo manasi sapta śalyaṃ me ²)*

The moon pale during day a woman who has lost her youth, a pond devoid of lotuses the illiterate mouth of a handsome person, a patron who is entirely devoted to money a good man always in difficulties, an evil man at a king's court these are the seven darts in my mind

² Bhartṛhari's Nṛs. 45 = Ind Spr 6431 This is the only occasion on which a verse from the Nṛs. is quoted in the KP

Vṛtti :

atra śaṣiṇi dhūsare śalyāntarāniti śobhanāśobhanayogaḥ |

[535] ' Here the pale moon being already one dart, there are other darts as well • thus there is a combination of good bad things (*śobhanāśobhanayogaḥ*) "

Samuccaya means a "multitude", "collection", "heap", the essence of the figure *Samuccaya* is a heap of causes all (in equal degree) leading to the same effect, which latter forms the theme (*prastutakṛiyā*). Thus far it is clear enough. With the words *na pṛthak lakṣyate*, the Vṛttikāra evidently wishes to justify the position of the Kārikākāra in not admitting a further subdivision of a *śat*, *asat*, and *sadasat*-*Samuccaya* on the ground of the latter variety being already included in the defined S, the following three verses apparently illustrate what "others" understand by those terms. It is essential for our investigation to determine precisely what these three terms mean or can be taken to mean and as the Vṛttikāra does not explain them any further, we will next see how the commentators interpret them.

Govinda the best commentator of the KP expresses himself thus

kulamiti | atra kulādinām samicīnānām etā yogaḥ | durvārā ityādy uktodāharane smaramārganādinām asamicīnānām | śaṣiṇi | atra sadasator yogaḥ | durjanasyāśattiāt śaśyādinām sattīāt | etac cintyam | pūrtam dūra sthityādiviśeṣanena dhūsaratīādīnā 'itrāpy asamyakīam iti |

" (In the verse) *kulam* etc. | Here, there is a multitude of good things only such as *kula* etc. (viz, *kula mūrti*, *matī*, which are good, honourable desirable) | In the illustration (commencing with) *durvārā*, which has been mentioned (there is a multitude) of bad things only, such as *smaramārganā*, etc. (viz, *smaramārganā*, *utsukam manah*, *navam vayah*, etc. which are all causes of pain grief, etc.) In the verse *śaṣi* etc. | Here there is a combination of good and bad things (*sadasator yogaḥ*) | on account of the wickedness of the wicked man and the goodness of the moon etc | this deserves consideration | For as in the previous illustration (*durvārā* etc) the "badness" of the lover etc. results on account of (the attribute), "being at a distance" etc, so here also (the "badness" of the moon must follow) from the state of being dim during day'

The Prabhā understands the last sentence in Govinda's Commentary in the same way as I do. There the commentary runs

cintyate hetum āha | durvara ity uddāharane ity arthah | viśeṣanena samyaktvam ity anvayah | itatrāpi priyatamasya sattvam eva durasthityādiviśeṣa nena param asattvam | itāpi svataḥ sunderasya śaṣiṇo dhūsaratīvenety asad yoga evety arthah |

Nāgajñāta in his Udyota, after distinguishing the Alampkāra under consideration from Samādhī and Kavyalinga and explaining the illustrations

1 and 2 in detail thus commentates Govinda's remark, *atra sadasator saṭtvat*

idaṃ cintyam | evaṃ hi saḥacarabhinnata syat | sarvatra viśeṣasya sobhanatām viśeṣanasya sobhanatām ca prakṛantam [536] iti bhagnapra kramata va syat | tasman nṛpanganam asadyutam iti patho yuktah | sadasat iti ca karmadharayo yuktah |

This deserves consideration | Thus there will be Dissimilarity of the Associated (*saḥacarabhinnata*)² | or there will be a breach of the uniformity of expression (*bhagnaprakramata*) inasmuch as everywhere (i.e. in all the cases except *khala*) the object qualified is good, and the attribute is bad | Hence it would be better to read *nṛpanganam asadyutam* | it is better to regard *sadasat* as a Karmadharaya³ compound (*santas ca te asantas ca teṣāṃ yogah* and interpret it as Conjunction of things that are both good and bad) |

Thus the Udyota points out that if with the Pradīpa the compound *sadasat* were taken as a Dvandva it would occasion the breach of uniformity'. He therefore proposes to take it as a Karmadharaya both members of which are adjectives and interprets it as a combination of things which are both good and bad good naturally bad on account of some particular qualifying attribute. Further he points out that the illustrations 1 and 3 are really different, inasmuch as in illustration 3 the objects which by themselves are good are represented as being bad while in illustration 1 the objects have no goodness at all in so far as they always are causes of pain to a woman in separation from her lover Cf also Prabha

durvārah śasīty mayoh katham bheda iti cet itiham | durvāra ity atra viśeṣasohiṣṇutāya priyatamadinam satam apy asattitena uvakṣa | ita tu śobhanasya sato dhusaratvadina asobhanatvam apiti uvakṣa |

What the Commentators then say is the following We might understand *sadyoga* as that in which there is a combination of all good things—things desirable, praiseworthy *asadyoga* as that in which there is a combination of all evil things and *sadasadyoga* as a combination of some things which are good pleasure-giving etc together with other things which are bad unpleasant etc This is logically irreproachable but

² An example of *Saḥacarabhinnata* : given in KP 48b

*śruteṇa buddhir vyasanena murkhata madena nari salilena mīmāṇṣa |
nīṣa śaśankena dhṛtīḥ samadhina nayena cālāṅkṛiyate narendriata ||*

Here excellent things such as *śruta* are combined with things dissimilar viz. *vyasana* etc.

³ *Viśeṣanobhayapada* Karmadharaya P 2 1 57 *viśeṣanam viśeṣyena bahulam* is quoted by JHALAKIKARA in support (?)

unluckily it offends the canon of the *Alaṃkāraśāstra* and commits the fault of *sahacarabhinnatā*, apart from the fact that the illustrations do not wholly justify this interpretation. Thus illustration 2 should be a collection of all "good" things and we find accordingly that *kulam amalant bhadrā mūṭh* etc down to *prabhutvam akhaṇḍitam* are all "good" things. Illustration 3 should be a multitude of good objects and [537] bad objects as well. The objects mentioned are *śaśin, kāmīnī, saras, svakṛti, prabhu, sajjana* and *khala*. It can be argued that the first six are "good" and the *khala* bad ipso facto, therefore we have a combination of "good" and "bad" things, but this solution fails altogether when we proceed to illustration 1. That should be in accordance with our hypothesis a multitude of "bad" things only, we might explain the *durvārāḥ smaramārgaṇāḥ* as being an unequalled misfortune and equally so the *prīyatamo dūre*, but we cannot rationally say that *gāḍhamprema, navaṃ vayah, nirmalaṃ kulam, strītvam* and *sakh yah* as being unconditionally "bad". We see thus that our first hypothesis does not by any manner of means conform to the condition of the illustrations. The compound *sadasadyoga*, it is suggested, can however, be treated as a *Karmadhāraya* Compound and may be taken to mean a multitude of things which are by themselves "good" but which on account of some qualifying attribute are "bad" (*dharmaviśeṣasaṃparkād asobhanah*). Then we have a more rational explanation of illustration 3, we have, for example, *śaśin kāmīnī* etc. "good" in themselves, "bad" on account of the particular circumstances with which they are accompanied. This explanation commits, however, the fault of the *bhagnapṛakramatva*, in so far as while enumerating things which are "good" by themselves and "bad" on account of some casual attending circumstance, we come suddenly to the *khala* who is "bad" in himself and can be only looked upon as being "good", being at the royal court—at best not a very satisfying explanation. We proceed, however, to illustration 1 and we find that the villainous *prīyatama, preman, kula* which we had hypothesised as being "bad" are so also in virtue of some casual attending circumstance, thus the principles exemplified in illustrations 1 and 3 are identical. One way of getting over this difficulty has been already considered in connection with *Nāgajībhṭa*, another one will be considered in connection with *Ruyyaka*. That the three verses are examples of *Samuccaya* and that they are already included under the definition of the same in the *KP* is clear enough, what is not clear, and what the commentators have not been able to explain, is the fact, how either the terms *sadyoga* etc. or the illustrations 1, 2, 3 are to be interpreted so as to fit each other. *Mam* *maṭa* defines another variety of *S*, with regard to which we only need to consider the *Vṛtti*:

dhunoti cāsim tarute ca kīrtim ityādeḥ kṛpānapānī ca bhātān rara
ḷṣṭas saśūdhurādāś ca surāḥ surālaye ityādeḥ ca darśanād tyadhikātare iti
śkarman deḥ iti ca na cūcyam |

"It should not be said that (S is possible only) when the substrata of the simultaneous actions are different, nor (should it be said that it is possible only) when the region is one and the same, for (such verses as) *dhunoti* etc., and *kṛpānapārah* etc. are found"

In Ruyyaka's *Alamkārasarvasva* the subject is dealt with on [538] the same lines as laid down in the KP, all the five illustrations to the two varieties of S are repeated by him and with illustration 3 he has the same difficulty which we saw pointed out by Govinda. To the objection, that on the supposition that if the *sadasadyoga* were taken to mean a multitude of things which are good in themselves and bad only on account of the attending circumstances, the illustration *durārāh* and *śaṣṭi* cannot be differentiated from each other, he replies "(In *śaṣṭi*) it is intended to represent as bad those things which are good by themselves, while, in the other example, only such as are wholly bad, for this reason, in the one it is summarised with the words "there are the seven darts in my mind" on account of their causing pain to the mind even when they have entered the mind as objects of beauty, while in the other case, where the situation is summarised with the words, 'how can it be endured', it is intended to express the idea, that the objects from all points of view are bad"

This exposition is more brilliant than convincing, it is however, quite clear that this interpretation was not in the mind of the Vṛttikāra, were it so he would have himself mentioned it, as, to say the least of it, it is not very obvious. To make a rough guess at what the Vṛttikāra did have in his mind I should say that he meant *sadasat* as a Dvandva Compound and understood it in the sense in which Govinda does.

In passing, I may mention that *Sahityadarpaṇa* brings nothing new to the subject except some illustrations, the "*Sadasadyoga*" is, however, illustrated by the classical example from *Bhārṭṛhari*, which we have already met with twice before. The same difficulties are encountered and the author's explanations do not throw any more light on this perplexing question.

Beginning with Mammāṭa we thus see, there is a uniformity in the treatment of the Samuccaya. Whether we take the Compound *sadasat* as a Dvandva or as a Karmadhāraya the logical incongruity remains, and be it remembered, that this spurious variety is rejected in KP not on account of any inherent contradiction which it involves but on the ground, that it does not need a special mention, it being already included in the defined variety. The persistently uniform treatment of this subject after the pattern of the KP by the younger writers on *Alamkāraśāstra* suggests to us the fact that this is again one of those cases, where though a commentator did perhaps perceive a contradiction in the old teaching, he would not admit the contradiction but would every time interpret it away—certainly without being convincing for us. I have for this reason intentionally considered in detail

the views of the various commentators, who have done their best to explain away this contradiction, but who did not possess the key to the solution of the puzzle, and who were not honest enough to admit its existence.

[539] We will now follow the *Alaṃkāra* to its source. We find, of the old *Alaṃkāra* writers neither *Bhāmaha*, *Daṇḍin*, *Vāmana* nor *Udbhaṭa* know the *Vāstava Samuccaya*. It makes its appearance first with *Rudraṭa* who has treated it exhaustively in *Kāvyaālaṃkāra* 7, 19—29. There we find the *sadyoga*, *asadyoga*, and *sadasadyoga*, as well as the *vyadhikarana* referred to towards the end of the *Vṛtti* on S in KP. There is no doubt that the *Kārikākāra* had adopted the new *Alaṃkāra* of *Rudraṭa* and that the *Vṛttikāra* in his polemical remarks means to hit at *Rudraṭa* and *Rudraṭa* only. But there a surprise awaits us: *Rudraṭa* understands the three terms *sadyoga*, *asadyoga*, *sadasadyoga*, quite differently from what the *Vṛttikāra* represents him to do; the difference is, in fact, so great that unless the latter intentionally intended to misrepresent *Rudraṭa*, we must assume that he had thoroughly misunderstood him; so much so that it appears to me questionable whether he knew of *Rudraṭa*'s illustrations of the second variety of his S at all.

Rudraṭa's definition and illustrations of S 7, 19-29 are as follows:

Definition :

yatraikatrāṇekam vastu paraṃ syāt sukhāvahādy eva |
jñeyah samuccayo 'sau tredhānyah sadasator yogah ||

"That is called *Samuccaya* where several pre-eminent objects, are (found) together which cause happiness etc. By the joining together of "good" and "bad" (objects), (we have) another, which is threefold"

Illustrations :

durgam trikūṭam parikhā payonidhih
prabhuḥ daśāyah subhāś ca rāksasāḥ |
naro 'bhīyoktā sacivah plavaṅgamaiḥ
kam atra vo hāsyapade mahad bhayam ||

"The *Trikūṭa* mountain is the castle, the ocean is the moat, *Rāvaṇa* is the lord, the *Rāksasas* are the soldiers, Man is the enemy with Monkeys for ministers, where is for you any great fear in this matter for laughter?"

Next follow three verses which do not specially concern us here; and then a verse which *Namūsādhū* introduces with

* We can join "good" and "bad" objects in three ways: (1) two good objects together; (2) two bad objects together, or (3) pairs of objects of which one is good and the other bad. Cf. KL. 3, 23, where R. uses the dual *Dvandva vyasahasamaste* for two *vyasta* varieties and one *samasta* variety.

atha śator yogah—

*sāmode madhu kusume jananayanānandane sudhā candre |
kvacid api rūpavatī guṇā jagatī sunītaṃ vidhātur idam ||*

[540] "Honey is the fragrant bower, nectar in the moon, the delight of the eyes of the world At least in some beautiful things there are virtues—that is well ordained of the creator!"

athāśator yogah—

*ālingitah karīrah samyas taptośapāṃsumucayena |
maruto 'tikharā grīṣme kṛm ato 'nyad abhadram astu marau*

"The Śāmi⁸ trees embraced by the (thorny) Karīra creepers, the excessively sharp winds (mixed) with clouds of hot sandy dust! What can be more unwelcome than this in a desert in summer?"

atha sadasator yogah—

*kamalavaneṣu tuṣaro rūpavilāsādīśālīniṣu jara |
ramaniṣu api duscāritam dhātur lakṣmī ca nīceṣu ||*

"Snow amongst lotuses, old age in women possessing beauty, amorous charms etc., wealth with the mean that is ill ordained of the creator!"

In the first of the last three illustrations there is a *samuccaya* of (i) *madhu* and *kusuma* (ii) *sudhā* and *candra*, in the second, of (i) *karīra* and *śamī* and (ii) *taptośapāṃsumucaya* and *marula*, in the third of (i) *kamalavana* and *tuṣāra*; (ii) *ramanī* and *jarā* (iii) *lakṣmī* and *nīca*. These, without any extra distortion of the premises, resolve themselves into, 1 two pairs of "good" objects, 2 two pairs of "bad" objects, and 3 three pairs of objects, and in each pair one object is "good" and the other "bad"

Rudrāṭa's *Samuccaya* 2 is nothing like that mentioned by the *Vṛttikāra* of KP. It is certainly different from *Samuccaya* 1 in so far as in 1 there is a single "heap" and in 2 there is a double "heap". There is no question of "things" which are "good" by themselves and 'bad' on account of some qualifying circumstance. Namu Śādhū in his Commentary to 7 24 has rightly observed *sāmodakusumādīṣu madhātīnāṃ salāṃ yogah* in this S there is a union of two good things, and further on in 7 25 *mśrī bhūtāḥ* There is an actual mixture, combination, union. In "Sadyoga" there is a heap of pairs of good things, in *asadhyoga* there is a heap of pairs of bad things, in *sadasadyoga* there is a heap of pairs of things one of which is good and the other bad. This is a perfectly logical arrangement, and to any one who knows of Rudrāṭa's treatment of *Yamaka* and of his partiality for just such mathematical divisions, the explanation offers no

* The Śamī trees are *asat* (unpleasant) because of their containing fire Cf. *Sakuntalā* (ed. CAPELLER, p. 42 l. 17) *agnigarbhāṃ śamīm ita*

difficulty. It is indeed questionable whether this variety deserves to be specifically distinguished from the first variety—for it may be argued that if there be only a heap required, it may be a "heap" of single objects or of double objects;—but not for the reasons appearing in the [541] Vṛtti in the K.P., because in the illustrations of the Vṛttikāra there is not the slightest trace of a reference to the "double" nature of the 2nd variety. The illustrations 1, 2, 3 are illustrations of Rudraṭa's first variety and not of his second: the *ādi* of *sukhāvahādi* KL. 7, 19 includes *dukkhāvaha*.

Enough has been said in the earlier part of this paper to leave any doubt as to the fact that Mammaṭa himself was thoroughly acquainted with Rudraṭa's Kāvyaṭīkāra. His successor Allaṭa we have seen is wholly dependent for his material on Rudraṭa's work. So it is impossible for either of them to have made this mistake. Again, as it scarcely can be supposed that any one would wish maliciously to misrepresent the views of an *anonymous* person, malice in this matter is out of question. Does not the solution rather lie in the supposition that it is a case of simple misunderstanding; and that we ought to look upon the part of the Vṛtti beginning with *tathā* to *śobhanāśobhanayogaḥ* as an interpolation—an interpolation by some one who only from hearsay knew of the existence of the varieties "*sad-*, *asad-*, and *sadasadyoga*" of another school of Rhetoric and nothing more; for the rest, however, the interpolator had depended upon his own fertile imagination as to what they ought to be. This is, in any case, imaginable in the case of Rudraṭa's work, which has remained unacknowledged and unhonoured by the younger school of Aṭīkāra writers.

As the illustrations 1, 2, 3 in the Vṛtti to the K.P. have found their way in Ruyyaka's Aṭīkārasarvasva, (Kāvyamālā 35, p 161, 162) the interpolation must be looked upon as being considerably old; and if the fact of this interpolation be admitted, it will have one important consequence: we must allow enough elbowroom in the estimation of the chronological relationship between Mammaṭa and Ruyyaka, respectively between Rudraṭa and Ruyyaka, to make possible that, in the one case, such a significant interpolation in Mammaṭa's work and in the other, such an obvious misrepresentation of Rudraṭa's work, should have been in Ruyyaka's time an established fact.

III.—ANOTHER CASE OF THE PRACTICE OF QUOTING NAMES MERELY HONORIS CAUSA

Prof KIELHORN in an article entitled "On the Jainendra Vyākaraṇa" (*Ind. Ant.* X. p. 75) pointed out that the names of the grammatical authorities mentioned in the Jainendra Grammar must not be looked upon as historical data and in fact suggested that these names in all probability are wholly fictitious. In a later volume of the same journal (*Ind. Ant.* XVI. p 25) he

makes similar statements with regard to the Śakaṭayana Vyākaraṇa to quote his own words (ibid p 28) The names employed by him [Śakaṭayana] are given simply *pūjartham* and they by no means prove that Śakaṭayana in the particular instances knew anything whatever of [542] the teachings of the scholars whom he mentions It appears that the practice of quoting names merely *pūjartham* was followed even in later times and was not confined to the province of grammar alone The facts to which I am referring are admittedly not of such an assertive nature as those mentioned by Prof KIEHORN still the certainty in this case of their being false gives us a good opportunity of observing at leisure the danger of admitting too readily as historically true evidence of scattered facts in particular of the names of authors and authorities such as occur loosely in commentaries and which are not otherwise corroborated⁷

The facts in question centre round the verse KP 860

aviralakamalavikasaḥ sakalālmādas ca kokilanandah |
ramyo yam eti sampratī lokotkanthakarah kalah ||

quoted in the Vṛtti to the Karaṇamāla together with the following portion of the Vṛtti

ity atra kavyarūpaṭaṁ komalanuprasamahimnava samannastīr na
punar hetvalaṁkarakalpanatayeti pūrvoktakavyaṁgam eva hetuh ||

It is only on account of the Komalanuprasa in this verse that its nature of a Kavya is prescribed by tradition and not on account of the presence of the Alampkara Hetu Hetu is in no way different from the aforementioned Kavyalunga

From this alone if we knew nothing more about the verse we might be led to conclude that it is an old * verse which in the opinion of some rhetoricians contains the Alampkara Hetu but which in the opinion of the author of the KP contains no such Alampkāra however that may be the Vṛttikara seems to say the reputation of the verse as good poetry is left undamaged it being not wholly without some Alampkara This fact is taken in connection with the remark of Sarabodhinī—one of the older commentaries on the KP

⁷ In the article entitled Rudraṭa und Rudrabhaṭṭa ZDMG 42 p 426 Prof JACOB pleads Nun we ss man aber was auf die Autorität d esser Schrift steller [der Kompilatoren und Kommentatoren] zu geben ist da s e keinen literar h storischen S nn haben so nennen sie ihre A toren ohne angst liche Prüfung me st so we s e s in ihrer Vorlage fanden Daher wird nicht selten derselbe Vers ganz verschiedenen Dichtern zugeschrieben We geringeres Gewicht hat dabe die Ver wechslung zwe er so ähnlicher Namen wie Rudraṭa und Rudrabhaṭṭa¹ This is a case in point and I must say I fully concur with Prof JACOB in treating such evidence as not conclusive

⁸ e.g. the half verse. *gato ślam arko bhaṭind r yanti śasaya pakṣmah |* Bha mahalarṇaka 2 87 and Kavyadarśa 2 244

*vastutas īv aviralakamalavikāsa ityādiṣu vaicitryam anubhavasiddham
evety Udbhaṭādimataṁ samīcinam eveti navīnāḥ* | leads us to believe that this
verse or probably a similar verse was known to U , at any rate we may justly
conclude, we are on safe ground in assuming that U at least (amongst others)
looked upon the Alampkāra Hetu as a legitimate independent Alampkāra [543]
Probably depending upon the Sārabodhinī Govinda—the author of the Pradīpa
to the KP—boldly ascribes the half verse immediately preceding the verse
above quoted KP 859

hetumatā saha hetor abhidhānam abhedato hetuh |

to Udbhaṭa with the words

uktaś cāyaṁ Bhaṭṭodbhaṭena hetumatā saha hetor

Another Commentator Maheśa Candra Nyāyaratna in his Calcutta edition
(1866) of the KP going back on a good tradition—the same old tradition
—also attributes the verse to Udbhaṭa⁹. The youngest commentator, the
author of the Bombay Sanskrit Series Edition (1901) remains true to the
tradition and further drags in the name of Bhāmaha¹⁰. Now Bhāmaha ex-
plicitly disavows the existence of the Alampkāra Hetu as we saw above
(p 482), and in spite of the overwhelming evidence of a succession of Com-
mentators it is highly improbable that Udbhaṭa—the Commentator and
follower of Bhāmaha—defined any Hetu, it is certainly not included in the
work of his Udbhaṭālampkārasaṁgraha which is preserved for us. It is
equally impossible that either Bhāmaha or Udbhaṭa could have expressed
an opinion as to what Alampkāra the verse should contain, because the half
verse *hetumatā* etc. is Rudraṭa's Definition (KL 7, 82) and *avirala* etc. is
also his Illustration¹¹. KL 7, 83 of the Alampkāra Hetu. The mention of the
names Udbhaṭa and Bhāmaha by the Commentators is merely *pūjārtham*.

Supplementary note

As the first section of this article (Heft III p 477—490) had to be

⁹ At p 328 his comment on *hetvalampkāra* in the Vṛtti to KP is *Bhaṭṭod
bhaṭṭapradarsitah*

¹⁰ KP 860 (Commentary 1 3) *pracāṁ bhāmahādīnām* and further on
1 18 *Bhamahādāya itī śeṣah*

¹¹ As Rudraṭa illustrated his rules by verses of his own composition [—cf
Introduction p 11 Rudraṭa's Ṣṛṅgāratilaka ed PISCHEL. I must here add that
with Prof JACOBI (WZKM II) I firmly disbelieve in the alleged identity of Rud-
raṭa and Rudrabhaṭa postulated by Prof PISCHEL, nevertheless most of what
Prof PISCHEL tells us in his Introduction about Rudraṭa the author of the Ṣṛṅgā-
ratilaka is true not of Rudra but of Rudraṭa the author of Kāvya-lampkāra—] it is
utterly improbable that the verse in question is an 'old' verse as one might be led
to imagine from the remarks of Allāṭa in the Vṛtti. I cannot explain why Allāṭa
who must have known the source of the verse perfectly well refers to it in such
ambiguous terms

printed from the second proof for correction a few errors of print could not be avoided. Please make the following corrections

p 479 l 29 read *saṃjayeta* for *saṃjayet* l 35 *uttara°* for *uttara°* and *°śṛavanad* for *°śṛavanat* p 484 l 19 Bhrantimat for Bhrantiman p 485 l 37 *ekalmata°* for *ekalma°* and p 480 l 35 p 481 l 24 p 490 l 2 *Navasahasanka°* for *Navasahasika°*

Some minor errors of spelling in the English of the text are left here unnoticed

THE SATAVAHANAS *

I am bound to form and express an opinion on the issues raised in the article *The Home of the Satavāhanas* published in a recent number of the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society (Bangalore)* vol 13 pp 591 ff in which the author Mr T N SUBRAMANIAM of Kumbakonam, cites and criticizes a certain theory regarding the home of the so-called Āndhra kings which I believe I was the first to formulate. In 1919 I published a short article in the first issue (pp 21-42) of the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute* drawing attention to certain prevailing misconceptions about the Satavāhanas. This article is the subject of Mr SUBRAMANIAM'S criticism. While admitting the validity of my main contention that the Satavāhanas are *not* Āndhras and that their original home was *not* Āndhradesa, he takes exception to certain statements in the body of the article which according to him *contradict* the main thesis. It is not my intention to go into details and to take up space which can probably be ill spared. I shall content myself with correcting the erroneous impression created by Mr SUBRAMANIAM'S note which in part misquotes my words and misrepresents my views.

I have nowhere asserted that the Satavāhanas *have* to be looked upon as belonging to the tribe of the Āndhras as Mr SUBRAMANIAM appears to think (op cit. p 592). That is only one of the alternatives considered and *rejected* by me. Assuming *for the sake of argument* that the Puranic view is correct I wrote: *If* (in order to reconcile the Puranic statement with our conclusion)— *If* the Satavāhanas *have* to be looked upon as belonging to the tribe of the Āndhras then certain consequences will follow (ABI 1-41). Further on in the course of the same paragraph I reject the alternative proposed as untenable concluding the paragraph with the words

There is nothing improbable in the assumption that the founders of the Satavāhana dynasty were originally the vassals of the Āndhra sovereigns of whom it may with assurance, be affirmed that at or about the time of the rise of the Satavāhanas they were the most powerful potentates in the Deccan

[161] I must frankly admit however that the wording of the last paragraph of my article in question is rather abstruse and apt to confuse and mislead a casual reader. I welcome therefore this opportunity to restate my old views more lucidly as follows. I hold (1) that no cogent reason having been shown for connecting the *early* Satavahana kings with the Andhradeśa their activity should be regarded as restricted to the western and south western portion of the Deccan plateau only *later* kings of this dynasty extended their sway eastwards so that subsequently even the Andhra deśa was included in the Satavahana dominions the Satavahana migration was *from the west to the east* (2) that the Satavahanas are different from and should not be confused with the Andhras mentioned in Greek and Chinese chronicles (3) that the home (or the early habitat) of the Satavahanas is to be looked for on the western side of the peninsula and is *perhaps* to be located in the province then known as Satavahanī hara—a province of which the situation is unknown or uncertain.

I see at present no reason to alter my views regarding the date of the Myakadoni inscription and I am not prepared to accept the date proposed for it by Mr SUBRAMANIAM. I will admit however that Mr SUBRAMANIAM has offered a very happy explanation of the Purāṇic anomaly. He points out that even the oldest Purāṇas are not older than the third century A.D. Thus at the period when the earliest Purāṇas were compiled the Satavahanas had been established firmly for over a century as a paramount power in the Andhradeśa. Moreover it is highly probable that about that period they had been relieved of their possessions in the west. The Purāṇic chroniclers thus knew the Satavahanas only as rulers of the Andhradeśa and probably *mistook* them for Andhras. This explanation is much simpler and more satisfactory on the whole than those I have offered in my article.

V S SUKTHANKAR

AN ASSYRIAN TABLET FOUND IN BOMBAY *

The Assyrian clay tablet here presented was discovered in the storeroom of a house in Girgaum, one of the wards of the city [143] of Bombay. Through my friend, Dr Robert ZIMMERMAN S. J. Professor of Indic Philology in St. Xavier's College Bombay it came into my hands. I recently had the opportunity to announce the discovery before the Oriental Club of New York and at Dr J. B. NIES's suggestion the tablet was placed in Dr C. E. KEISER's hands for decipherment. His reading follows. Dr KEISER notes that of the two women sold by zer ukin one was his slave and the other his daughter the *sihi* and *paqurannu* officers who are always men

* [JAOS 40 142 4]

tioned in these slave contracts apparently gave over the document guaranteeing ownership. I may add that it is not known how the relic reached India.

Transliteration

OBVERSE

1. . . . zêr ukin apil šu ša mšamaš êtur ina hu ud lib-bi-šu
[ʼA]-šar ši i bitû ù ʼIna bitû pân kalam ma lu mur aš šu
. . . šu a na 16 šiqlu kaspu a na šimi ha-ra is a na
. . . -la (?) a apil-šu ša mdNabû-zêr ukin apil mE gi bi id din
5. [bu ut] si hu i pa-qir ra nu ša ʼA-šar ši i bitû
ù ʼIn) a bitî pân kalam ma lu mur-šu mârtu šu la ta nu šu
. . . . zêr ukin na ši ina a-ša bi ša ʼKu ut ta a ššati-šu
. apil-šu ša mSil la a
. mdNabû nâdin ūm

REVERSE

10. tu
. [apil]-šu ša ^{md}Lugal-marad-da nu
. ut ša ^mBa-di lu
. ^{arbu}šabātu ūmu 22^{kan}
14. šattu 2^{kan} ^{md}Nabû kudurri usur šâr Bâbil^{ki}.

Translation

. . . -zêr ukin, son of Shamash-êtir, in the joy of his heart [i.e. of his
 own free will] Asharshu bitu and Ina bitu pân kalammalumurashshu his
 for 16 shekels of silver, for a fixed price, to lâ, son of Nabû zêr ukin, son
 of Egibi, gave (i.e. sold) (The document of) the *sihi* (and *paqirranu*
 officers, which (was taken out over) Asharshu bitu (and) Ina bitu pân lumur-
 shu his daughter (and) his slave, zêr-ukin bears In the presence
 of Kûttâ his wife. (Witnesses) , son of Şillâ , Nabhû
 nâdin shum , -tu , , son of Lugal marad [144] danî ,
 . . . of Badî ilu month Shebet, day 22, year 2 of Nebucha
 dressar, king of Babylon.

V. S. SUBTHANKAR

"CHARUDATTA"—A FRAGMENT¹

PANDIT GANAPATI SASTRI of Travancore, to whose indefatigable industry we owe the discovery and publication of the drama *Chārudatta* of Bhasa,² takes evidently for granted that the four Acts of the play published by him

¹[QJMS 1919]

² The *Chārudatta* of Bhāsa edited with notes by T. Ganapati Sastrī (=Trivandrum Sanskrit Series No. XXXIX), Trivandrum, 1914

form a drama complete in itself. Indeed the assumption is not entirely groundless, for one of the manuscripts upon which the play published by GANAPATI SASTRI is based does conclude with the words *avasitam Charudattam* ('here ends the *Charudatta* ') which is a clear indication that the play should end there. But the other manuscript (MS Kh of GANAPATI SASTRI) contains no such words—a significant difference which clearly needs some explanation. The MS Kh is, moreover as the editor himself tells us in the preface (p 1) comparatively free from errors.² This ought to have roused the suspicions of the learned Pandit, but it apparently did not do so. He unhesitatingly follows the MS K. and assumes that the drama ends with the fourth Act.

The absence of the words *avasitam Charudattam* or other words of like meaning is perhaps after all not a matter of much consequence. Their omission may be ascribed to the carelessness of the scribe. Yet another omission in the manuscripts under reference, namely that of the *Bharata vakya*, or the benedictory stanza, found at the end of most of the dramas of Bhasa is undoubtedly of a more serious nature. Neither of the manuscripts contains any such verse. But it may be urged that the absence of the *Bharata vakya* (as of the word *avasita*) cannot by itself prove that there are more Acts to follow. For it is easily imaginable that the benedictory stanza which naturally stands at the fag end of the drama may have been at first omitted by careless copyists and then entirely lost. Against this latter assumption however may be supported a number of arguments which tend to prove the theory advanced in this article, namely that our *Charudatta* is a fragment and these we shall now briefly discuss.

Even a casual reader of the play will notice that the events narrated in the four Acts before us are of a very humdrum character and are deficient in the organic connection between Character and Plot, wanting in that attempt at grouping round a passion which is natural to a love-drama. In the first Act, Vasantasena in order to escape from the undesirable advances of Śākara and Viṣṭa takes shelter in Chārudatta's house, and utilises the pursuit as a very plausible excuse for leaving with Charudatta for safe keeping the ornaments which she is wearing. In the second Act, Samvahaka (Charudatta's former shampooer since discharged) is rescued first, through Vasantasena's generosity from the clutches of his clamorous creditors, and then by her servant from the tusks of an infuriated elephant. In the third Act, the ornaments which were deposited by Vasantasenā with the hero of the play are stolen by Sajjalaka (the impecunious lover of Vasantasena's maid servant) whereupon Charudatta's wife (a minor character) nobly sacrifices a very valuable heirloom belonging to her in order to repay Charudatta's debt of

² It may be added that many readings of Kh which have been relegated to the footnotes by the editors deserve to be adopted in the text.

honour All this is very interestingly told, but the main story—the love romance of Vasantasenā and Chārudatta—does not advance any further in either of the last two Acts. And in the text before us there remains only one more Act. In this last Act Vasantasenā, who has overheard the confession of the thief who has stolen her ornaments accepts from Maitreya with a degree of nonchalance, a necklace said to be 'worth a hundred thousand' as a compensation for the loss of a few ornaments which, she is told have been lost by Chārudatta in gambling. Only in the concluding words of this Act is there any indication that the lovers meet once again there Vasantasenā signifies her intention of taking the necklace back to Chārudatta which as the drama stands remains merely an intention.

What should one think of a drama which ends in this fashion? There is no unity in the plot. Nowhere does the action reach a climax as it does for instance, in the eighth Act of the *Mṛchchakatika* in which Sakāra attempts to strangle the heroine and having all but killed her leaves her living in the royal park overcome by a heavy stupor, or in the ninth Act, where the virtuous Chārudatta is accused and convicted of the groundless charge of the murder of his own paramour. If therefore, the *Chārudatta* is to be looked upon as a work worthy of the pen of the author of the *Siapra-Vasavadattā* and the *Pratipā Yaugandharāyana* it must be assumed that the later Acts of the play which yet remain to be discovered complete with a worthy denouement that which was so well begun here.

It was mentioned above that the concluding words of Vasantasenā express her intention of going to Charudatta with the precious necklace given by him as a compensation for her lost ornaments. The reader naturally wants to know what Vasantasena is going to do and say when she meets her lover, he is curious about the attitude of Chārudatta towards her about any dramatic situation arising out of this apparently, limitless passion, things which are far more important than all the interludes connected with Sajjalaka and Samvahaka which fill the second third and fourth Acts of the drama. Indeed, her acceptance of this priceless necklace would by itself, be a puerile and reprehensible act and imply excessive meanness on her part. She says as much (p. 81)

dhik khu gāuābhāvam | luddhatti⁴ mam tuladi

('Alas my being a courtesan' He considers me avaricious')

She finds herself however, on the horns of a dilemma, and therefore adds

Jai na paḍichchhe so eva doso bhavissadi

('Should I not accept it even then there will be trouble')

* Text *luddhatti*. In the text *na* is written for *na* and *la* for *la*, and inter vocalic *ya* omitted in the Prakrit passages throughout

How she gets over the difficulty is a problem that surely cannot be left entirely to the ingenuity of the reader to solve, as Pandit GANAPATI SASTRI would have us believe. It may be added that the words of the Cheṭī (p 86) :

edaṃ puna abhīsārāsahābhūdam duddinam unnamidam

('And now there is gathering an untimely storm, the ally of the woman going to meet her lover')

lead us to anticipate a development of the situation somewhat in the manner of the fifth Act of the *Mṛichchhakaṭika* which anticipation, if the *Chārudatta* were to end with the fourth Act, would be frustrated

One more point deserves to be mentioned here. The very last words of Vasantasenā, addressed to her maid, (p 86)

hadāse mā hu vaddhāvehi

(Oh you stupid, don't be so puffed up with pride.)

may be taken to mean that she is not so very confident about the success of her mission, and to hint dimly at some complications about to be introduced. Indeed, the course of true love never runs smooth

Let us for a moment, turn to the three characters Śākara, Sajjalaka, and Samvāhaka, and see what they have to tell us with regard to the point at issue.

In the first place, let us inquire for what purpose this figure of Śākara, the brother in law of the King, was introduced into the play. Surely not merely for affording Vasantasenā the excuse for taking shelter in Chārudatta's house, for, that is the only purpose he now serves in the *Charudatta*. If so, any ordinary swashbuckler would have served the author's purpose equally well. Chārudatta's rival need not have been *rājasyalaka* who is not only a very important personage by virtue of his kinship with the king, but also one capable of much evil. Moreover, what about his dread threat (p 24 ff)

*nāḍaātthiā Vasaṇchaṣeṇiā nama tava gahampavitṭhā | sū suve
myyāṇḍavā mā dāva tava, a mama a daluno khoko hoditti vadua
māḷsa idam cha bhanāhi mā dāseputta varāḍadagalappavittam
via mūlakandam sisakavālam maḍamadaissam*

('“A dancing girl called Vasantasenā went into your house. See that you restore her to-morrow. Or else there will be a dreadful bust up between you and me.” Manikin, my good sir, tell him this also. “Or else, you son of a strumpet, I'll chew the skull of your head like a bulbous root caught in the gullet of a pigeon.”')

In the four Acts before us we hear nothing more about this *dāluno khoko* ('dreadful bust up') threatened by the *rājasyalaka*. Was this threat then

held out in vain? In the fourth and last Act, moreover, we are told that Śākara sends his carriage to fetch Vasantasena, which clearly indicates that his passion for her had not in the least abated. The indignant refusal of Vasantasenā very pertinently raises the curiosity of the reader to know what further steps Śākara takes to press his suit and to gain possession of Vasantasenā's heart or at least of her person.

The second character alluded to above is Sajjalaka. This character does indeed serve to introduce a very amusing scene in the third Act, but his role cannot surely end there. Despite his profession, which he reluctantly pursues, he has noble instincts and one does feel that he ought to step in once again in order to repay the deep obligation under which he is laid in consequence of the magnanimity of Vasantasena not only in overlooking the theft of her ornaments (for which she had, in truth, reason to be thankful), but also in emancipating of her own accord her slave girl and his sweet heart, and thus fulfilling Sajjalaka's heart's desire. It is true that neither manuscript of the *Chārudatta* which we have before us, contains any reference to the Āryaka and Pālaka of the *Mṛichchhakatika* whose names are introduced for the first time in the fourth Act of the play in the interlude immediately following upon the interviews of Śarvilaka (the Sajjalaka of the *Chārudatta*) with Vasantasena. But these characters are not essential to the main love story. And we can only surmise that if these individuals were not introduced by Bhasa at a later stage of the drama, he must have made Sajjalaka show his gratitude to Vasantasenā in a way different from the one in which Śarvilaka shows it in the *Mṛichchhakatika*. But his words (p. 85) *bhoh kadā khalv aśyāḥ pratikartavyam bhaviṣhyati* ('Oh, when shall I be able to repay her!') lead us emphatically to anticipate his re-entry later in the course of the play.

Thirdly and lastly, Samvāhaka has likewise been placed under an obligation by Vasantasenā and in the *Charudatta* he leaves her presence almost without saying a word of thanks in return. It is, therefore, to be expected that he returns once more to pay off his debt of gratitude to the heroine, and, I am persuaded that the words of Vasantasenā (p. 44) *gacchhadu aṣṣo paṇodamsanaa* ('Go, Sir, au revoir!') contain a distinct indication of the intention of the author to reintroduce the character at a later stage of the drama.

I believe these facts justify us in concluding that our *Chārudatta* is only a fragment. Whether the drama was in point of fact ever completed or whether its author left it in a fragmentary condition are questions which cannot be decided from the material at hand. The above facts entitle us only to conclude that the story is to be continued. It is incredible that the

denouement of the love episode which is the essence of the plot of the *Chāru datta*, the central point around which all the incidents ought to be grouped should find no place in a play which is replete with many delicate touches, and which, but for this blemish bears the unmistakable stamp of being the product of a master mind

In conclusion it may be pointed out that the chief motifs which are necessary to complete the dramatic episode, and which are indispensable in the drama are the following rendezvous of Vasantasenā and Chārudatta Chārudatta's being falsely accused of a crime committed by some one else (presumably Śakara) as foreshadowed in his melancholy reflection (p 10)

pāpani karma cha yat parair api kṛtam tat tasya sambhāvyate

('And sinful deeds that others do are counted to him also'),

vindication of Charudatta's character, final union of Vasantasenā and Chārudatta We know how these incidents have been treated by Sūdraka, but we must await another fortunate discovery which will reveal to us how these self same motifs were handled by Bhāsa and how the denouement was worked out by him

CURIOSITIES OF HINDU EPIGRAPHY*

The corpus inscriptionum Indicarum which even thirty years ago was a negligible quantity, is to-day—thanks to the energy with which the laborious task of exploration and elucidation has been perseveringly pushed forward by a generation of enthusiastic workers—an opus of voluminous proportions Extremely numerous and remarkably instructive are the inscriptional remains of Ancient India which have in recent times been unearthed and examined The themes with which these inscriptions deal are as varied as the languages in which they are written and the materials on which they are engraved Though not so ancient as the Egyptian, or the Assyrian or even the Greek inscriptions they possess an interest and importance which is peculiar to themselves For, almost the whole of our authentic knowledge of the historical period of Ancient and Mediaeval India is derived—principally, if not solely—from inscriptional data Some records are devoted to the propagation of religion and morality others are merely vainglorious recitals of conquests and victories Some are title-deeds of real property, records of the carrying out of public works compacts of political alliance others contain certificates of the right to duties taxes fees and other privileges, fiscal details particulars of local self government, etc., etc Each of these themes could be made the subject of an independent thesis. Yet it is not with a view to evaluate this material nor with the aim of

* [The Asian Review 1920 725 27, 857 60]

solving any of the riddles which these records present, nor in fact for any other purely scholarly purpose, that this article is written. A learned dissertation would attract the attention at best, of a very restricted circle of the erudite. The intention of the writer is to appeal to a much wider group of readers, and to bring to popular notice, in a series of articles, a topic of absorbing interest which has hitherto been regarded as the preserve of the savant. This article, which is the first of the series, contains brief notes on about a dozen inscriptions such as distinguish themselves from the rest of the ponderous mass of Hindu epigraphic documents by striking peculiarity, such as contain some element of ordinary, popular interest, [726]—in fact, such as are just curiosities and nothing more.

An inscription of unusual value both on account of its age and its historic associations, is the dedication of an urn containing the relics of the Buddha, which was exhumed about a quarter of a century ago on an ancient and historic site in North India. The inscription which is held by some to be the oldest epigraphic document discovered upto the present in India may date back to the fifth century before Christ. The reliquary on which the dedication is engraved was excavated in 1897 from a very ancient memorial mound at Piprava, a village situated on the confines of Nepal. These relic urns of the Buddhist times of which by the way quite a number have been excavated in various parts of India within recent years, contain besides the relic itself quite a collection of miscellaneous objects deposited in them by friends and relatives of the deceased. Here is a list of such votive offerings—ornaments in gold, flat pieces of gold stamped with figures of human beings or animals, flowers, both in gold and silver, Buddhist tridents, pierced and drilled beads of various sizes and shapes, pearls, topaz, amethyst, garnet, coral, crystal, etc., etc. Most of these urns are unscribed but the one under description bears a very important dedication. It is engraved in an archaic form of what are called Brahmi characters, which is the name given to one of the oldest alphabets in use in Ancient India. The letters, which are roughly seven sixteenth of an inch long are very lightly incised. The simple dedication may be rendered as follows: *'This shrine for relics of the Buddha the August One, is that of the Sakyas the brethren of the Distinguished One in association with their sisters, and with their children and their wives'*. We know from the canonical works of the Buddhists that the Sakyas of Kapilavastu had claimed and obtained a share of the earthly remains of the Master, and therefore it is more than likely that, as the dedication indicates we have by accident actually hit upon not only the remains of the Buddha but the very memorial mound which was erected shortly after the Nirvana of the August One by his kinsmen over their share of the precious relics. The dedication thus helps us to identify a locality and a reliquary of exceptional interest to Buddhists and to students of Buddhism.

Nowadays here as in India paper almost exclusively serves the purpose of writing material. But in ancient times in India at any rate, that same purpose was served by a considerable variety of substances such as birch bark leaves wooden boards linen, skin parchment, stone, terracotta, metals, etc. We are particularly concerned with metals here. Among metals copper was the one which was most commonly used. We come across all kinds of documents—private and domestic, official and public—committed to writing on plates fashioned out of copper. Specimens of short manuscripts and official documents written on silver plates and silver scrolls have also been preserved, there is nothing very unusual in that. Many readers however, will be surprised to learn that under circumstances even gold was not considered too precious for use as writing material. But there are on record a few epigraphic finds—for a very obvious reason their number is, comparatively speaking rather small—which go to show that once upon a time gold plates were regarded as none too precious for the recording of golden thoughts. As an example we may here mention a pair of such plates which was discovered in the Prome District of Burma and is now preserved in the British Museum. They were found embeded firmly in a brick which was accidentally brought to light during certain excavations carried out near the find-spot of this antiquity, and might originally have been deposited in a memorial mound erected at that spot. They weigh together nearly [727] 260 grains. Each of the plates has just three lines of writing, being thin they are inscribed on one side only. The writing which is fairly deep shows through on the reverse. The inscription consists of some well known stanzas from the canonical works of the Buddhists in a Middle Indian dialect. Among these finds itself also the most famous Buddhist couplet which we come across engraved on thousands of votive tablets of the Buddhists

“Of all the things that proceed from a cause,
The Buddha the cause hath told,
And he tells too how each shall come to its end
Such alone is the word of the Sage.”

Perhaps we ought to explain here that according to the Buddhists every thing proceeds from a cause. And the true method is to argue from one cause back to the next, from that to the preceding one and so on and so forth without attempting to determine the final cause of all. It may be observed that though these inscribed plates are a Burmese product, the script of the engraving on them is of purely Hindu origin. Prome, the find place of these plates, was at one time a prominent seaport town, and it is more than likely that the Burmese written language was developed by early Indian colonists in Prome.

A unique inscription throwing some sidelight on the intercourse between India and the Western World during the centuries just preceding the Chris-

tian era is the one engraved on a monolith known to Indian archæologists as the Besnagar column of Heliodoros. Besnagar is the name of a small village in Central India where the monolith stands. The inscription commemorates the erection of a 'standard' by Heliodoros dedicated to the Hindu god Vasudeva. Heliodoros, son of Dion was the diplomatic representative sent by Antialkidas to the court of the Hindu king Bhagabhadra. The record is dated in the fourteenth year of the reign of the Hindu king. While the coinages of the Graeko-Indian kings it may be observed are remarkably abundant, all other records of their rule in India are surprisingly rare. The exact date of Antialkidas is not known. But to judge from the testimony of coins he was one of the early members of the family of Eukratides who was on the throne in *cæ* 175 B.C. The shaft of the column on which the inscription is incised is a monolith 'octagonal at the base sixteen sided in the middle and thirty two-sided above, with a garland dividing the upper and middle portions, the capital is of the Persepolitan bell-shaped type with a massive abacus surmounting it. The record is interesting as showing that the donor evidently a Greek, had adopted the Vasudevic cult of Devotionalism. The Greeks were an eclectic race, especially the Asian Greeks. Therefore the adoption of an Indian faith by a Greek of the type of Heliodoros is not as surprising as it may at first sight appear. Whether the Greek was an honest convert, or whether his eclecticism was only a diplomatic move cannot of course be decided from the materials at hand.

Armenians would be interested and surprised to know that thousands of miles away from their land in a little cemetery outside the city of Madras, there stands a memorial stone bearing an Armenian epitaph, which by the way is the only inscription in that language found up to the present in India. It is dated in the era of the Armenian patriarch Moses. On the south of the city of Madras there are three sites connected with the legend of St. Thomas. One of them is the village of St. Thomé which claims to guard the apostle's grave the second is the Little Mount where the apostle is supposed to have suffered martyrdom and the last is St. Thomas's Mount, which is associated with a famous cross to which we shall presently return in connection with the inscription engraved on it. Now the church at the Little Mount is reached by a flight of stone steps, and at the foot of these is set up a stone which bears engraved on it a cross, and below the cross a record in the Armenian language and script. The inscription is dated in the year 1112 of the Armenian patriarch Moses corresponding to 1663 A.D., and is the epitaph of an Armenian merchant.

[857] At this place we may conveniently describe some other records in non-Indian dialects. We will first turn to certain inscriptions round crosses in two of the churches of Southern India. One of these churches is no other than the one on St. Thomas's Mount near Madras referred to in

the last paragraph while the other is a small church at Travancore in the extreme south of the Indian peninsula One inscription which is in Syrian is as far as I know the only Syrian record discovered in India It has been identified as the first part of *Galatians* vi 14 *But far be it from me to glory save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ* The other inscriptions under reference are short records in a Middle Persian dialect called Pahlavi These Pahlavi records which appear to be all of the same import are not altogether free from uncertainty but the following tentative rendering of them has been proposed by a celebrated Persian scholar *He whom the suffering of the self same Messiah the forgiving and uprising has saved is offering the plea whose origin was the agony of this* Regarding the date of the Syrian record nothing definite can be said but the other records may in the opinion of experts on the subject be assigned to the ninth or tenth century of the Christian era

The spade of the explorer at work on the north western frontier of India has restored to the historian much material which when properly worked up will add many chapters to the mutilated chronicle now available of a very interesting period of Indian history One of the most remarkable of these discoveries is the fragment of an Aramaic inscription exhumed on the site of the ancient city of Taxila from the debris of a house of the first century B C The inscription was carved on an octagonal pillar of white marble of which only a small fragment has been recovered Owing to the mutilated condition of the record its meaning is still enveloped in obscurity The alphabet and the language, which are archaic Aramaic are said to suggest a date somewhat later than Carpentras Stele and have considerable affinity with the papyri of the fifth and fourth centuries before the commencement of the Christian era The discovery of this record enables us to trace with confidence the origin of a Hindu alphabet current in the north west of India during the fourth and subsequent centuries B C It is perhaps necessary to point out here that though the Aramaic language was not—as is sometimes asserted to be the case—introduced as a *lingua franca* by the Persian empire it was used by the Persian Government for official purposes In much earlier times the Aramaic writing was² in use for trade purposes side by side with the cumbersome cuneiform system which in course of time was altogether supplanted in Persia by various forms of the Aramaic script

No list of Indian epigraphic curiosities can be complete without a mention of the monumental slabs from Central India on which lengthy poems and dramas have been engraved by royal patrons of literature and the fine arts Bhoja (ca 1050 A D) king of Dhara was not only an enlightened patron of learning but himself a writer of some ability Works on poetics, astronomy architecture and other subjects are attributed to him Let into a wall of a building which in his time had probably been an academy of

some sort were found inscribed slabs which are monuments of colossal industry and [858] superb workmanship. First we will describe an inscription of eighty three lines, which comprises two poems in a Middle Indian dialect containing together 218 couplets. The engraving has been done with such neatness and precision that this lithic record may rank as the most remarkable specimen of the stonecutter's art of all times. The slab of polished black stone on which the record is encised measures roughly 5 feet 8 inches by 5 feet. It was found set up with the writing facing inwards in a wall of a Muhammadan mosque into which the academy of Bhoja was in subsequent times converted. The peculiar orientation of the slab was the work of the Muhammadans who had usurped the Hindu building for their own purposes, and, as remarked above, converted it into a mosque. The Hindu engraving was a work of the *kafirs*, i.e. the infidels, and as such could naturally not find a place in the House of Allah. The bigoted iconoclasts were fortunately not blind to the value of a massive slab of polished stone, nor to the uses to which such a slab could be put. They replaced the slab in its original position with the inscribed face turned inwards, in which position it remained until a mere chance revealed a few years ago what was on the reverse of this slab as it then stood fixed in the wall of the mosque, and massive block of stone was turned over once again so as to expose the inscribed surface.

An inscription bearing a strong family resemblance to the preceding and containing a fragment of a drama was engraved in the reign of an other mediaeval Hindu king, by the name of Arjuna, who was a descendant of Bhoja of Dhara mentioned in the last paragraph. Arjuna was apparently as great a lover of the *belles lettres* as his illustrious ancestor, and he also has the distinction of causing the *chef d'oeuvre* of his favourite court-poet to be committed to writing in indelible letters. The slab on which this inscription is engraved was found set up in the same mosque, and like the other with the writing facing inwards. The slab was taken out in 1908 and is now kept framed at the mosque. The inscription which is perfectly intact, consists of eighty two lines of writing and comprises the first two acts only of a four act drama in Sanskrit and Prakrit. It is to be presumed that the remainder of the play was set down in the same manner on another slab, but this other slab has not been recovered. It is interesting to note that the prologue of the record implies clearly that the play was enacted in the presence of the royal patron who had subsequently caused it to be engraved on stone. As the hero of the drama is no other than the king himself, it appears to be a reasonable presumption that the plot of the drama is not without a historical basis. The little fragment may thus with some probability be regarded as reflecting a more or less faithful picture of the court life of the times.

At Ajmer in Rajputana we have stone inscriptions which contain the

fragments of two other Hindu dramas in Sanskrit and Prakrit. The inscriptions are set down on four slabs of polished basalt. The slabs include together 156 lines of writing and measure respectively 3 feet by 1 foot 10 inches, 3 ft. 6 ins. by 1 ft. 11 ins., 3 ft. 2 ins. by 2 ft. 2 ins., 3 ft. 4 ins. by 2 ft. The technical execution is faultless. The dramas deal with the exploits of a mediæval king of Rajputana and are dated in a year corresponding to 1153 of the Christian era.

The fascination which the study of grammar has at all times exercised over the Hindu mind has materialised itself in one instance in the preparation of certain engravings consisting of alphabetical charts and inflectional terminations of nouns and verbs. One scheme—the simpler of the two—takes count of the letters of the alphabet and nominal terminations, while the other is devoted to verbal terminations [859] exclusively. The first series is arranged so as to form a figure representing a serpent, the letters of the alphabet forming the body of the serpent and the terminations its tail. The second series is a more complicated scheme including two intertwining serpents so arranged that the elongated bodies of the serpents cut each other at regular intervals and form little meshes in which the terminations are pigeonholed.

In passing it may be pointed out that the Hindus have from the earliest period of their cultural existence shown their predilection for a systematic study of the grammar of their own dialects. Not only did they at a very early stage work out an alphabet which now ranks in the opinion of those who are qualified to speak on the subject as the most scientific alphabet in general use at the present day, but they also perfected the science of grammar to an astonishing degree. The masterly way in which the Hindus formulated and solved grammatical problems has called forth unqualified words of praise from modern workers in the same field, and it is not an exaggeration to say that the Hindu grammarians had in some measure anticipated the results of the modern science of comparative philology. In fact it was the study of Hindu grammar which gave the initial impetus to the evolution of the modern methods of linguistic analysis. The above inscriptions which on palaeographic and other grounds may be assigned to the eleventh century, must have been set up in a grammar school of the period to which they belong no doubt with a view to place the important factors of Sanskrit grammar constantly before the eyes of the junior students. There are replicas of these engravings at two or three places in Rajputana and Central India.

We will now proceed to the notice of a curious little archaic record inscribed on a wall of a temple in Central India which quoting a veterinary authority enumerates the average duration of life among a number of domesticated quadrupeds. It is worthy of note that the respective ages assigned in this inscription to the different animals are in remarkable accord

with the modern estimates of longevity of these animals. It should be borne in mind that exact records regarding the longevity of mammals are remarkably few. The existing records are besides mostly those of animals in captivity which must differ to some extent from those of the same animals in a free state of existence. The first animal in our list is the Indian elephant. Elephants are usually supposed to be capable of reaching great ages: our record assigns a hundred and twenty years to a healthy elephant. Actual records apparently do not reach above thirty or forty years. Our inscription further assigns thirty two years to the horse which is in fair agreement with the limit of thirty to thirty five which is mentioned as the average duration of life of horses and zebras. Domestic cattle may as is well known live from twenty five to thirty years and we find that our record assigns twenty six years to cows and domestic buffalos. There appear to be no exact records of the duration of life of camels. In the absence of these *it is interesting to note the age limit twenty five which we find in this text* for these animals. Sheep and goat live from twelve to fourteen years and deers are reputed to live longer than sheep. Accordingly we find in our inscription rams and goats and deer classed together as animals which attain the age of sixteen years. Even dogs have received a notice in our table of longevities. The duration of their life is set down as twelve, which figure is perhaps just a little too low.

In conclusion we will devote a few lines to the description of a record which is perhaps the only one of its kind in the world and is certainly the only one of its kind in India. The inscription which is written in characters of the seventh century is engraved on a massive block [860] of stone situated within the confines of a remote Independent Native State in South India. It consists of nothing less than the text of notes of seven typical modes (*ragas*) of Hindu music arranged for the Indian lute'. The record runs into thirty-eight lines and refers to itself as the composition of a certain king intended by him for the use of his pupils. A work scientifically tracing the history of Hindu music is yet a desideratum. This inscription which has preserved unimpaired the music of thirteen hundred years ago is a mine of reliable information for the historian of Indian music. The significance of many of the symbols used in this record is still involved in obscurity. We are moreover in the dark on the subject of the exact scale of notes which was then in use. Thus some pioneer work is necessary before we shall be in a position to do full justice to this remarkable find. But once the key to a satisfactory interpretation of this record is in our hands, the inscription may safely be relied upon to yield its secret of the forgotten melodies of a bygone age.

BOOK NOTICES AND REVIEWS

AN ACCOUNT OF THE DIFFERENT EXISTING SYSTEMS OF SANSKRIT GRAMMAR being the Vishwanath Narayan Mandalik Gold Medal prize essay for 1909 By SHRIPAD KRISHNA BELVALKAR M A Ph D Pp viii, 148 Poona 1915 *

IN this little work the author seeks to provide a brief resume of the total output in the shape of Indian literature bearing on Sanskrit Grammar from the earliest times upto the end of the eighteenth century This is a long period and within the scope of 148 pages of the octavo volume Dr BELVALKAR may be said to have achieved a great deal The Chronological Conspectus which is a synchronistic table showing at a glance the relative positions in point of time of the various grammarians as well as a very exhaustive and carefully prepared Index enhance the value of the work

The book divides itself into short chapters devoted to the individual schools, in each of which an attempt is made to put together the available historical information about the founder of the school characterise briefly the nature of the work and then follow the subsequent development through the maze of the outgrowth of exegetical literature

Dr BELVALKAR does not claim any originality for the views expressed in the book The work is a compact little summary—rich in bibliography—of the labours of previous workers in the field and serves the extremely useful purpose of collecting together in a very handy form the widely scattered material bearing on the subject It should be indispensable to any one who intends writing a more comprehensive work, discussing *in extenso* the many controversial points which are either only touched upon lightly by Dr BELVALKAR or not noticed at all In order to make my meaning clearer I shall give just one instance It would have been for example interesting to know the views of the author with regard to the problem of the *Dhātupāṭha* The well known American Indologist W D WHITNEY alleged that the majority of roots contained in the *Dhātupāṭha* appended to our editions of Pāṇini's *Aṣṭadhyāyī* is a purely fictitious product of the imagination of Indian Grammarians, who for some unknown reason took a perverse delight in multiplying their number almost *ad infinitum* This is at best a very unsatisfactory explanation of the undeniable fact that a very large fraction of the roots of this list is not met with again in the extant Sanskrit literature Paragraph 36 of Dr BELVALKAR's book which deals with the *Dhātupāṭha* contains however no reference to the question nor do I find from the Index any indication that it has been dealt with elsewhere

The earliest history of Indian Grammar like that of other Indian sciences, is for us shrouded in the impenetrable veil of antiquity And Dr. BELVALKAR does well perhaps not to lose himself in vague speculations as to the origin of the science (regarding which there is bound to be a great divergence of opinion) but to restrict himself mainly to the historical epoch In the latter period the author distinguishes twelve distinct schools, each of which has been the focus of further independent development The first grammarian on the list is naturally Pāṇini A somewhat detailed treatment is allotted to this school which takes up nearly

one-third of the whole volume. But even the short notices of the less known schools, such as the [107] Kramadīvara Saupadma, Sārasvata, etc., are welcome, inasmuch as they contain information gleaned from sources which are not within easy reach of every one.

In the portion dealing with Pāṇini and his school we read at p. 29 'Kātyāyana's work, the *vārtikas*, are meant to correct, modify, or supplement the rules of Pāṇini wherever they were or had become partially, or totally inapplicable,' and further on, p. 33 'his [*scilicet* Patañjali's] chief aim was to vindicate Pāṇini against the often unmerited attacks of Kātyāyana. It would appear from this that Dr BELVALKAR has overlooked a small brochure of KIELHORN's entitled '*Kātyāyana and Patañjali: their mutual relation to each other and to Pāṇini*, (Bombay, 1876), written with the express purpose of combating this generally accepted but erroneous view and of demonstrating that many of Kātyāyana's *vārtikas* are meant merely to explain the full scope of the *sūtras* of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*; while on the other hand, that Patañjali is not such a blind hero-worshipper as one is apt to imagine, but that the charge of captious criticism may often be laid at his door as well.

The paragraphs dealing with Chandra and Śakaṭayana take notice of a great deal of material scattered through various antiquarian journals, Indian as well as Continental. Some of the statements about the Jaina Śakaṭayana call forth comment. Dr BELVALKAR accepts unreservedly a theory propounded by Prof. PATHAK in a somewhat lengthy article entitled 'Jain Śakaṭayana contemporary with Amoghavarsha I' (*Indian Antiquary* Vol. 43 p. 205 ff.), containing copious quotations from all kinds of works which speaks for the erudition of the author but leaves the mind of the reader in unutterable confusion as to the issues involved and the solutions proposed. In this article Prof. PATHAK elaborates the theory that the Jaina Śakaṭayana wrote both the text and the commentary of the *Amoghavṛtti* which was composed in the reign of Amoghavarsha I between Śaka 736 and 789. This statement involves two independent issues: (1) that Śakaṭayana was the author of the *Amoghavṛtti* and (2) that the *Amoghavṛtti* was written in the reign of Amoghavarsha I. The second of these propositions I shall leave aside for future consideration and restrict myself for the present to an examination of the first one. Was Śakaṭayana the author of the *Amoghavṛtti*? Of the reasons adduced by Prof. PATHAK in support of his view, which deserve serious consideration there are two, firstly, a conclusion to be drawn from certain statements of Yakṣhavarman the author of the *Chintamani*, in combination with the fact that the *Amoghavṛtti* and the *Chintamani* contain many demonstrable phrases and sentences which are either identical with or differ but very little from, each other. Secondly, an explicit statement of Chudānanda Kavi (ca. A.D. 1700) to the effect that Śakaṭayana was the author of the *Amoghavṛtti*. The first point requires further elucidation. In v. 4 of the introductory stanzas of the *Chintamani* Yakṣhavarman tells us that his commentary is merely an abridgment of another very extensive commentary. His words may be interpreted to mean that the author of the latter work was Śakaṭayana himself. In fact this is the view I expressed in my dissertation on the Śakaṭayana grammar (submitted to the University of Berlin early in 1914), which was already in press a long time before the appearance of this article of Prof. PATHAK. But since hearing the opinion of so experienced a scholar as Sir Ramkrishna BHANDARKAR, that my interpretation (and incidentally that of Prof. PATHAK too) though grammatically possible, was not in consonance with Sanskrit idiom, I have given up my former view and hold now that the couplet in question is capable of an interpretation different from the one I gave to it. However if

Prof PATHAK adheres to the view that the verse in question must be interpreted in the way in which he does, it would be difficult to dislodge him from his stand point. But even granting that the Professor's explanation is correct his identification of the author of the *Amoghavṛtti* with Śakaṭayana is by no means certain. For in substantiating this, Prof PATHAK relies mainly upon the identity of a large portion of the text of the *Chintamani* and the *Amoghavṛtti* and attaches a totally wrong value to this circumstance. It is evident that depending merely on the similarity of the two commentaries it would be unsafe to conclude that the extensive commentary abridged by Yakshavarman must have been the *Amoghavṛtti* and can be no other. The Jainas are such ardent copyists and have at all times exhibited such an utter lack of originality that it would never do to lose sight of—in their case [108] not the remote but the very near—possibility of their both having copied from a common source. The Jaina grammarians especially vie with each other in carrying this tendency to a nauseating degree. In evidence I need only point out that not merely the *Amoghavṛtti* and the *Chintamani* but along with them also the *Rupasiddhi* of Dayapala and the *Prakṛtyasamgraha* of Abhayachandra Suri have in common not only short pieces of commentary on individual *sūtras* but contain even lengthy portions of the text which are little more than exact reproductions of each other. Under these circumstances it is evident that it would be fatal to conclude arbitrarily that any one out of the above-mentioned works was a copy of any other chosen at random.

This may be said to be the negative side of the question. But a fact which speaks positively against this theory is supplied by Prof PATHAK himself on the very first page of the article in question. There the author of the *Amoghavṛtti* after commenting on the Mangala stanza at the beginning of the Śakaṭayana *sūtras* adds by way of introducing the *patyāhāra sūtras* the following

*etam kṛta mangala rakṣā vidhanāḥ paṭipurnam-āpagantham laṅgh āpāyam
śabdānuśāsanam śāstramidaṁ maha śraṇāna samghādhipatir bhagat an acharyah
Śākaṭyanah pṛarabḥate*

The author of the commentary thus refers to Śakaṭayana with the words 'The revered Master (Grammarian) Śakaṭayana'. This, I think is the strongest positive argument in favour of rejecting the identification of Śakaṭayana with the author of the *Amoghavṛtti*. I am well aware that Indian authors are in the habit of referring to themselves in their own works in the third person. A well known instance is that of Vishnugupta the author of the *Arthasāstra* subscribing his opinions with the words *iti Kauṣilyah*. But it will have to be admitted that there is a world of difference between the emphatic personal note struck by the words *iti Kauṣilyah* added at the end of an epigrammatic saying and the boastful self praise conveyed by the *bhagat-ācharyah Śākaṭyanah* attributed to Śakaṭayana. I hold that it will not be possible to find within the range of the whole of the Sanskrit literature a parallel for the alleged instance of an author referring to himself as the 'revered master' or with like words.

The second point brought forth as evidence by Prof PATHAK, viz the explicit statement of Chidānanda Kavī to the effect that Śakaṭayana is the author of the *Amoghavṛtti* has at first sight the appearance of being more reliable. But it must be remembered that although Chidānanda Kavī is rearer to our grammarian than we by something like two centuries, nevertheless, he was separated by a period of nine centuries from the probable date of Śakaṭayana, and is likely to have been informed as to who the real author of the *Amoghavṛtti* was, not any better than we at the present day. Until therefore some fresh and unequivocal evidence is

brought to bear on the question the authorship of this commentary will in my opinion continue to be an unsolved problem

To turn to other matters. At p 69 we read He [*scil* KIELHORN] inclined to the view that it was some modern Jain writer who has presented his own grammatical labours under the auspices of a revered name carefully trying to follow the views attributed to him in ancient works and possibly having for its basis some of the teachings of the earlier Śakaṭayāna Dr BELVALKAR seems to have confounded the opinions of KIELHORN and BURNELL. It was the latter (and not KIELHORN) who looked upon the *Śakaṭayāna-śabdānuśāsana* as an enlarged edition by a Jaina of a grammar of the pre Pāṇinian Śakaṭayāna and maintained that it would be possible to reconstruct the original grammar by discriminating between what is old and what is new in it KIELHORN however was in no doubt, at least when his article in this journal (1887 pp 24 ff) appeared as to the real state of things, viz that the work is an out and out modern compilation Be that as it may there can be no question about the name Śakaṭayāna being a pseudonym adopted by some modern compiler for the principle on which the name is formed viz by the addition of the suffix *ayāna* to the strengthened form of the protonym, had long fallen into disuse at the time when the Jaina must have lived Names such as Bādarāyana Katyāyana Śakaṭayāna etc belong to quite a different epoch of the history of Indian names.

V S SUKTHANAR

KALIDASA'S *MEGHADUTA* OR THE CLOUD-MESSENGER (as embodied in the *Parsvabhyudaya*) with the Commentary of Mallinatha literal English translation variant readings critical notes appendices and introduction determining the date of Kalidāsa from latest antiquarian researches edited by KASHINATH BAPU PATHAK B.A. Second Edition Poona 1916.*

The *Parsvabhyudaya* is too well known to Sanskrit scholars to need an introduction An edition of Kalidasa's *Meghaduta* based on this metrical biography of Parsvanatha by Jinasenacharya is undoubtedly a very valuable contribution to Indology

The first edition of Prof PATHAK's book which appeared in 1894 was characterised by a rather indiscriminate use—or misuse—of diacritical marks in the transliteration of Indian words in the preface and notes accompanying the text The present edition marks a slight improvement in this respect Even in this edition however the number of the errata (printed at the bottom of p vi) has been considerably underestimated by the author and the little booklet would have proved much better reading for a thorough revision of the spelling which in many instances is quite unconventional From the literal translation and the elaborate exegetical and explanatory apparatus accompanying the reprint of the Sanskrit text it is evident that the edition is intended chiefly for the use of school boys and junior college students and there is no doubt that it will be greatly in demand with this class of readers The more is the pity that sufficient attention has not been paid to typographical matters for this example of inaccuracy in minor details set by a veteran is likely to be unconsciously copied by the inexperienced young scholar in whose hands the book falls No doubt the press comes in for its legitimate share of reproof but it must be understood that the responsibility of checking instances of such negligence lies entirely with the author

At p vii the subject matter of the introduction is indicated by a head line to be the date of Kālidasa. This is indeed a very modest description of the contents of the introduction which treats of a great many things besides, so much so that the reader experiences some difficulty in threading his way through the maze of (more or less interesting) digressions. The cannonade of diatribe running through the analysis of the critical acumen of Dr HULTZSCH (pp xvii xix) is distinctly one of the less interesting digressions and might have been with advantage omitted in its entirety.

The remarks bearing on the date of Kālidasa have been reprinted with slight alterations from the author's article on the subject entitled Kālidasa and the Hunas of the Oxus Valley (*Ind Ant* 1912 p 265), where an attempt is made to synchronise the composition of the *Raghuvamśa* with the advent of the Ephthalites in the Oxus Valley. To quote Prof PATHAK's own words (p x of the [80] book under review) Kālidasa must have written his verses about the Hunas shortly after 450 the date of the establishment of the Huna empire in the Oxus Basin but before their first defeat (AD 450—455) when they were still in the Oxus Valley and considered the most invincible warriors of their age and all this because it was on the banks of the Oxus (Vankshu) that Raghu during the course of his *digvijaya* is represented by Kālidasa (anachronistically adds Prof PATHAK) to have encountered the Huna hordes. It is no doubt possible to argue in this way, but the conclusion of the Professor is by no means inevitable. The Hunas are evidently introduced as a type of people who had impressed the minds of Indians as formidable foes on the battlefield and Prof PATHAK is perfectly right in implying that the Ephthalites belong to a category different from that of the classical enemies of the conquering hero, such as the kings of the Chōla Paṇḍya Kalinga and other kingdoms. But this estimation of their fighting qualities was hardly possible to be formed unless the Indians of Kālidasa's time had known the nomadic hordes nearer at hand than from the remote Oxus Valley. To the same conclusion points the use of the phrase *kapolapatanudesī* by Kālidasa in the same work (canto 4 verse 68) which discloses close intimacy with the customs and manners peculiar to the White Huns. It would be therefore equally legitimate to assign Kālidasa to an epoch of Indian history following shortly on the expulsion of the Hūna hordes from the confines of India proper. This would be a time when the picture of their ferocious barbarity was still vividly present to the minds of the poet's contemporaries and a reference to the rout of the Hūnas would have immediately and strikingly appealed to the imagination of the readers. Thus, even under these circumstances there would be nothing incongruous in the fact of the poet making Raghu encounter the retreating Hūnas in their epic home of the Vankshu Valley. The upshot of this antinomial argumentation seems to be to exclude the possibility of referring Kālidasa to the period in which the Ephthalites occupied the position of paramount sovereigns within the limits of India. For, on the contrary supposition with the Hūnas actually holding their own in the Panjab and parts of Central India the statement that Raghu fought with these same people on the banks of the Oxus and defeated them there would have been incomprehensible to Kālidasa's contemporaries. The reference is, in any case, too vague to admit of exact chronological computations like those which Prof PATHAK attempts.

The determination of the date of Kālidasa is, as remarked above, only one of the questions dealt with in the introduction. Another topic discussed there is the value of Vallabha's Commentary on the *Meghadūta* in settling the question of the spurious verses. The verdict of Prof PATHAK is not favourable to the commentator.

Dr HULTZSCH it would appear misguided by the opinion of the Pandits Durga prasad and Parab regarding the age of Vallabha identifies him with Kaiyata's grand father of that name and assigns him therefore to the first half of the tenth century (see HULTZSCH's edition of the *Meghaduta* Preface p ix) Prof PATHAK would rather place him two centuries later and the reasons adduced by him in support of his opinion are worthy of careful consideration. If it turn out that the Professor's surmise of the age of Vallabhadeva is correct this circumstance would detract considerably from the value to which the commentary might otherwise be entitled on grounds of its supposed antiquity. In any event, Prof PATHAK attaches far too much importance to this fact for it must be remembered that even the author of the *Parsvabhyudaya* is separated by at least two centuries from the time of Kalidāsa—a period which is long enough in India to engender interpolations. Each work represents the version locally current at the particular epoch to which the commentator belongs. And neither in one case the seclusion of the Kāśmīr Valley nor in the other the proximity to the poet by—admitting Prof PATHAK's estimation to be correct—three centuries is a sufficient guarantee of the entire purity of the respective texts.

In reprinting the text of Mallinatha's commentary Prof PATHAK has introduced an innovation. He has expunged the remarks of the commentator regarding the spuriousness of certain verses, a procedure which being misleading is not commendable.

V S SUDHANKAR.

THE JOURNAL OF THE UNITED PROVINCES HISTORICAL SOCIETY December 1923,
Vol III Part I Longmans Green & Co *

The *Journal* is edited by the learned Professor of Modern Indian History at the University of Allahabad, Dr Shafaat Ahmad KHAN Litt. D M.L.C. who is also the Honorary Secretary of the United Provinces Historical Society. In the fascicule before us, Dr KHAN'S paper entitled Documents on Seventeenth Century British India in the Public Record Office Chancery Lane, a scholarly survey of a part of the documentary material available for the study of an interesting chapter in Modern Indian History [168] is followed by the second instalment of an article dealing with Place names in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh" by Paul WHALLEY Bengal Civil Service (retired) which is a study of place-names in those provinces from the linguistic and historical standpoint. The author begins his study by dividing place-names broadly into compounds and derivatives. The compounds are then sub-divided into three groups, municipal, rural and religious. Then the closely allied category of double names is considered, the analysis ending with an enumeration of the principal prefixes i.e. elements which can be prefixed to the descriptive portion of names, mostly giving them the appearance of double names. The names considered by Mr WHALLEY belong, with insignificant exceptions, to the period posterior to the Muhammadan influx. "The history of a people says Mr WHALLEY impresses itself upon its onomatology and it would be an interesting task to illustrate this by following place-names down the path of history. The author therefore explains that "if we reverse the process, taking the modern names first is because the nature of the material at our disposal compels us to do so. We must mount up from the present to the past because otherwise the past would be unintelligible." This is undoubtedly true.

The object of the inquiry is ethnological and historical though the point of view adopted by the author in the present investigation is grammatical. The author frankly admits his inability to do full justice to the question since its grammatical aspect needs to be dealt with by one who has undergone a rigid philological training. Some of the derivations and explanations proposed by Mr WHALLEY are not wholly satisfactory. We cannot endorse for instance, the derivation of *kubja* (in the place-name Kanyakubja) from *kupa* 'well', it is equally difficult to follow the author in assigning the meaning 'new' to *kanya* or *kanya*, which according to him is the hypothetical positive corresponding to the defective comparative Skt *kaniyas* Gr *kainos* (for **kainyos*). Whatever its explanation we think that the name is a compound of two elements meaning 'maiden' and 'hump-backed' compare the analogous formation Kanyākumārī which evidently means virgin damsel. It seems equally inadmissible to trace Aunccha to Skt *varṣa* a division of the world. Notwithstanding a few [169] such shortcomings the paper is full of wise observations and interesting derivations. We hope that this very suggestive essay of Mr WHALLEY will inspire Sanskritists to turn their attention to this sadly neglected field of study.—The extract from a letter from Mr H BEVERIDGE to the Editor, which follows, fails to throw any light on the mystery of the stone elephant at Ajmere.—The next article *Indian Education in the Seventh Century A.D.* by Dr Radha Kumud MOOKERJĠ M.A. Ph.D. Professor of Indian History, University of Lucknow is an able and useful summary of information gleaned from the itinerary of I-tsing (672-88 A.D.), regarding the condition of elementary and higher education as well as rules governing the education and organization of the monasteries, as given by the pilgrim. The adequacy of dealing these questions together is explained by Dr MOOKERJĠ on the ground that the entire system of Indian education whether Brahmanical or Buddhist, was based upon the principle of a personal touch or relationship between the teacher and the taught, whether the sphere of its working lay in the individual household of the teacher or in the collective establishment of the monastery.—In a remarkably well written article Mr S Itukhar Husain SAHEB unfolds the life of A Nineteenth Century Saint Haji Sayyad Shah Waris Ali SAHEB of Dewa a very famous Sufi (born ca 1235 A.H.). In dealing with the creed of Haji Saheb, the author has a few words to say on the cardinal principles of Sufism its origin elevation and degeneration.—The last paper in this issue, which is by Mr W H MORELAND seeks to throw Some Side lights on Life in Agra 1637-39. The author has utilized for this purpose the original documents containing the expenditure accounts of the Agra factory for the years 1637-9 which now form Nos. 120 and 123 of the W. Geleynssen de Jongh Collection in the Public Record Office at the Hague. The documents at the disposal of Mr MORELAND do not show the commercial transactions of the Dutch factory in Agra but detail what may be called the overhead charges. They give month by month the expenditure on det. of factors stable servants wages, messengers etc. A patient and systematic study of the short entries in accounts and commercial documents and a few continuous narratives, enables the author to gather valuable information bearing on the life of the Dutch factors, [170] the economic life and monthly prices in Agra the means of communication and the building costs of that period and thus to give us a glimpse of the life and activities of the Dutch factors and their contemporaries in Agra of the second quarter of the seventeenth century.—The issue before us contains much good material and the *Journal* is full of promise. We compliment the learned Editor on this fine achievement which challenges comparison with the best conducted Journals of its kind.

A PRACTICAL SANSKRIT DICTIONARY with Translation Accentuation and Etymological Analysis. By ARTHUR ANTHONY MACDONNELL, M.A., Ph. D Hon LL.D Boden Professor of Sanskrit Fellow of Balliol College Fellow of the British Academy Oxford University Press, 1924 Pp xii + 382 (Price 30 shillings.)

The Oxford University Press has brought out a reissue corrected of Professor MACDONNELL's well known Sanskrit English Dictionary which has been out of print for some time. The aim of the dictionary we are told, in the Preface is to satisfy within the compass of a comparatively handy volume, all the practical wants not only of learners of Sanskrit but also of scholars for purposes of ordinary reading. The work probably does satisfy the modest wants of the learners of Sanskrit at the British Universities, but it is doubtful to us whether it meets the requirements of scholars, even for purposes of ordinary reading.

Two radical defects that should have been removed in a reissue of the work are these (1) the obsolete unsightly and irritating system of transliteration which yields in the roman script such equivalents as *KHRID* of Sanskrit कृद् and *g/ana ghanaya* of Sanskrit गणनपाय and (2) the inadequacy of the publication to serve as a complete and satisfactory glossary even to the 120 Vedic hymns, 1 Brahmana, 3 Sutra texts and about 40 post Vedic works, for which, professedly the dictionary is meant to supply a vocabulary.

[171] The recourse to an anastatic reprint of Professor MACDONNELL'S dictionary appears at first sight to disparage the learned activities of the past generation of oriental scholars, because it seems to imply that during the last thirty years no significant additions have been made to Sanskrit lexicography which is unquestionably a progressive science and in which some progress has undoubtedly been made since the appearance of the first edition of the dictionary in 1897. But evidently no such disparagement is intended by the learned Professor or the enterprising Publisher. There is every indication that the work is designed principally to meet the practical requirements of junior college students in England and to them the advance made in the science of Sanskrit lexicography during the last three decades is, we suppose a matter of little or no consequence.

Many words and meanings appear in this dictionary with an asterisk (*) against them precisely as in the original edition. This asterisk was affixed to them by the painstaking author for the purpose of drawing the attention of the reader to the important fact that the respective words and meanings are quotable only from native grammarians and lexicographers. Users of the dictionary are therefore advised to refer in all important cases, to the new revised edition of the St. Petersburg Lexicon, now being published in Germany where they may find quite good attestations for many of the words and meanings condemned some thirty years ago by the erudite Boden Professor.

Even though the work may have been reprinted mainly to satisfy the practical needs of junior students of Sanskrit at British Universities, the learned doyen of Oriental studies at Oxford and the accredited publisher to the University would—we cannot refrain from remarking—have done greater service to the cause of Sanskrit learning by placing at the disposal even of these students a work from which the defects referred to above had been eradicated than by prolonging by means of photographic reproduction the life of an antiquated publication.

[172] RELIGIOUS LIFE IN ANCIENT EGYPT By SIR FLINDERS PETRIE FRS
F B A. Constable, London 1924 Pp x+221

This is an excellent little book—a companion volume to that on the *Social Life in Ancient Egypt*—to place in the hands of those who wish to learn something about the ancient Egyptian religion as part of the daily life and in its social connections. The more primitive and popular beliefs, we are told in the Preface are placed together as representing those earlier stages which must be grasped before we can understand the growth of the system of later times. Our knowledge of the origins of the Egyptian religion and institutions has been greatly extended by the new material of the early ages which has been found in recent work. The aim of the present volume is to link the information gleaned from the new discoveries with the historical records already known.

In successive chapters the author deals with the following aspects of the Egyptian religion: the gods and their temples; the priesthood and its teaching; the faith in the gods, the future life; the burial and the tomb; and finally the folk beliefs; and he gives us a vivid and accurate insight into the religious activities of Ancient Egyptians. There is a charming coloured frontispiece reproducing a scene from a tomb of the XIXth dynasty (ca 1500 B.C.) in which the Tree-goddess is shown as appearing in the branches of a sycamore tree and holding a tray of cakes and fruits and a vase of drink which she pours out to the lady before her who is accompanied by a seated official, the keeper of the garden and lake of the palace of Rameses II in the temple of Amen.

In connection with the question of the dissemination of Indian ideas and beliefs, we may here draw attention to the view of Sir Flinders PETRIE that the mystic frame of mind [of the Egyptian] was largely influenced by Indian thought during the Persian dynasties. The doctrine of rebirth, he adds, favoured by throwing all the bodily senses into abeyance and brought to pass by driving out the twelve inner torments by their antitheses, is evidently due to Indian influence.

The gifted author of the little volume noticed here has been credited with possessing the art of taking a mass of detail and [173] evolving from it a scheme at once so simple and so convincing that the reader is surprised that it was never thought of before. One has only to glance over the contents to realize the truth of this remark.

V S S

OLDEST HINDU DRAMA *

Kleinere Sanskrit Texte Heft 1 Bruchstücke Buddhistischer Dramen herausgegeben von Heinrich LUDERS. Reimer Berlin. 1911

One continental publication of special interest to Indologists which appeared nearly a decade ago has for some unaccountable reason not received that recognition and publicity in India which the inherent merit of the work and the epoch-making importance of its contents demand. We allow ourselves therefore the privilege of inserting here a rather belated notice of the book which is entitled *Bruchstücke Buddhistischer Dramen* (Fragments of Buddhist Dramas) by Prof. Heinrich LUDERS of the University of Berlin. This work represents the first fascicle of a series of annotated editions of Short Sanskrit Texts included in the import

* [Modern Review July 1920 p 37]

ant finds of the Prussian Turfan Expeditions. The dramas under reference, which are unfortunately all fragmentary, were found by Dr VON LE COQ in one of the cave temples of Ming Oa by Kysyl, west of Kucha. The largest fragment which is made up of eight or nine smaller pieces is 34.5 cm long. Though found in Turfan the manuscripts must have originated in India, as is made evident by the editor of these fragments. Moreover in the light shed by palæography on their script, Prof LÜPERS feels justified in assuming that the manuscripts were written in the time of the Indo-Scythian dynasty of Kushans. Not only are they the oldest Indian manuscripts which we possess but they contain also fragments of the oldest Hindu dramas preserved. One of the dramas to which these fragments belong was an allegorical play introducing among others, the personified qualities of Buddha, Dhriti and Kṛti as characters. In another we have the figures of the Buddha, Sanputra, Maudgalyayana and Kaundinya among the dramatis personæ. It is evident that they are all Buddhist plays. It is interesting to note that the characteristic figure of the Vidushaka of the Hindu drama is not absent from these plays. This is not the place to enter into the complicated question of the bearing of this find on literary historical problems, but we may advert here very briefly to the specimens of Middle Indian Dialects (otherwise Prakrits) which are preserved in these dramas. As in the classical Hindu drama we have here the regular alternation of Sanskrit and Prakrit dialects. Here we can again distinguish at least three different dialects—Sauraseni, Magadhi and Ardhamagadhi. But the really important fact in this connection is that the dialects of these dramas represent older stages of the Sauraseni, Magadhi and Ardhamagadhi of the dramas hitherto known. Accordingly Prof LÜPERS calls them Old Sauraseni, Old Magadhi and Old Ardhamagadhi.

The volume contains six plates reproducing photolithographic facsimiles of the palm leaf fragments as also a transliteration of the texts in Roman characters. The introduction is a valuable addition to our knowledge of Indian Palæography and Middle Indian dialects. The author of these dramas as shown by Prof LÜPERS in a subsequent publication, was no other than Ashvaghosha, that prodigy of learning who has left his mark on every branch of literature and philosophy which he touched. We earnestly recommend this work for careful study to all students of the Indian drama, epigraphy and linguistics.

EPIGRAPHIST

THE ART OF INDIA *

THE lack of understanding of Hindu art, which until lately has been universal among European critics, has led many to accept the notion invented by European writers on Indian archaeology that all that is great in the art of India is the creation of foreigners. Hindu art has thus come to be regarded as a mere appendix of various schools of Persian, Greek and Saracenic art, and is valued accordingly. Mr HAVELL, however, in his volume, '*A Handbook of Indian Art*' refuses to give credence to the elaborate theories of the official archaeologists and suggests a new conception of his own. He is frankly a rebel, and his handbook—which summarizes and enlarges upon the conclusions of his earlier works—is a challenge to the accepted theories on the origin, development and meaning of Hindu art.

Mr HAVELL's treatment of the beginnings of Indian architecture is of special interest. His object is, as he says, to enable the reader,

* [*The Freeman* 7 Dec 1921, pp 309-10]

to perceive the intention of the builder and correlate stupa temple monastery palace mosque and tomb with the thought and life of the period to which they belong, rather than to classify them in a dry academic manner which makes the builder's intention as unintelligible as the historian's explanation.

The earliest known monuments of India represent a comparatively high state of development a fact which has been a stumbling block to many an archaeologist. This fact is in some measure responsible for the general assumption that Indian art has a foreign origin but at bottom lies the fallacy that the Indo-Aryans were dreamers who lacked constructive genius and technical skill. Mr HAVELL shows that this is a very one sided view of Indo-Aryan history. In his view the building traditions of the Indo Aryans are not only co-eval with their settlement in India but reach still further back to the hoary past of Aryan rule in Mesopotamia. The generations of masons who toiled on the noble stupas of Sanchi and Amaravati says Mr HAVELL were not mere imitators they drank at the same fountain as the great masters of Hellas though like the latter they were heirs to a craft tradition of many centuries.

The adoption of stone as a building-material ushered in the era of imposing monuments such as those at Sanchi where some of the sculpture is primitive and archaic, and some as cultured in design and accomplished in technique as Italian Cinquecento work. The next important epoch in the history of Indian art coincides with the supremacy of the Guptas (*circa* 40 A.D.) This was a period of unusual intellectual activity in divers fields. The fine rock cut cloisters of that epoch reflect the spirit of the classical age of Sanskrit poetry in the greater refinement of technique, elegance of design and carefully studied proportions. Coming down to the Mohammedan period Mr HAVELL shows that the term Saraceni as applied to the Mohammedan architecture in Gujarath and elsewhere is a misnomer. He admirably explains that the combination of the three schools of Rome Byzantium and Persia

working together under conditions laid down by Islamic law produced what is called Saracenic architecture which however had not developed into an independent style before Islam began to draw upon the artistic resources of India in the same way as it had borrowed Indian science—mathematical medicinal and astronomical—to build up the schools for which Arab culture became famous in Europe.

The Mogul school marks, according to Mr HAVELL the period of the Renaissance of Indian architecture and he draws the following brief comparison between the Renaissance in India and in Europe.

The Mogul building tradition was therefore wholly Indian only a new departure analogous to that of the Renaissance in Europe. The Hindu builder threw his old structure formulae into the melting pot, and reshaped them himself with astonishing constructive skill in new forms of such fantasy and variety that the European critic accustomed to the archaeological rules of the Renaissance and generally profoundly ignorant of Indian history finds it difficult to follow them. For while the Renaissance tied down the European master builder to narrower constructive limits than the Gothic, the changes in craft tradition made by the Mohammedan conquest of India gave the Indian master builder a new and much wider field for his invention and skill.

The section of Mr HAVELL's handbook that is devoted to sculpture explains the ideas which inform the Buddhist and Hindu conceptions of the Deity and of divine worship as embodied in the works of different epochs. Mr HAVELL argues

that there was an original and highly developed school of figure-sculpture in India long before the Hellenistic sculptors of the Indo-Scythian court introduced into Buddhist art the innovation of representing the person of the Blessed One

The third and last section of the book contains an all too brief survey of the different schools of Indian painting. The material is admittedly scanty, especially for the early period. Mr HAVELL traces the different schools to their origins and discusses the influences under which they prospered. For nearly a millenium before the dawn of Mohammedanism, India had exercised a powerful influence on the art of Asia. The Buddhist craftsman like the Buddhist teacher, was a nomad, and sowed broadcast over Asia the seeds of his art. *Fresco-paintings of the Ajanta school* are found to this day in some of the oldest temples of Japan, and the painting on silken banners recently excavated in the sand-buried cities of Chinese Turkestan are plainly reminiscent of Indian art.

Future historians of art will undoubtedly be obliged to follow Mr HAVELL'S lead in correlating art and history with religion and psychology and making them mutually interpretative. The present writer is, in the main in agreement with Mr HAVELL, he differs from him only in details. Mr HAVELL is in the first place an artist, and in the second place an art historian. His application of Indian art is as genuine as his study is deep. It would be unfair to demand of him an equally exhaustive knowledge of the literatures, philosophies and religions of India extending over a period of five or six millenniums. The course has been admirably planned out by Mr HAVELL, the details must now be filled in by some one more fully conversant with the varied—and to a foreigner, complicated and puzzling—phases of Hindu life and thought.

There is, however, one aspect of Mr HAVELL'S interpretation of Hindu art with which the present writer is in sharp disagreement. To Mr HAVELL and critics of his school all Indian art is the product of some sort of subjective emanation informed with spirituality and religiosity. When Mr HAVELL says, for instance, that 'the pleasure-gardens of the Mohammedan dynasties had the religious character which runs through all Indian art, he overshoots the mark. Forgetting that he has considered only the religious aspect of Hindu art, he comes to the erroneous conclusion that all Indian art bears a religious character. As a matter of fact, Hindu architecture is not any more spiritual than is Greek or Gothic architecture. Nor is it true to say that Hindu art is the product of a yogic hypersensitive consciousness, any more than the best specimens of mediæval Christian art are that.

Mr HAVELL holds that in Indian and perhaps all Asian art it is very rarely the case that any attempt at portraiture is made, as often happens in Western sacred art—it is an ideal racial type rather than an individual that is represented'. No doubt the images of the Buddha represent an ideal racial type, but does Mr HAVELL believe that either the mediæval or modern pictures and images of Christ and the Apostles are to be regarded as photographic representations? Mr HAVELL admits that there is 'an undertone of intense realism' beneath the conceptions of Indian religious arts in an abundant evidence of the most careful study of nature and the most ancient of the figures, in the expressive drawing of the past. Yet he declares that the ideal of Greek art is athletic, that of Hindu art spiritual, and in support of this theory, he compares the emaciated starving Buddha with the healthy, well-fed Apollo. This is, of course, a wholly unfair comparison. With the Apollo we must compare the torso of the robust and athletic Bodhisattva if we are seeking a correct perspective. The truth of the matter is that when due

allowance is made for superficial differences in schools and epochs there is an essential identity of artistic inspiration between East and West

V S SUKTHANKAR.

DER HINDUISMUS. RELIGION UND GESELLSCHAFT IM HEUTIGEN INDIEN By *Helmut von Glasenapp* Kurt Wolff Verlag Pp XVI 505 Muenchen 1922 *

A very large number of books deal with India of the bygone ages with her culture and her religions. Few books have appeared in recent years, which deal with the society and the currents of religious thought in India of the present day. German readers have therefore reason to be particularly thankful for the timely appearance of a work which purports to throw light on some aspects of the socio-religious life of the Indians of the present generation. This work of Dr VON GLASENAPP may however be read profitably not only by foreigners but by Indian students as well. It is a trite observation but it is nevertheless true that the familiar is by no means that which is easily intelligible. It should interest even Hindu readers to know the views on the structure of Hindu society and the movements of religious thought in India entertained by an intelligent, sympathetic and competent foreign observer. For even though such an observer is handicapped by the disadvantage implied by the distance he has the compensating advantage of possessing a certain amount of detachment, which is a very valuable asset in criticism. This handsome informing and readable volume is in every sense a welcome addition to the existing literature on the subject. The well chosen illustrations an exhaustive bibliographical appendix and the twenty page Index add appreciably to the value and utility of this volume.

capital R. From this view-point, he surveys longitudinally and transversely, historically and sociologically, all the activities of the Hindus. The brief dictum is a convenient maxim, but, like all generalisations of the kind, falls considerably short of the truth. We, for instance, refuse to accept an interpretation of the history of India which would explain, for example, the military expeditions of the armies of Chandragupta Maurya or Chandragupta Vikramaditya as "religious" pilgrimages. We cannot bring ourselves to believe that the Hindu treatises on mathematics, medicine, botany, architecture, elephant lore, archery, warfare in general, politics, music, dancing, rhetoric, dramaturgy, and the rest of the sixty-four kalas and vidyas (including the Kamasāstra) are "religious" tractates. In fact, we are of opinion that this oft-quoted maxim embodies but a partial truth, and as such is distinctly misleading, not to say mischievous. With this reservation and caution, we recommend the volume cordially to students of Hindu Society and Hindu religions.

V. S. S.

Het Oudjavaansche Bhīṣmaparva, uitgegeven door Dr. J. GONDA (= Bibliotheca Javanica uitgegeven door het Kon. Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, No. 7.). Bandoeng 1936 *

By bringing out a critical edition of the Old Javanese Version of the Bhīṣma parvan, Dr. J. GONDA of the University of Utrecht has placed all students of the Great Epic of India under very deep obligation. Only eight out of the eighteen parvans of the Javanese Version of the Mahābhārata have been (as far as it is commonly known) hitherto traced, namely, the Ādi, Virāṭa, Udyoga, Bhīṣma, Āśramavasika, Mausala, Mahāprasthānika and Svargārohana. Three of these formed the subject of a doctor dissertation submitted to the Leyden University, as early as 1893, by Dr. H. C. JUYNBOLL. The Javanese Version was edited by the Doctor, in Roman characters, and rendered into Dutch. Thirteen years later (1906) the same scholar published the text of the Ādi, also in Roman characters, with different readings culled from Mss. utilized for the edition. Of the Old Javanese Ādiparvan only some few episodes have been so far translated into a European language. The translated episodes are the Parvasamgraha, Pauṣya, and Amṛtamanthana, the story of Parikṣit and the Sauparva.

The immense value of this Javanese adaptation of the Mahābhārata, as distinguished from other adaptations, lies in the fact that throughout the Old-Javanese text, there are scattered quotations from the original Sanskrit text used by the Javanese translator.

These quotations culled from the Javanese adaptation of the Ādiparvan and the Virāṭaparvan were studied in connection with the work of the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. For ready reference a complete list of these excerpts has been given in Appendices of the two published volumes of the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata, where the Javanese readings have been compared with those of other important published editions of these two parvans. This comparative study of the Javanese readings has been not without interest. It shows that when the Javanese Version was compiled (namely, ca. 1000 A.D.) [2] both the recensions of the Mahābhārata—the Northern and the Southern—were in existence. The Javanese Ādiparvan was found to be almost entirely free from any specific Southern additions. The Javanese Virāṭaparvan, on the other hand, goes back to a mixed source, a conflated text,

* [Old May 1938, 1-3]

an exemplar which had tried to combine Northern and Southern features in fact, an early prototype of the future Kumbakonam Edition, specimens of which are to be found mostly in the Telugu Version of the Mahābhārata. The Udyogaparvan which is now being edited for the Institute by Prof. Dr. SUSHIL KUMAR DE of Dacca University and of which the first fascicule (= fascicule 9 of the entire edition) has just been published shows again a purer tradition. The source of the Javanese Udyogaparvan according to Dr. DE is the Northern Recension, for (as he has pointed out in the Editorial Note to the Udyogaparvan fascicule), while we find [in the Javanese adaptation] citation of an additional passage belonging to the Northern tradition there is not a single passage in the Javanese Version which can be traced to the characteristic Southern additions. The readings adopted in the Critical Edition of the Udyogaparvan on independent grounds, are happily confirmed by the Javanese extracts supplied by Dr. JUYNBOLL.

We next come to the Bhūmaparvan. One of the sections of this parvan has been already cursorily compared with the published Sanskrit Versions. Dr. GONDA who has carried out the comparison writes that the Javanese Version is *not* an adaptation of a Sanskrit text which is identical or nearly identical with the printed editions. It differs from the texts much more than these texts depart from each other. (*Tijdschrift* 1935, 38)

The Javanese Version of the Bhagavadgītā can claim not unnaturally more importance for itself on account of the interest which intrinsically attaches to this Gospel of Modern Hinduism. A large number of variants occurring in the Old Javanese Bhagavadgītā have already been published and discussed by Prof. F. O. SCHRADER in the Introduction to his edition of the Kāsmīri Recension of the Bhagavadgītā (Stuttgart 1930). SCHRADER tries to make [3] capital out of the fact that the Old-Javanese Version does not contain *anything* corresponding approximately to the portion of the Gītā text which has uniformly been declared by German scholars to be an interpolation but we do not think much of this *argument ex silentio*. The Old Javanese Version is admittedly an abridgement, and it is difficult to say, from cursory local comparisons, what motives may precisely have induced the adapter or adapters to accept certain portions and reject others. There are numerous abridgements of the Bhagavadgītā in existence and as is to be expected no two of them agree with each other, even approximately, as regards what they retain and what they omit of the original. The Song Celestial is a difficult work, its baffling difficulty lies in its deceptive simplicity. It appeals to different people in entirely different ways, and each adapter retains as much as he can clearly comprehend and considers helpful. But this is not the place to pursue this difficult question further and to examine it in all its ramifications.

We have already given expression above to our gratitude to Dr. GONDA for publishing this important Javanese text, the lack of which has been keenly felt by students of the Mahābhārata. We would add here that we should be immeasurably more indebted to him if he would take the trouble to bring the published text within the reach of the average scholar by publishing a literal translation of the Old Javanese text into a more widely understood language, because, as Dr. GONDA has himself pointed out elsewhere "it is necessary to study the *entire* Old Javanese text, and not only the Sanskrit quotations", which latter is all that has so far been utilized by scholars outside that fortunate circle of the *élite* who can justly boast of being able to read and understand the language of the people of Java of a thousand years ago.

The *Naṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa* of Sāgaranandin Edited by MYLES DILLON Lecturer in Comparative Philology and Sanskrit University College Dublin Vol I Text, Oxford University Press London Humphrey Milford 1937 Pages xx + 147 Price 15 shillings.*

We cordially welcome this extremely well got up *editio princeps* of an interesting and important treatise on Indian dramaturgy prepared from a Devanagari copy of the only extant Ms. of the work discovered in Nepal in 1927 by the late Professor SYLVAIN LÉVI. According to the learned editor the *Naṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa* (NL) may be as early as the thirteenth century but the inferior date adopted by him is A.D. 1613 a difference of nearly four centuries. But this gap might have been easily reduced. The French savant who discovered the MS. had already pointed out (*Journal Asiatique* xciii 210) that the text was actually quoted by Rāyamukuta in an unpublished commentary on the *Amarakośa* written in A.D. 1431 and it ought to be possible to verify these data from MSS. of Rāyamukuta's work, which are extant. This would give us an inferior date for the work much higher than A.D. 1613 which is overcautiously adopted by DILLON especially as, according to SYLVAIN LÉVI the original palm leaf MS. preserved in Nepal appears to date from the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries. We trust some one who has access to a complete MS. of Rāyamukuta's work will take the trouble to verify the quotation and settle the point.

The great importance of this work on Indian dramaturgy may be judged from the fact that the author quotes by name ten ancient authors and about one hundred old Sanskrit dramas many of which were hitherto quite unknown or only imperfectly known. Of special interest is the reference to the *Svapnavasavadatta* (presumably of Bhasa), a [2] drama which has been the centre of furious controversy in recent times. On p. 51 of our edition we have now the extract from the prologue of a *Svapnavasavadatta* which illustrates a device by which the transition from the preliminaries to the main action of the play is achieved and a character is introduced. Unfortunately the prologue of our play is worded slightly differently. But the same elements are present in both: the stage director the hermitage and personal (*utsarāṇa*) of the crowd behind the scenes entrance of Yaugandharayana in the crowd which is being dispersed by Padmavati's men. We may therefore safely assume—as we have already pointed out elsewhere (*JBBRAS* NS 1 127 ff)—that though the Trivandrum play is not identical with the drama known to and quoted from by Sāgaranandin, it does not differ from the latter very considerably: the two are near enough to be styled different recensions of the well known drama by Bhasa—a fact which at once authenticates the interesting little play discovered and published by the late Mahamahopadhyaya GAṆAPATI SHASTRI. It is needless to point out that it is far more rational to assume the existence of two different versions of one and the same *Svapnavasavadatta* by Bhasa than to assume the existence of two different Bhasas as the authors of the two different *Svapnavasavadattas*. However the discussion has now unfortunately reached the stage of dogmatic controversy and it is extremely unlikely that even the most patent proofs adduced to prove the authenticity of our *Svapnavasavadatta* will induce the "anti-Bhasites" to revise their opinions and to re-orient their ideas which have now crystallized once for all.

To return to our edition of the NL, we may draw attention to the excellent typographical arrangements of the text: the *termini technici* which are illustrated by the author have been carefully underlined, and the citations have been well printed in small type [3]—devices which improve visibility and facilitate reference. The numbering of the lines of the text and the references to the extracts and quotations

had been printed, instead in opposite margins which would have avoided their interference with each other but that is a minor blemish Professor DILLON deserves the cordial thanks of all lovers of Sanskrit literature for his conscientious labours in producing a critical edition of this important treatise on Indian drama. The value of the edition is enhanced by the *Pratika Index* (covering eight pages), the *Index of quotations from the Nāṭyaśāstra* *Index of titles* and finally the *Index of authors*, which accompany the text edition and facilitate its study. The editor promises (Preface p x) to publish a translation of the text with explanatory notes and an introduction discussing the NL in relation to other works on Indian drama in a separate volume. We shall look forward eagerly to the appearance of the second volume of this excellent publication.

V S SUKTHANKAR

Verse Index to the Bhagavadgītā Pāda Index Compiled by Dr W KIRFEL Professor at the University Bonn Pages 45 Otto Harrassowitz Leipzig 1938 *

Many have been the attempts to interpret the Gita since the time of the great Ācārya Śaṅkara and before his time. The most important among the European essays have been those by GARBE and OTTO. Professor KIRFEL felt that the attempts of Prof GARBE and Prof OTTO to interpret the present form of the Gita seem to be unsatisfactory (Preface) and we agree with him. He came then to the conclusion that in discussing the problem of its origin and its hypothetical interpolations we must compare its texts and its stanzas with those of other works of Indian literature. As a necessary and practical help in such an independent and unbiassed investigation of the question, he had prepared an alphabetical pāda index to the Bhagavadgītā. It was a happy thought of his to publish the index he had prepared for his own use. Thanks to the zeal and enterprise of Herr Otto Harrassowitz of Leipzig, whose well known firm has more than thirty important Indological publications to its credit we have at last a Verse-Index to the Bhagavadgītā. Prof KIRFEL has filled up a gap left by the appalling apathy of Indians towards their magnificent literary heritage a heritage of which any nation might just be proud. It is to be hoped that some Indian scholars will at last wake up to the necessity of preparing at long last a complete *Index Verborum* of this crest jewel of Indian literature, an index in which every occurrence of every inflected and uninflected word and every grammatical form will be separately indexed and cited as in GRASSMANN'S *Wörterbuch* to the R̥gveda. These indexes are mere tools no doubt, but tools are indispensable if you want to do some difficult and high class work. Works such as these are definitely worth publication because they are really of some use to the public whereas many of the fatuous and sentimental ebullitions of inexperienced writers on the Gita which have been springing up regularly like mushrooms, in season and out of season—can hardly be of much use even to the authors of those lucubrations themselves.

[2] The index of Prof KIRFEL is based on the Vulgate text of the Gita but the *variae lectiones* of the Anandashram edition and of Prof SCHRADER'S edition of the Kashmiri version have also been noted which is a distinct advantage.

We offer our cordial thanks to the author as well as to the publishers of the Verse Index. It is an extremely useful addition to Gita literature as well as to the Mahābhārata literature.

V S SUKTHANKAR

The Mahābhārata, Analysis and Index By Edward P RICE Humphrey Milford
Oxford University Press, 1934, pp. xvi + 112. (Price Rs. 5) *

'The *Mahābhārata* is much more than an epic story of the heroic age of Ancient India," as the Rev Mr RICE has well remarked in the short but interesting Preface to this little book, "it is a vast repository of Hindu traditional lore, philosophy and legend. It is accepted as an authoritative *smṛiti* by a hundred million followers of Brāhmanical tradition. In it have been incorporated extensive treatises on law, philosophy, religion and custom, together with numerous episodes, legends and discussions—amounting in all to four fifths of its bulk. It discloses to us an age-long quest, made by a religiously minded people, for a solution of the perennial problems of the human race with regard to the relation of man to the seen and unseen Universe, death and the hereafter, sin and sorrow, the standards of conduct, and the way to eternal bliss." A knowledge of the results of this quest is essential for any adequate comprehension of the morals and religious ideals of the Indians. This is the thought that has led—and rightly led—the Rev Mr RICE towards the Great Epic of India.

The *Mahābhārata* has often been described, and justly, as a "jungle" of information. Mr RICE's Analysis and Index of its contents is an attempt—as he says—to provide "a map of this jungle—a plan of paths and byways through it, which shall make its contents easily accessible." And we have no hesitation in endorsing the opinion of Professor L. D. BARNETT, expressed in his short Foreword to the book under review, that Mr RICE's Analysis and Index will prove immensely useful to students of the *Mahābhārata*.

Mr RICE would have been greatly helped in his work had he made use of Professor Hermann JACOBI's *Inhaltsangabe* (published as long ago as 1903), which is a far more complete and far [316] more accurate summary of the *Mahābhārata*, but Mr. RICE (as he tells us himself in his Preface) had no knowledge of Professor JACOBI's work till he had made some progress with his own attempt. Even so Mr RICE could have, with advantage, made greater use of it.

When drawing up the Index, Mr RICE would likewise have been considerably helped by the late Professor S. SORESENSEN's elaborate *Index to the Names in the Mahābhārata* (London, 1925), comprising over 800 pp. (large quarto). Mr RICE appears to have had no knowledge of this work whatsoever, as he does not mention it even in his little book.

Mr RICE has done his work well on the whole, but there are a few inconsistencies and inaccuracies, especially in the spelling of Sanskrit words, mistakes which are likely to confuse or mislead those users of his Analysis who do not know how these words are pronounced. The Sanskrit *ṛ* for example, is correctly transcribed by *ra* in the initial position (cf. Index under *v*) but in other positions, although there is no difference in the pronunciation of the sound, the old spelling with *w* has frequently crept in, for example, in *Aświns* (p. 22), *Dwāravatī* (pp. 14 twice, 79 etc.), *Dwaitavana* (pp. 18 twice, 24 etc.). All these names are again spelt correctly (with *v*) in the Index, in the preparation of which Mr RICE had probably taken the help of JACOBI's *Inhaltsangabe*, mentioned above.

Other errors of transcription are p. 13 *Vidura gamana parva*, p. 14 *Chitrāṅgada* (for **gadā*), p. 15 *Sabhā kṛpā*, p. 21 *Lopamudrā*, p. 22 *Aṣṭavakra*, p. 32 *Upalava* for (*Upalavya*), p. 46 *Aśhikaparva* p. 56 *Suka*, p. 84 *Bhārata Śāvitrī*.

These are however minor blemishes, and any Sanskritist (the writer for one) would be glad to help Mr RICE out by revising the spelling of Sanskrit words in the event of a second edition being called for as we fervently hope it will be.

We may draw attention to some other errors of a more serious nature which should have been avoided. By some strange lapse of memory Mr RICE calls Śaunakā a king (pp 5 and 7) when he was in fact, a very well known Brahman Rṣi a Kulapati in fact an ascetic dwelling in the sacred Naimiśa forest! P 11 Kṛpā's sister was Kṛpī not Kṛpā.

[317] In citing the original Sanskrit names of the sub-parvans Mr RICE has given in parenthesis, what appears to be at first sight a translation of these Sanskrit words, but sometimes these parenthetical additions are quite irrelevant not to say erratic—P 14 *Haranaḥarana* is not the capture of the captor but the bringing of the dowry—P 29 *Samaya palana* is not a wrestling match but the observance of the compact (viz to remain incognito during the last year of the exile)—P 31 *Yanasandhi* is not a council to decide peace or war but the interval between the missions. P 40 *Narayana's tra-moksha* is not the neutralization of the Narayana weapon but the release or discharge of that magical weapon—P 47 *Jalapradanika* is not the reconciliation of Dhṛtarashtra and the Paṇḍavas but offering of water libation (as part of the funeral ceremony).

In the summary of adhy 132-133 of the Ādi it is said that Arjuna cruelly rid himself of a Nishada rival but it may be pointed out that in the original no cruelty is implied on the part of Arjuna it was Ācārya Drona who asked for the thumb of the right hand of the Nishada prince Ekalavya and got it incapacitating Ekalavya for life. Extreme caution is necessary in making a summary.

Of the two Indices which the book contains I have already referred to one the Index of Names. The other Index is far more important the Index of Subjects. Here Mr RICE is all but a pioneer the only other attempt being again that of Professor JACOB who at the end of his *Inhaltsangabe* has devoted a little over a page to it. JACOB'S *Kurzes Sachregister* contains the following ten main headings with some sub-divisions (1) Philosophical (2) Cosmological (3) Caste (4) Āśramas (5) Women (6) Religion (7) Morality (8) Dharma, (9) Niti and (10) Literary. Mr RICE has added some more headings and has introduced many new sub-divisions. Mr RICE'S main rubrics are as follows (1) the Relation of Man to the Material and Spiritual Universe (2) Conceptions of Deity (3) Worship and Religious Rites (4) Sacrifices (5) Death and the Hereafter (6) Ethical Teaching (7) Problems of Life (8) Women Marriage Parenthood (9) the Four Castes (10) the Four Āśramas (11) King [318] craft (12) Warfare (13) the Material Universe (14) Chronology and History and (15) Literary.

This is unquestionably the most valuable part of Mr RICE'S work and all Sanskritists will feel grateful to him for it. Everyone realizes and admits that a subject index to the Mbh is an essential prerequisite for a critical study of the Great Epic but no one has had the necessary leisure and patience to index systematically all the heterogeneous subjects dealt with in those 100 000 stanzas. If properly made a complete (or nearly complete) Index of this kind might easily require for itself a book larger than Mr RICE'S but we must be grateful for what we now possess.

The book was not compiled for the consumption of the scholar *qua* scholar. Mr RICE'S idea was to introduce and popularize among his countrymen the study

of the Great Epic of the Indian people and pave the way for bringing about a better understanding of each others ideas and ideals—a laudable object in itself. So we must not be too exacting and captious in our criticism of minutiae. We shall therefore close this short notice by expressing the hope that the book will have a wide circulation and will soon see a second edition which will give Mr RICE an opportunity to remove some of the minor blemishes pointed out above and to increase further the usefulness of the book by adding some new titles and references to his excellent subject index. He will then surely earn the merit of having made a solid contribution to Mahabharata studies.

V S SUKTHANKAR.

IN MEMORIAM

PROFESSOR MORITZ WINTERNITZ (1863 1937)*

The world of Indological studies has suffered a great and irreparable loss in the passing away of Professor Dr. MORITZ WINTERNITZ of the University of Prag. This Institute has cause to deplore the sudden and premature death of the late lamented scholar perhaps more than any similar institution in India. Professor WINTERNITZ was not merely an Honorary Member of the Institute, but also an active member of the Mahabharata Editorial Board and of the Mahabharata Board of Referees. His relations with the Institute were indeed never of a purely formal and nominal character but they were appreciably strengthened in 1919 when the Institute undertook the work of preparing a *Critical Edition of the Mahabharata*. In this connection Professor WINTERNITZ gave the young and inexperienced organizers of the scheme much sound advice and very cordial encouragement and subsequently from time to time rendered the Institute especially valuable services in connection with the Institutes monumental project of preparing this critical edition.

His services to the cause of Mahabharata studies in general have been indeed of a striking and memorable character and deserve to be recorded fully in the *Annals* of this Institute.

There is perhaps no scholar who had studied and pondered over the Mahabharata problems longer and at the same time written agitated and worked for a critical edition of our Great Epic more energetically than Professor WINTERNITZ. He appears to have begun his scholar's career by writing a paper on a subject connected directly with the Mahabharata. It was a critical review of HOLTZMANN'S *Grammatisches aus dem Mahabharata* published in the *Oesterreichische Monatsschrift für den Orient* (1884-85). In 1897 he contributed a paper of about 50 pages to the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* entitled 'Notes on the Mahabharata' which is in fact a very detailed review of DAHLMANN'S *Das Mahabharata als Epos und Rechtsbuch* (Berlin 1895). In the same year at the session of the International Congress of Orientalists at Paris, he first drew attention of scholars to the importance of [314] South Indian MSS. for the restoration of a critical text of the Great Epic of India. Even at that time he pointed out that for all critical and historical researches the current printed editions of the epic were altogether insufficient and that a critical edition of the Mahabharata was a *conditio sine qua non* of all Mahabharata research. In the following

monumental history of Indian Literature (German Version), the only comprehensive and authoritative book on the subject which devotes nearly 150 pages to the Mahābhārata and still remains the *most reliable* general account of our Great Epic. Besides containing an accurate summary of the epic story, the volume contains the considered views of the author on the interesting question of the beginnings of epic poetry in India, and a detailed discussion of the question of the age and history of the Mahābhārata. It may also be noted that this is the *only* work which gives a complete, systematic and impartial account of the progress of Mahabharata studies during the last hundred years with exhaustive bibliography and exemplary thoroughness, and as such is indispensable to every serious student of the Mahābhārata. In 1910 he published a review of SORESENSEN'S *Index to the Names in the Mahābhārata* (parts I IV) in ZDMG (64 241 243). Then for about five years from 1911-1915, Professor WINTERNITZ appears not to have published anything about the Mahābhārata. This interval he seems to have devoted to his private studies of the Sabhāparvan the book assigned to him in the scheme of the International Association of Academies for a critical edition of the Mahābhārata. As a by-product of these studies may be regarded his short paper, [316] "Mahābhārata II 68 41 ff, and Bhāsa's Dūtavākya" in *Festschrift E. Kuhn* (1916), which was followed in 1917 by a review of HOPKINS' *Epic Mythology*, which had appeared in 1915. The brief regime of mutual hate, disorder and vandalism prevailing in Europe during the Great War gave its quietus to this international project among others, the undertaking of the Associated Academies was silently abandoned in the years that followed the war. That was a great disappointment to WINTERNITZ.

The end of the war marked however, the beginning of a *new* project of preparing a critical edition of the Mahābhārata this time in India. This Institute, making a fresh start, enthusiastically undertook the work in 1919, as a national undertaking—a venture cordially welcomed by Professor WINTERNITZ, for he saw in it a fresh promise of the fulfilment of his dreams which had been ruthlessly shattered by the cruel war. In 1922, when WINTERNITZ came to India he took the earliest opportunity to visit the Institute and to see for himself the work of the Mahābhārata Department of this Institute which had already made some progress. On the 20th of November 1922, he delivered an address at the Institute, which contains a succinct account of what had been done and planned in Europe, and expressed the fervent hope that ways and means could be found for the *collaboration* of Indian and Western scholars in the new project (*Annals*, 1922 23 pp 145 152). When he went to Santiniketan he taught the students there how to collate Mahābhārata MSS and ultimately established there a collation centre for the collation of Bengali MSS of the Mahābhārata which is even now doing excellent work under the supervision of the Principal of the Visva-bharati. In 1924 he contributed a paper entitled "The Mahābhārata" to

the *Visvabharati Quarterly* in connection with the work he had been doing at Santiniketan. In the same year he appears to have read a paper containing a report on the Institute's edition before the German Conference of Orientalists at München. Later in the same year (1924) he published in the *Annals* of this Institute, a very detailed review of the late Mr. UTGIKAR's tentative edition of the *Virāṭaparvan* containing a frank criticism of the work as well as many valuable suggestions for improvement. When the Mahābhārata Department of [317] the Institute was reorganized in 1925 Professor WINTERNITZ was made a member of the Honorary Board of Referees and also a member of the Mahābhārata Editorial Board. As such in 1928 he read a paper at the XVIIIth International Congress of Orientalists held at Oxford on the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata, drawing attention of the delegates to the important work the Institute was doing in connection with its critical edition. A discussion was opened by Geheimrat Professor Dr. H. LUDERS who moved three resolutions regarding the Institute's edition as well as regarding the disposal of the collations made, and funds collected for the European edition. These resolutions, which were seconded by Professor WINTERNITZ were unanimously adopted by the Indian Section of the Congress. The paper read by Professor WINTERNITZ was subsequently published in the first issue of the *Indologica Pragensia* (1929) the journal founded by Professor WINTERNITZ. There he declared that after

He read a considerable portion of the *Ādiparvan* (according to the Critical Edition) with his pupils in the Indologisches Seminar at Prag, to initiate them into the mysteries of Indian textual criticism. From the notes made by him for these lectures, he published in these *Annals* (1934) the last important paper he wrote on the *Mahābhārata*, which is an appreciation of the first volume of the Critical Edition of the *Ādiparvan* completed in 1933. In the volume of essays presented to him by his pupils, friends and admirers (*Festschrift Moritz Winternitz*), there were two *Mahābhārata* articles, written no doubt with the full knowledge that they would be warmly welcomed by Professor WINTERITZ: the one by Dr Hermann WELLER of Tübingen University, on the Textual Criticism of the *Mahābhārata*, the other by Prof F Otto SCHRADER of Kiel University on the Recensions of the *Bhagavadgītā*. Latterly his onerous duties as Professor of Indology in the German University of Prag as well as his failing health had prevented Professor WINTERITZ from devoting much time to a serious study of the *Sabhaparvan* which he had undertaken to edit for the Institute: a study which was suddenly and prematurely terminated by the ruthless hand of Time. But even in 1936, when the Raja Saheb of Aurdh, his colleague on the *Mahābhārata* Editorial Board, visited him in Prag, Professor WINTERITZ was very optimistic and full of buoyant hope of being able to complete the *Sabhaparvan* in a year or two. Alas, that was not to be!

A certain amount of pathetic interest attaches to the letter reproduced below, which was penned by the deceased scholar on the 8th January last,—probably the last letter written by him!—and forwarded after his lamentable death by his daughter in law, Frau Dr Anna WINTERITZ. It is a tragic piece of evidence of the fact that *Mahābhārata* problems occupied his thoughts to the very last day of his life! Here is the letter

[319] *January 8th 1937*

My dear Dr SUKTHANKAR

Many thanks for kindly sending me a copy of the reprint of your *Epic Studies VI*. The *Bhṛgu* and the *Bhārata*. I have now read it and found it of intrinsic interest. It is truly astonishing and has not occurred to me before, that the *Bhargava* material was represented in the *Mahābhārata* to such an extent as you show it to be. Your hypothesis that our *Mahābhārata* received its present form with its masses of *Bhargava* material, and the admixture of *Dharma* and *Niti* material by a *Diaskeuasis* of the epic under very strong and direct *Bhargava* influence at some time or other (if we could only know at which time!), seems to me plausible enough. Your thesis is strengthened very much by the parallel of the *Manusmṛiti*. I should, however, underline what you say about further additions being made after the *Bhargava diaskeuasis*. The great mass of what I have called *Ascetic Literature*" (see my lecture in *Some Problems of Indian literature*, p. 21 ff.) which is nearer to *Jaina* and *Buddhist* than to *Brahmanic* lore and ethics and which lays so much stress on *Ahimsa* and also some of the philosophical sections, must have come into the Epic through other channels. Surely the

feat of Bhārgava Rāma filling five lakes with blood by exterminating the Kṣatriya race thrice seven times (repeated ten times¹) cannot by any means be brought into accord with the doctrine of Ahimsā

Thinking of the words, 'Da wird sich manches Ratsel lösen und manches Ratsel knüpft sich auch', I hope you will continue, in your excellent *Epic Studies*,² to solve many a riddle of the Great Epic of India

I am, with kind regards,

Yours sincerely

M WINTERNITZ

PS I am very sorry to have to inform you that my father-in-law Prof WINTERNITZ passed away this night in consequence of a new attack of his heart-disease.

Yours faithfully

Dr Anna WINTERNITZ

For more than fifty years, continuously, Prof WINTERNITZ took active interest in Mahābhārata studies and in the Mahābhārata problem, contributing himself in a great measure to the elucidation of some of them, both theoretically and practically—a record of deep and sustained interest in the Great Epic of India, difficult to be matched in India itself¹

[320] His Mahābhārata researches constituted but a small fraction of the multifarious intellectual activities of this broad minded and versatile scholar. It remains for others, who stood nearer to him and who knew him more intimately, to speak at length on the labours of Professor WINTERNITZ in the several fields he graced. Here we merely record our deep gratitude to him for his manifold services to the cause of Mahābhārata studies as also our profound sorrow upon the untimely death of an honoured member of our Institute, and of our esteemed collaborator in the stupendous work, to the completion of which the Institute is pledged

THE POSITION OF LINGUISTIC STUDIES IN INDIA*

I am very grateful to you indeed for the honour you have done me by electing me to preside over the Philological Section of this august Conference. But I do not think, if you will pardon my saying so, that the choice of the present sectional president has been either exceptionally wise or happy. The fact is that in recent years my preoccupation with our *Mahābhārata* work has divorced me more and more from this fascinating but difficult subject and I have been devoting less and less of my time to any intensive study of it. In spite of this outward divorce, however, I will confess, I have always preserved a soft corner in my heart for my first love, Comparative Grammar and that must be my excuse for the few remarks that I shall now proceed to make on the subject of this Section.

If now, gentlemen instead of treating you to a technical discussion of some abstruse linguistic problem or giving you merely a list or summary of linguistic works or papers which have appeared during the last two or three years and which you can get from booksellers catalogues I offer you some observations of common interest on the subject of linguistics in general and Indian linguistics in particular, I trust they will not be unwelcome to you.

Language, as you all know, plays an immense role in our life—in the life of an individual of a country and of a nation—how great, it is really difficult to estimate. Language is the foundation of this Conference. Without a language you will realize even this address which I am now delivering about it would have been impossible. Perhaps it is just because of this very familiarity and its all pervasiveness that we rarely observe it taking it for granted as we do breathing or walking. Furthermore the effects of language are quite remarkable and include much of what distinguishes man from animals. Nevertheless, it may be noted language as such has no recognized place in our general programme of education or in the speculations of the average modern philosopher. However, none but those who shut their eyes to the hasty readaptation to totally new circumstances which the human race has been blindly endeavouring to achieve during the last decade or two can pretend that there is no need to examine critically the most important of all the instruments of civilization.

We Indians, I am proud to say, have the unique merit and distinction which is indeed very great in the history of civilization, of having realized at an early date, the importance of linguistic studies and applied our innate reflective nature and speculative spirit to observing the facts of language.

* The text of Presidential Address to the Linguistic Section of the Tenth All India Oriental Conference at Tirupati (1910) [Bhāratīya Vidyā 223-35]

[25] Pāṇini comes to abrupt end and Patañjali's interest lies mainly in showing how to interpret the *Sūtras* of Pāṇini so that they involve no contradiction or deficiency. His work is but a product of scholastic activity with only distant kinship to that divine spark which is necessary for creative work. We might almost say that our grammatical achievements begin and end with Pāṇini. This is of course only a partial truth like most other truths. For Pāṇini did not in any complete sense create Sanskrit grammar. Generations of labour must have preceded the composition of the oldest treatise that has come down to us. And we have, as a matter of fact the *Pratsakhyas* the *Nighaṇṭu* and the *Nirukta* of Yāska not to speak of the stray grammatical speculations and allusions embedded in the *Brahmanas* some of which must be earlier than Pāṇini. But even these put together do not make up the whole of Sanskrit grammar.

While we must deplore our lack of knowledge of the early history of Indian grammar I do not know in what terms to describe the woeful neglect of the subject in mediaeval and modern times. The lack of interest in the subject has in recent years been so appalling that even so beautiful a work as the *Mahabhasya* of Patanjali which is surely one of the most magnificent specimens of the polished and vivid Sanskrit prose—I think the best that we possess as far as classical Sanskrit goes—containing a deal of information on subjects other than the technicalities of Pāṇinian grammar written in a lively style combined with much real humour—even this precious work of Indian antiquity owing to its being labelled a grammatical treatise, has almost become an ornament of the bookshelf. Therefore the disinterested labours of Mahamahopadhyaya Vasudeva Shastri ABHYANKAR in giving us an accurate Marathi rendering of this important work which I believe is the first translation of the book in a living language merits the highest praise and the learned translator and expounder of the *Mahabhasya* deserves the most grateful thanks of all Indologists.

Our appalling lack of knowledge regarding the Middle Indian languages and dialects in contradistinction to the abundance of information for the still earlier period is no doubt to be traced to that unreasonable contempt which is often felt and sometimes even freely expressed—not merely in India but throughout the world—by speakers of the high standard language for provincial standard and sub standard types of speech.

The information given by our Prakrit grammars is so meagre that what the names Ardhamāgadhī, Paścī and Apabhraṃśa mentioned by Prakrit grammarians exactly mean exactly where when and by whom these languages or dialects were spoken is now largely a matter for speculation. All that the Indian grammarians have to say about them amounts to a brief and unsatisfactory list of particulars in which these dialects differ from Sanskrit. The *Asādhyāyī* of Pāṇini describes with meticulous care every inflection, derivation and composition and every syntactic usage of its author's

speech, with a precision which is phenomenal. No other language to this day, it has been said, has been so perfectly described. What a sad contrast [26] is presented, on the other hand, by our extant Prakrit grammars, such as those of Vararuci, Mārkaṇḍeya, Hemacandra and others, where whole dialects are disposed of in a few cryptic words, whose precise meaning even is not now easy to ascertain without drawing in the aid of commentaries and sub-commentaries.

The twilight of Prakrit grammar becomes complete and impenetrable darkness when we reach the period of the tertiary dialects of India. Language study, in the sense of language research, seems to have, for some reason hard to imagine, completely lost interest. And no serious attempt was made in India to study systematically, from a grammatical standpoint, the early phases of our modern Indian languages. We have drifted far away from the ambitious achievements of our ancestors and not even known that we have done so.

The mist which overhangs the mystery of our languages in the tertiary period is now, after centuries of apathy and inertia, being fitfully lifted under the influence of the stimulating contact with European savants to whom we must be grateful for giving a new direction to our studies. The first scientific grammar of Marathi to be written was by a French philologist, M. Jules BLOCH, of the University of Paris, which is still a standard work on the subject. Since the publication of that work, however, a number of Indian scholars have come forward to shoulder the burden and carry forward linguistic research in India. Pre-eminent among these is undoubtedly my learned friend Dr. Sunil Kumar CHATTERJI, of the University of Calcutta, a scholar with an international reputation, who is carrying aloft the banner of Indian linguistics and in whom are centred our hopes for the renaissance of linguistic studies in India. Excellent work is being done in the North, silently but enthusiastically and effectively, by Dr. Siddheshwar VARMA, a former President of this Section of our Conference, whose penetrating researches have been shedding welcome light on the present condition and past history of little known Northern dialects. These are our stalwarts. But praiseworthy work is being done also by men who have come later in the field, by Dr. B. SAKSENA and by L. V. Ramaswamy Aiyar who have enriched the literature on the subject of Indian linguistics by their contributions in the shape of books and papers of considerable merit. There are not wanting neophytes who have shown promise but who have yet to win their spurs. But this is not enough. In order to cope with the enormous mass of work to be done and to make up for leeway, many more men must take up linguistic study in India, which must be also carried on more vigorously and in yet wider fields, if we are to reclaim some of the glory for which our forefathers are justly famed.

India affords rich—nay, unique—opportunities for linguistic work of the

highest order. India is in fact an extraordinary rich mine of linguistic research waiting to be worked up. It is my belief—but I am open to correction—that the Indian languages are the only system of languages in the world which has a continuous and more or less clearly documented history [27] extending over nearly 4000 years. This is certainly true within the Indo-Germanic family, and it is probably true in relation to any other family of languages. This continuity of documents belonging to the Indian speech it is needless to point out, is a factor of capital importance, affording unique opportunities for the study of the life history of a large number of related languages but it is also of importance for the study of linguistic problems in general. And who is better equipped, by nature and by tradition, to undertake these studies than we ourselves?

We Indians of the present generation are however so conservative—and I may even say, intellectually so inert and slothful—that it never even occurs to any one of us to study any language outside our special, hallowed system of languages. even the English language, which everyone nowadays almost compulsorily studies, belongs of course to our own system. I find it truly remarkable that in a civilized and highly cultured country like this out of the tens of thousands of young men passing annually through the different Indian Universities, there is a very inconsiderable fraction of students who take up for study anything but a language belonging to their special linguistic group. A Hindu, at least in Western India, though he is constantly brought into the closest contact with Muslims, would ordinarily no more think of studying seriously Arabic or Persian, than he would think of learning the language, say, of the Hottentots or the Eskimos. There is a reciprocal lack of interest commonly exhibited by Muslims in India in the study of Sanskritic languages. This, I think is not due wholly to any racial or cultural antagonism. It is just lack of interest. This is proved, it seems to me, by the fact that we Indians—at least the inhabitants of Western India—present the same attitude to the Zoroastrian literature and religion which are akin to the ancient Indian in many respects and which are free from racial political conflict associations and yet fail to interest those Indians who do not belong to that particular religious persuasion. There are a few noteworthy exceptions I know, but these exceptions only prove the rule.

There is another curious little phenomenon which I do not know whether you gentlemen have observed. If, as a very great exception, some Hindu should perchance happen to study Persian or Arabic, or, *vice versa*, if a Muslim should study Sanskrit he seems to lose caste, so to say, not explicitly but implicitly. His labour and his attainments are appreciated neither by his own people nor by the other people. He is hated by his kinsmen for his unorthodoxy and despised by the others for his supposed incompetence. This, I submit, is unreasoning intolerance, which is not in keeping with our best traditions.

If this is the case with our fellow men with whom we are daily rubbing shoulders is it strange that hardly any one in India bothers himself seriously about the languages of countries surrounding us like the Burman Tibetan and Afghan languages or about the languages of the so-called backward peoples within the confines of India, like the Bhils the Todas or the Badagas? Chinese is to us nearly the same as Greek. And even Japan [28] with her enormous commercial possibilities which are being keenly exploited to their immense profit by our merchant princes, has not been able to stimulate our interest in her language. It is not necessary to tell you, gentlemen that almost all the big Western Universities make adequate provision not only for the teaching of the important foreign classical languages like Sanskrit, Avestan Old Chinese (in addition to their own classics like Greek and Latin) but also for imparting at least elementary instruction in many of the living languages of Asia and Africa.

Our conservatism and lack of interest in any language but our own are in my opinion an index of low mentality and a most deplorable feature of Indian conditions, which must be combatted with vigour and eradicated completely. I submit that to understand even one's own language completely and thoroughly it is necessary to have a nodding acquaintance with some foreign languages. You can cram all Sanskrit grammars and lexicons and all the works written in Sanskrit in the bargain but that alone is not going to help you to understand the internal mechanism of the Sanskrit language which is only possible from a comparative study of many different languages — and the more the better. Only by an intensive study of many different languages you can advance to the study of Language which is after all the goal of the modern *linguistician*.

—Linguistics should however not be considered as synonymous with grammar etymology or lexicography and should not be confused with any of them. Grammar etymology and lexicography are three of the departments of linguistics and do not constitute the whole of the subject. They form, in fact, only a portion of the material and the tools with which the *linguistician* operates. Remember that even the Taj Mahal would not have been possible had not that hard and intractable material marble of which the Taj is built been first quarried cut, shaped correct to a fraction of a centimetre and then polished with infinite labour patience and skill. Likewise linguistics, and as a matter of fact every science worth the name has an aspect which is not very attractive involving as it does a deal of labour and drudgery but which is essential for its future developments. Starting from a minute study of particular idioms, working out the genetic relations between individual members of a language-family and then between the different language-families of the world the human mind becomes fortified and braced up to investigate such a theme as the nature and the structure of language in the abstract or a theme like the influence of language upon thought — the latter

a fascinating problem of psycho philosophical order which is the subject of the C. K. OGDEN'S brilliant book with the rather startling title *The Meaning of Meaning* (Kegan Paul London 1927)

Here through the *thought* expressed by language, linguistics has contact with logic and philosophy But it has points of contact with other branches of science as well as was recently pointed out by Prof Dr Otto JESPERSEN of the University of Copenhagen Through phonetics it has contact with physics and physiology through the linguistic communities with sociology [29] and thence with anthropology and ethnology further with history and especially cultural history and finally through the dissemination of language usages linguistics has contact with geography thus for instance, in the study of place-names and in the great linguistic atlases which have been published or are under preparation in many countries

No doubt the linguist learns from all these sciences but it would be hazardous to maintain that linguistics is not capable of throwing light on the present or future problems in any of these disciplines It will be found in fact that there is really a fruitful and stimulating interaction between all these diverse branches of human knowledge

There have been striking developments in the domain of linguistics during the last half a century most noticeably perhaps in the waning interest evinced by present day linguists just in those subjects which were most popular in the days of BRUGMANN and Joh. SCHMIDT etymologies sound laws of the Indo-European reconstruction of hypothetical forms belonging to the primitive Indo-European speech and so on Such starred forms played an immensely greater role in the linguistics of about fifty years ago Philologists of those days took much naive pleasure in constructing little conversational sentences made up entirely of starred forms sentences such as might have been spoken by the primitive Indo-Europeans in the Urheimat, somewhere in Asia or Europe It was an excellent pastime, like the nursery games played by boys and girls all over the world with wax dolls and tin soldiers The linguists have now outgrown that stage They have realized the futility of those jejune exercises and abandoned them for more serious and fruitful pursuits They have become in other words more realistic. Linguistics has become more of a living science than it ever was before

Indo-Germanic Philology has been for most linguists the starting point of their studies and a deal of time and energy has been expended on the development of this special branch of linguistics. As I said above, the leaders of philological researches some fifty years ago were very confident regarding their reconstructions of the Indo-European parent speech. Speculations on its aspect have of late been profoundly modified by the fortuitous discovery of Tokharian and Hittite two long forgotten languages of Asia

The study of these languages has upset much of what was regarded as self evident or axiomatic by older linguisticians and has necessitated the recasting or at least restating of many an old hypothesis. The question of possible old kinship between the Indo-Germanic and the Finno-Ugrian groups—a kinship that was postulated in former times by more than one linguist—was again mooted at the Rome Session of the International Congress of Linguists. The most characteristic feature of the linguistic studies of the present period is the broadening of the basis of study. The period is therefore fertile in bold comprehensive theories whose validity remains to be tested. It is unquestionable however that the study of the general theory of language has much profited through a closer study of such groups of languages as [30] those of Africa of the Far East and of the American Indians' languages which were formerly almost completely neglected.

As an onlooker—for in this great field I have been no more—I have reached the conviction that recent years have seen linguistic research in Europe enter on yet another new phase one in which practical observations and experimental studies are going deeper than ever before into the nature of linguistic phenomena and yielding results of unforeseen promise.

On the other hand when I look round in India I am overpowered with the feeling that linguistic studies have not been in as healthy a condition as they might have been. We linguists in India I must regretfully observe are far behind even our own brethren working in other fields of knowledge like Mathematics, Physics or Botany in which India has produced men who have by their researches made a substantial contribution to world knowledge—that must after all be the final goal of all scholars—and acquired thereby international celebrity. I mean men like RAMANUJAN RAMAN SAHNI to mention only a few top-names.

I do not wish to make invidious comparisons, and I am certainly not a victim of what psychologists call the inferiority complex. I only wish to impress upon you gentlemen on the one hand the great advances made in the linguistic science in other countries and on the other hand the necessity of strenuous exertion and devoted application on our part to make up for lost time and lost opportunities.

The linguistic students of India I confess have been so far lacking equipment training opportunity and encouragement—in short, lacking everything that makes research possible. There is however no need to despair. There are indeed very hopeful signs which augur well for the resurrection of linguistic studies in India and which are even full of promise for the future. I have already referred to the Linguistic School of Calcutta presided over by Dr CHATTERJI which has again put India on the linguistic map of the world.

It will be, I imagine, a welcome piece of news to most of you gentlemen that the Government of Bombay have recently opened a department of

linguistic research as one of the regular and permanent departments of the revived Deccan College of Poona which has been operating since August 1939. The Deccan College Post Graduate and Research Institute scheme envisages the employment of a full time Professor of Indo European Philology and of Readers in Dravidian and Semitic Philology. The Committee appointed by the Government of Bombay for the reorganization of the Deccan College is understood to have recommended to the Government that the Professor and the Readers of this Department of the Institute should be entrusted with purely linguistic work comprising such essential preliminaries as the phonetic recording and study of the major Indo Aryan and Dravidian dialects of India, preparation of grammars, glossaries and anthologies of these dialects and even the preparation of dialect atlases. It is understood that the Government have further decided to equip the department not only [31] with an up-to-date library of linguistic literature but also with a full fledged laboratory of experimental phonetics.

The department has already been partly organized and is now working under the direction of Dr S M KATRE, who has been appointed Head of the department. The results of the labours of Dr KATRE and his pupils during the first term have been published in the first volume of the *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, which has already been published. Dr KATRE who is trained in the best of schools is an indefatigable worker and has an enthusiasm for his subject which is quite contagious. There is every hope that he will be able to communicate some of his own enthusiasm to his pupils. Dr KATRE's work impresses an impartial observer like myself who stands a little outside the narrow group of specialists in the subject by his fundamental grasp of the subject, illuminated by a wide vision and marked by a precision which is the *sine qua non* of all scientific work and which inspires confidence. Let us hope that this department of the Deccan College Research Institute under the direction of Dr KATRE will build up an independent school of linguistics in the near future in the West of India and thus make this laudable experiment of the Government of Bombay a signal success helping in its own way to regenerate linguistic studies in India which have been in a moribund condition during so many centuries.

I must not omit to mention here the work of the Linguistic Society of India, with its organ *Indian Linguistics*. After a somewhat chequered early career hampered chiefly by financial difficulties both the Society and its organ have gathered new strength under the fostering care of the Calcutta University. The issues of the *Journal* which have been just published from its new home not only eclipse the old ones but challenge comparison with similar journals published elsewhere. They are a feather in the cap of the energetic President of the Society and his able adjutants who may justly feel proud of their work. If it continues in this fashion it will surely be a herald of a new era in the history of Indian linguistics.

While I am on the topic of the Linguistic Society of India I should like to mention another little thing, the consummation of which I should very much like to see. The Society has so far been holding its meetings under the wings of this Conference. That is a very happy combination indeed and is quite in the fitness of things. There is no reason, however, why the Linguistic Society could not hold *annual* meetings, as most Societies of that type do elsewhere. The formal foundation of a school of linguistic studies in Poona is in my opinion a fitting occasion for inaugurating the practice of holding annual meetings, to be held for the present alternately at Poona and Calcutta, in addition of course to its meetings held in conjunction with the Oriental Conference. I consider that at least in the early stages, in the interests of more active co-operation and co-ordination, closer contact between the handful of workers in this field might be more helpful. I make the suggestion for what it is worth. It is up to the Linguistic Society and [32] the Deccan College authorities to consider the feasibility of the scheme, if it should appeal to them.

As there appear to exist clear signs of a gradual awakening among the language students in India, it would not be inopportune to make some observations on the lines and methods of work.

Before I do that, however, I must draw your attention to an alarming feature of the trend of linguistic studies in India, namely, the growing indifference of our Colleges and Universities to grammatical studies. All University examiners will, I am sure, vouchsafe for the fact that the candidates year by year betray an ever increasing lack of knowledge of the elements of grammar. This prevalent indifference to grammatical studies has induced some of the Indian Universities to reduce the requisite proficiency to a bare minimum. So much so that in certain of our Universities I fear, it may be actually possible to pass the highest examinations in our classical languages such as Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian, without the student ever suspecting the existence of a science like the Comparative Grammar of Indo-European or Semitic languages.

But the educationists, who frame and control the course of University studies in India ought to remember that even though grammar, as ordinarily taught in our schools and colleges, is bugbear to most students, a student of language can no more do without a thorough knowledge of grammar than a physician can nowadays do without a knowledge of anatomy, or a physicist without a knowledge of mathematics. Moreover, the study of grammar need not be dry at all. It is made by our imperfect methods of teaching and perhaps to some extent by a lack of good teachers also. M. MEILLET in his *Aperçu de la langue grecque* and later in his *Esquisse d'une histoire de la langue latine* has shown what interest for the general reader, and scientific profit for the student, may be had when a master of the linguistic science

displays the main lines of development of a single language group and the chief influences in its history

To bring us Indians abreast of modern linguistic research, we have to put in, as I have already remarked, a deal of hard and serious work. Now, as regards methods, it may be observed that the methods of grammatical analysis have in recent years altered to a great extent, due chiefly to extended study of divergent groups of languages, and we must familiarize ourselves with the most modern aspects of the subject

For the older phases of our language, we lack critical editions of texts. Prakrit and Old Prakrit texts have to a large extent been critically edited, but there is still a scarcity of good editions of Apabhramsa works. The scarcity of such reliable editions is still keener for the next great linguistic epoch—the early phases of modern Indian languages. For the use of beginners Chrestomathies of these languages have to be prepared like the readers of Gothic, Anglo-Saxon, Old English, Middle English and so on, made by European scholars.

[33] Phonetic studies have to be developed more intensely—partly by the use of laboratory methods for the analysis and recording of sounds. Our knowledge of the subject is so defective that even the ancient authors of the *Pratishākhya*s of hoary antiquity, with their acute powers of observation and the general grasp of their subject would put to shame our modern professors of Sanskrit in India.

Next, dialects must be studied more widely and intensively. We are sorely in need of comparative glossaries of Indian dialects. They must be compiled at least for principal dialects of the more important languages of India and Ceylon.

In the modern study of the dialects, the subject of dialect geography is assuming increasing importance. The comparative method developed in the last century by European philologists, with its assumption of uniform parent languages and definite cleavage, always leaves a residue of forms that cannot be explained on this arbitrary assumption. The conflicting large-scale isoglosses in the Indo-European area, for instance, show us that the branches of the Indo-European family did not arise by the sudden break up of an absolutely uniform parent community. Either the parent community was dialectically differentiated before the break up, or else after this period various groups of daughter communities remained in communication—which is tantamount to saying that areas which already differ to some extent may make cleavages in common. The result of successive changes is a net work of isoglosses over the entire field. Accordingly the study of local differentiation in a linguistic field, which is in fact dialect geography, supplements the use of the old comparative methods and is a necessary complement to them. Except for a complete and organized description of every single dialect, which would

own must not be continued. The rot which has worked as a canker in Indian society inhibiting our energies and sapping our strength must stop here.

This is a matter in which I personally feel very strongly. I must say I do not mind if we study mathematics and science, psychology and social science, economics and medicine, and even our own history from text books written by foreigners. But we owe it gentlemen to ourselves and to our country that we study at least our own mother tongues with zeal with affection and with devotion and render a scientific account of them in all their aspects in the full light which modern science and ingenuity can throw on their history producing work which will be a model and guide to the world. If we have any ambition left in us to hold up our heads in civilized society we must not besmirch the fair name of Panini and other illustrious linguists whom our country has produced by leaving even this field of study and research to foreigners who never can no matter what they do understand all the *finesses* of our language as we could do if we only tried conscientiously and with singleness of purpose. Just consider for one moment. Do you think the French people or the Germans would be content with a grammar of their languages written for their use, by a Japanese or an Indian? Such a work would never be anything more than a laughing stock. Whereas we have been all these years studying with complaisance and nonchalance grammars of our Indian languages compiled by foreigners which are prescribed by our Universities—naturally for want of better indigenous books on the subject. India [35] becomes again only a market for raw material. It is up to you gentlemen to make good this defect and work up the material yourself.

Let me not be misunderstood. I am not making cheap Swadeshi propaganda. I am not what is called anti foreign. Far from it. I admire the European savants. I acknowledge and appreciate fully the splendid work done by European savants in this field of research in a purely disinterested spirit work done in an exemplary manner for the advancement of knowledge. I appreciate their work and I thank them for it cordially. But we could do the same and even better perhaps if we only prepared ourselves for it properly and set to work with determination. Why not? We have done it in the past. Why not now? That work done in the past by our ancestors will however not suffice for us for all eternity. We must imbibe and assimilate what has already been done and then from that point make further progress along new lines. In these democratic days it is customary to ask what you yourself are and what you yourself have done or can do and not what your ancestors were and what they had done. The German poet Goethe has expressed that idea admirably as follows. Was Du von deinen Vätern erbt hast muss Du erwerben um es zu besitzen. You must acquire for yourself whatever you have inherited from your forbears then alone can it be said to be yours. Work alone can give us the right to claim as our own our ancestral heritage.

The Scriptures tell us that every man is born burdened with three debts,

VĀSAVADATTĀ

Being a translation of an anonymous
Sanskrit drama

SVAPNAVĀSAVADATTA

attributed to

BHĀSA

PREFACE

The *Svapnavāsavadatta* is one of a highly interesting group of Sanskrit dramas discovered a little over a decade ago in the course of a search for Sanskrit manuscripts conducted under the distinguished patronage of His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore. The authorship of these plays is still under discussion, but several well-known critics men whose researches in Sanskrit literature entitle them to speak with authority, agree in attributing them to the celebrated playwright *Bhāsa* one of the earliest of the great Sanskrit dramatists. They have made out a strong *prima facie* case, and to our mind the attribution of the plays to *Bhāsa* has not been satisfactorily disproved. Nevertheless we wish to make clear that, in publishing a translation of the *Svapnavāsavadatta* as a drama attributed to *Bhāsa*, we have only tentatively accepted the theory of his authorship.

There are thirteen dramas in this group several of which deserve in our estimation, to rank as *chefs-d'œuvre* of Hindu dramatic genius. If they are as old as some critics think they will undoubtedly prove of high importance for the study, not merely of Hindu drama, but of drama in general. They are rough hewn and unpolished, with the impress of the embryonic stage of an art yet one strong and virile, and they afford us we believe a peep into the workshop of the Hindu dramatist. His art we find fully developed in the plays of Kalidasa they are the finished product. A happy feature of the Travancore plays is their simplicity and vigour. This will be of special appeal to students of the Sanskrit drama. Much of the late drama in its period of decline is characterised by a predominance of descriptive and narrative elements, and the laboured and excessively ornate style of that late drama is a disfigurement. Rhetorical embellishment is assigned a place proper to itself in the scheme of composition of the Travancore plays the main appeal is direct and vitally human. Further the plays shed light incidentally on much discussed literary historical problems, such as the inter relation of the Hindu drama and the Hindu epic, but these are questions of a technical character and must not detain us here.

The interest of the plays, whatever be their significance in the eyes of the philologist extends beyond the narrow circle of savants. A play like the *Svapnavāsavadatta* it may be said without fear of contradiction is the glorious heritage of the whole civilised world. The eternal lesson of the reward of devotion and love, taught by our author in simple language and with penetrating directness is one of universal application. All that is best in human nature here finds noble expression. This estimate of the merits of the drama is vindicated by the feelings of genuine interest which it has evoked among the *litrati* of Europe. Independent translations have already appeared in German French and Italian.

The plot of this love drama is derived like that of so many other Hindu dramas, from the singularly rich storehouse of Hindu legendary lore. The romance of *Udayana* and *Vasavadatta* was at one time as popular a theme of fiction in India as those of *Tristan and Isolde* *Romeo and Juliet*, and *Paolo and Francesca* were in the West. The touching and romantic episodes in their eventful life history have formed the warp and woof of many an alluring tapestry of love-romance, deftly woven. We may mention the *Pratīna Yaugandharayana* another of the dramas belonging to the group. It is based on an episode gleaned from the

same legendary cycle and deserves to be read along with the play that we have translated. Of all the dramas written round this theme however the *Svapna vasavadatta* stands out as easily the best. The picture painted in it in broad outline is as different from the scenes of petty intrigue gallant adventure and shallow sentimentality of plays like the *Priyadarśika* and *Ratnavali* as the grand mural frescoes of Ajanta are from the miniature paintings of a later age.

Incorporated in an old collection of stories that goes by the name of the *Katha sarit sagara* (The Ocean of the Streams of Story) is a metrical version of the romance of Udayana and Vasavadatta. In the appendix will be found Mr C. H. TAWNEY'S translation abridged with slight alterations. It was this legend or perhaps an older version of it, that in all likelihood suggested his plot to our dramatist. The differences between the narrative and the dramatic versions are of varying importance. We will single out for comment here one that we think reveals the genius of the dramatist more clearly than any other. It will be seen that in the narrative Udayana is allowed to suspect that the conflagration in which Vasavadatta is supposed to have perished is but a stratagem of the resourceful Yaugandharayana leaving room for the hope that Vasavadatta may in the fulness of time be restored. The dramatist rightly feeling that this weakened the plot eliminates all possibility of such an inference. In the drama the minister is supposed by the king to have perished along with the heroine. A comparison of other details of the narrative and dramatic versions cannot but show the felicitous utilization by the dramatist of all the effective *motifs* of the original. The plastic modelling of the prosaic incidents of the original legend testifies to the great dramatic talent of the author. A studied unity of purpose runs through the drama binding the component parts closely together. The aim of the dramatist is to portray on the one hand the complete self-abnegation of the noble queen who suffers martyrdom for the sake of her lord with cheerful resignation and on the other hand to depict her husband as at heart true to his love while unwillingly submitting to the exigencies of the life of a king. The burden of the story is the triumph of steadfast unflinching undying Love for which no sacrifice is too great. The action is kept free from all trace of melodramatic surprise the movement is smooth measured and characterized by classic dignity.

DRAMATIC PERSONÆ

THE KING. UDAYANA, king of Vatsa

YAUGANDHARAYANA, chief minister of Udayana, appearing disguised as a
wandering mendicant.

THE JESTER. VASANTAKA, the confidant of Udayana.

A STUDENT OF THEOLOGY.

TWO GUARDS, one of whom is called SAMBHASHAKA.

VASAVADATTA, daughter of Pradyota Mahasena king of Avanti, and wife of
Udayana, appearing disguised as AVANTIKA.

PADMAVATI, sister of Darsaka king of Magadha.

A HERMIT-WOMAN.

PADMINIKA	}	gentlewomen attending on Padmavati
MADHUKARIKA		

A DOOR-KEEPER by name VIJAYA

THE NURSE OF VASAVADATTA by name VASUNDHARA.

THE NURSE OF PADMAVATI.

Stage-director (appearing in the Prelude), hermits, chamberlains, and palace
attendants.

PRELUDE

The invocation being ended enter the stage-director

THE STAGE DIRECTOR

May² the arms of Baladeva protect thee—the arms which are of the colour of the new risen moon languid from the effects of wine resplendent with manifest beauty thrilled with the joy of Spring!

I beg to inform the honourable gentlemen as follows —Ah! How now! Even as I am on the point of making the announcement, it seems to me I hear a noise. Well I'll see

Behind the scenes

Make way make way sirs Make way!

THE STAGE-DIRECTOR

Well now I understand

The devoted servants of the king of Magadha², who are escorting the princess are turning away unceremoniously all the people of the hermitage

Exit

ACT THE FIRST

TWO GUARDS

Entering

Make way, make way, sirs Make way !

Enter Yaugandharayana in the garb of a wandering mendicant, and Vasavadatta, disguised as Avantika

YAUGANDHARAYANA

Listening

What, even here people are being turned away ! Why—

molest the serene and venerable folks that dwell in the sacred grove, clad in bark of trees and content with fruits of the forest ? Oh, who is this haughty, insolent fellow, blinded by fickle fortune who by issuing a command profanes this tranquil grove of penance

3

VASAVADATTA

Sir, who is this that turns us away ?

YAUGANDHARAYANA

My lady, he is one who turns himself away from duty.

VASAVADATTA

Sir, I did not mean that. But—am I one that may be ordered to make way ?

YAUGANDHARAYANA

Deities unrecognized are even thus spurned my lady

VASAVADATTA

Sir, the fatigue causes not such pain as this humiliation.

YAUGANDHARAYANA

These things³ have been enjoyed and discarded by my lady Be not anxious on that account For—

once thou hast had likewise all thy heart's desires the victory of thy lord will restore to thee all that is worthy of praise Like the array of the spokes of a wheel does the cycle of worldly fortune revolve with the course of time !

4

VASAVADATTA

THE TWO GUARDS

Make way, sirs, make way !

Enter the chamberlain

THE CHAMBERLAIN

Sambhashaka, indeed, indeed you must not turn the people away here !

Look !

Bring not the name of the king in disrepute ; for one may not deal harshly with those that dwell in a hermitage. In order to be free from the humiliations of the city do these magnanimous souls retreat to the forest and dwell there

5

BOTH [GUARDS]

So be it, sir.

[Guards] retire

YAUGANDHARAYANA

Ah, his appearance indicates discrimination. My child, do let us approach him.

VASAVADATTA

So be it, sir.

YAUGANDHARAYANA

Approaching [chamberlain]

Oh, why are the people being turned away ?

THE CHAMBERLAIN

O ascetic !

YAUGANDHARAYANA

To himself

Ascetic is an excellent title indeed. But, being unfamiliar, it does not fasten itself on my mind

THE CHAMBERLAIN

Listen, sirs. This is Padmavati, the sister⁴ of our great king, who has received from the elders⁵ the name Darsaka. After having visited the queen-mother Mahadevi, who has made this hermitage her home, the princess is to proceed, with her permission, to Rajagriha⁶. That is how she takes pleasure in spending the day here in this hermitage. You may nevertheless—

fetch from the forest at your pleasure holy water, faggots, flowers, and grasses, which are the riches of the hermits. The law is cherished by the

*princess Never would she offend against the law of the hermits This is a
vow taken by her family* 6

YAUGANDHARAYANA

To himself

So ! This is the Magadha princess Padmavati, of whom the soothsayers Pushpabhadra and others have predicted that she would be the consort of my master Hence—

*hatred and esteem spring alike out of our desires, because out of my
fervent desire to see her wedded to my lord springs up in me a feeling of great
devotion towards her* 7

VASAVADATTA

To herself

After hearing that she is a princess I feel even a sisterly affection towards
her

Enter Padmavati accompanied by her retinue and a maid

THE MAID

Come, princess, come. Enter this hermitage

A hermit woman is discovered seated

THE HERMIT-WOMAN

Welcome, princess !

VASAVADATTA

To herself

This is the princess. Her looks beseech well her noble birth.

PADMAVATI

Madam, I salute you

THE HERMIT WOMAN

Long life to thee ! Come in child come in A hermitage is indeed the
home of the wayfarer

PADMAVATI

Enough, madam, enough I feel reassured I am beholden unto you for
these courteous words.

VASAVADATTA

To herself

Not only her appearance but her voice also is sweet indeed

THE HERMIT-WOMAN

[To the maid]

Dear child, has no king proposed marriage to this sister of our gracious king?

THE MAID

Yes, there is king Pradyota of Ujjayini^a. He sends ambassadors on behalf of his son

VASAVADATTA

To herself

Well, well ! She has now become ours^o.

THE HERMIT-WOMAN

Her noble form well deserves this honour. Both these are highly exalted royal families So we have heard

PADMAVATI

Sir, did you come across any ascetics disposed to favour us?—Invite here all the hermits, with a view to giving them what they want, and ask, "Does anybody here want anything?"

THE CHAMBERLAIN

As you wish, my lady. O ascetics, all ye that inhabit this sacred grove ! Listen, sirs, listen Her ladyship the princess of Magadha, who is here, with the confidence engendered by your confidence, invites you all that she may bestow largess as a religious duty.

Who wants a pitcher ? Who seeks a garment ? Does any one who has duly completed his investiture need anything for presenting to his preceptor ? The princess, who is a friend to the pious, asks as a personal favour that whoever desires anything may speak out. What may we give to-day, and to whom ?

8

YAUGANDHIARAYANA

[To himself]

Ah, I see an expedient. (Aloud) Sir, I would ask a favour.

PADMAVATI

Happily my visit to the hermits' grove has borne fruit !

THE HERMIT-WOMAN

All the ascetics in this hermitage are well contented This must needs be some stranger

THE CHAMBERLAIN

Oh, what may we do ?

YAUGANDHARAYANA

This is my sister Her husband has gone abroad. I would therefore wish her ladyship to look after her for some time For—

I seek not riches nor raiment nor pleasure not for making a living do I don the hermit's robes—This prudent young woman knows well the path of duty and will therefore be able to guard the virtue of my sister 9

VASAVADATTA

To herself

Humph! The noble Yaugandharayana wishes to leave me here. So be it He will not act rashly

THE CHAMBERLAIN

His expectation soars very high indeed my lady How can we consent? For—

it is easy to part with wealth with life with ascetic power Everything else is easy to do but difficult the guarding of a deposit 10

PADMAVATI

Having first proclaimed Does anyone want anything? it is improper now to hesitate. Pray do as he says, sir

THE CHAMBERLAIN

These words are worthy of you my lady

THE MAID

Long life to the princess who thus makes good her word!

THE HERMIT WOMAN

Long life to thee, my child!

THE CHAMBERLAIN

So be it, my lady (He approaches Yaugandharayana) Oh her ladyship accepts the guardianship of your honour's sister

YAUGANDHARAYANA

I am beholden to her ladyship Approach her ladyship child

VASAVADATTA

To herself

What is to be done? Here I go unlucky I!

PADMAVATI

Well well She has now become ours!

THE HERMIT WOMAN

Judging by her looks I should say she also is a princess.

THE MAID

Well said madam I too think that she has enjoyed prosperity

YAUGANDHIARAYANA

To himself

Ah this relieves me of half of my burden It turns out just as it was planned with the ministers And now, when my lord has been reinstated, her ladyship the princess of Magadha will be my surety for the conduct of her ladyship¹¹ For—

Padmavati will be wedded to the king so it is predicted by those that first foretold our [present] calamity Relying on their words have I taken this step, for the well considered words of the seers are never transgressed by Fate

11

Enter a student of theology

THE STUDENT

Looking upward

It is midday I am very tired Where shall I rest now? (He walks about.)
Yes I know This must be a hermitage all around Then—

here serenely the fauns are grazing unperturbed, feeling sure of their ground, the trees, all tenderly nurtured have their branches laden with fruits and flowers, there also abound these splendid herds of tawny kine, and nowhere a sign of soil that is tilled Then again this smoke that rises aloft from many places This is doubtlessly a hermits' grove

12

I'll walk in (He enters.) Hallow, here is a person¹² whose presence is not in keeping with a hermitage. (He looks in another direction.) But here are some hermits also There can be no harm in joining them—Oh but the woman folk¹

THE CHAMBERLAIN

Walk in freely, sir, freely The hermitage is common to all

VASAVADATTA

Humph!

PADMAVATI

To herself

Ah this lady shuns the sight of strangers. Well it will not be difficult to look after my charge

THE CHAMBERLAIN

Sir we were here before you Pray accept the hospitality due to a guest

THE STUDENT

Sipping water

Enough enough! The fatigue has passed

YAUGANDHARAYANA

Oh where are you from? Whither going? Which is your home?

THE STUDENT

Oh listen I am from Rajagriha With a view to qualifying myself in the knowledge of the Vedas I have been sojourning in Lavanaka a village in the country of the Vatsas¹³

VASAVADATTA

To herself

Ah Lavanaka! The utterance of the name Lavanaka reopens old sores

YAUGANDHARAYANA

And have you finished your studies?

THE STUDENT

No not yet

YAUGANDHARAYANA

If you have not finished your studies, why have you returned?

THE STUDENT

There occurred in that place a very terrible catastrophe.

YAUGANDHARAYANA

And how?

THE STUDENT

In that village there dwelt a king by name Udayana

YAUGANDHARAYANA

We have heard of his honour Udayana What of him?

THE STUDENT

Deeply did he love his wife, by name Vasavadatta daughter of Avanti's king

YAUGANDHARAYANA

Assuredly Then? Then?

THE STUDENT

Then, once while the king was away hunting she perished in a village fire.

VASAVADATTA

To herself

It is false. It is false Alas, I live, unlucky I!

YAUGANDHARAYANA

Then? Then?

THE STUDENT

Then, a minister by name Yaugandharayana, who sought to rescue her, fell in the same fire

YAUGANDHARAYANA

Did he really ! Then ? Then ?

THE STUDENT

Then the king, having heard the news on his return, was so grieved at the loss of them both, that he sought to end his life by throwing himself in that very fire. The ministers had great difficulty in holding him back.

VASAVADATTA

To herself

I know, I know my noble lord's sympathy with me.

YAUGANDHARAYANA

Then ? Then ?

THE STUDENT

Then the king, pressing to his heart the charred remains of the ornaments that had adorned her body, fell into a swoon

ALL

Alas !

VASAVADATTA

To herself

The noble Yaugandharayana is now satisfied I hope !

THE MAID

Princess, this lady is crying forsooth

PADMAVATI

She must have a sympathetic nature

YAUGANDHARAYANA

To be sure, to be sure. My sister is sympathetic by nature. Then ? Then ?

THE STUDENT

Then, by degrees he regained consciousness

PADMAVATI

To herself

Happily he lives ! When I heard that he had swooned, there was a word in my heart.

YAUGANDHARAYANA

Then ? Then ?

THE STUDENT

Then the king—his body red with dust with rolling on the ground—got up all of a sudden and lamented incoherently Oh Vasavadatta '—O princess of Avanti '—O darling '—O beloved pupil ' In short

Now his sorrow is not to be compared to that of the chakravaka¹⁴ nor of any others parted from their mates Blessed is the woman so cherished by her lord Though consumed by fire she endures in life through the love of her husband 13

YAUGANDHARAYANA

Oh but did not some minister seek to console him?

THE STUDENT

Oh yes The minister Rumanvat tried his utmost to console his honour For he—

like the king abstains from food a constant flow of tears has worn his cheek hollow sorrowing with his master he ever neglects his toilet night and day, he waits on the king with diligence Should the king perchance depart this life he too would surely die ' 14

VASAVADATTA

To herself

Happily my noble lord is in good hands

YAUGANDHARAYANA

To himself

Oh, what a burden Rumanvat has to bear!

The burden I bear admits of rest but he has to toil unceasingly For on him does all depend on whom the king himself depends 15

(Aloud.) And sir has the king been now consoled?

THE STUDENT

That I know not The ministers departed with great difficulty removing from the village the king who lamented saying Here I laughed with her '—Here I conversed with her '—Here we passed the night '—Here we had a quarrel '—Here we slept '—and so forth With the departure of the king the village lost all its charm, like the sky when the moon and the stars have set And so I came away too

THE HERMIT WOMAN

Verily he must be a virtuous king, since even this stranger praises him so

THE MAID

Prince-s, I wonder will he give his hand to another?

VASAVADATTA

PADMAVATI

To herself

That is just what my own heart seeks to know

THE STUDENT

I would take leave of you Pray let us go

BOTH

Go then, sir, and may success wait upon you !

THE STUDENT

Amen !

Exit [student]

YAUGANDHARAYANA

Well, I would also depart' with the leave of her ladyship

THE CHAMBERLAIN

He would depart with the permission of your ladyship

PADMAVATI

Your honour's sister will be lonely in the absence of your honour.

YAUGANDHARAYANA

Being confided to the care of good persons she will not feel lonely.
(He looks at the chamberlain) Pray let us go

THE CHAMBERLAIN

Go then, sir, and may we meet again !

YAUGANDHARAYANA

Amen !

Exit [Yaugandharayana]

THE CHAMBERLAIN

It is now time to retire

PADMAVATI

Madam, I salute you

THE HERMIT-WOMAN

Child, mayest thou find a husband worthy of thee !

VASAVADATTA

Madam, I salute you

THE HERMIT-WOMAN

Mayest thou also be united with thy husband ere long !

VASAVADATTA

I am beholden to you

THE CHAMBERLAIN

Come along then This way this way my lady Now—

have the birds retired to their nests the hermits have entered the waters of the pools the lighted fires shine forth brightly the smoke makes its way through the hermits grove And lo' descended down from high even yonder Sun with rays drawn in turns back his car and slowly alights on the peak of the Western Mount'

16

Exeunt omnes

ACT THE SECOND

INTERLUDE

Enter a maid

THE MAID

Kunjarika Kunjarika! Where where is the princess Padmavati? What does thou say Here is the princess playing ball near the jasmine bower?—Then I'll approach the princess

(She walks about and looks around her)

Ah here comes the princess herself playing ball Her carpendents are swinging in the air Her face, which wears the beauty of fatigue is bespangled with beads of perspiration excited by the exercise. I'll approach her

Exit

Enter Padmavati playing ball accompanied by her retinue and Vasavadatta.

VASAVADATTA

Here is thy ball my dear

PADMAVATI

That will suffice now madam.

VASAVADATTA

This long game of ball play has made thy hands so red that they seem not to belong to thee at all my dear¹²

THE MAID

Play on princess play on Make the most of this charming period of maidenhood

PADMAVATI

Madam, why dost thou regard me as though thou wouldst make fun of me?

VASAVADATTA

Not at all, not at all, my dear. To-day thou art looking unusually beautiful. And I am looking at thy beautiful face from every side as it were¹⁶

PADMAVATI

Away with thee! Pray do not make fun of me

VASAVADATTA

I shall be mute, O would-be bride of Mahasena's son!

PADMAVATI

And who may this Mahasena be?

VASAVADATTA

There is a king Pradyota of Ujjayini who, on account of the vast size of his army, is known as Mahasena.¹⁷

THE MAID

The princess does not desire alliance with that king

VASAVADATTA

Whom would she marry then?

THE MAID

There is a king of Vatsa by name Udayana. The princess is enamoured of his virtues.

VASAVADATTA

To herself

She wants my noble lord for her husband! (Aloud) For what reason?

THE MAID

Because he is so sympathetic.

VASAVADATTA

To herself

I know, I know. I too was infatuated in the same way.

THE MAID

Princess, if the king should be ugly?—

VASAVADATTA

No, no. Indeed he is beautiful

PADMAVATI

How dost thou know madam?

VASAVADATTA

To herself >

Partiality to my noble lord has made me overstep the bounds of propriety. What shall I do now? Yes, I have it. (Aloud) The people of Ujjayini say so my dear

PADMAVATI

That is so. Indeed it would not be difficult to see him in Ujjayini. And beauty I suppose, captivates the mind of all alike.

THE NURSE

Entering

Victory unto the princess! Princess thou art betrothed—

VASAVADATTA

To whom madam?

THE NURSE

To Udayana king of Vatsa

VASAVADATTA

Is it well with the king?

THE NURSE

The king arrived here quite well and has accepted the hand of the princess

VASAVADATTA

What an outrage!

THE NURSE

Where is the outrage?

VASAVADATTA

I suppose it is nothing that after having grieved in that manner he should now turn indifferent!

THE NURSE

Madam, sacred precepts take a pre-eminent place in the hearts of great men and they are therefore easily consoled

VASAVADATTA

Madam, did he ask for her hand of himself?

THE NURSE

No no He came here for some other reason And our king, finding in him a union of nobility, learning youth and beauty, himself offered her hand

VASAVADATTA

To herself

So ! Then my noble lord is not to blame¹⁸

ANOTHER MAID

Entering

Make haste madam, make haste Our queen says "To-day the stars are propitious and the ceremony of tying the nuptial knot shall take place this very day"

VASAVADATTA

To herself

The more they hasten the more densely does gloom encircle my heart.

THE NURSE

Come princess, come

Exeunt omnes

ACT THE THIRD

Enter Vasavadatta meditating

VASAVADATTA

Leaving Padmavati behind in the inner court in the bustle of the nuptial celebration I have sought this pleasure garden in order to dispel the sorrow laid upon me by Fate (She walks about) Oh what an outrage! Even my noble lord now belongs to another I will seat myself (She sits down) Blessed is the female chakravaka¹⁹ ! Parted from her mate she does not live. But I do not die I live on just in the hope of seeing once again my noble lord unlucky I !

Enter a maid carrying flowers

THE MAID

Where can madam Avantika have gone ?

(She walks about and looks around her)

Oh there she is seated on the stone bench under the priyangu creeper Dressed in an unadorned but graceful garment, she sits there in meditation absorbed resembling the crescent moon obscured by mist I'll

draw near to her. (She approaches her.) Madam Avantika, I have been looking for thee ever such a long time.

VASAVADATTA

And why?

THE MAID

Our queen says: "Madam comes of a noble family, she is affectionate and skilful. Let her therefore make this wedding wreath"

VASAVADATTA

And for whom am I to make it?

THE MAID

For our princess

VASAVADATTA

To herself

Ah me, this too has fallen to my share! Oh, verily the gods are pitiless.

THE MAID

Madam, pray let not anything else occupy thy thoughts now. Here is the bridegroom having a bath in the mosaic room. So do make the wreath quickly, madam

VASAVADATTA

To herself

I cannot think of anything else. (Aloud) Hast thou seen the bridegroom my dear?

THE MAID

O yes. I saw him, led to do so by my affection for the princess and my own curiosity

VASAVADATTA

And what is the bridegroom like?

THE MAID

Madam, I tell thee, never have I seen his like before.

VASAVADATTA

Tell me, tell me, my dear, is he handsome?

THE MAID

He is god Kama²⁰ incarnate, without the bow and arrow

VASAVADATTA

Let that suffice.

THE MAID

Why dost thou stop me?

VASAVADATTA

It is improper to listen to the praise of a stranger.

THE MAID

Then hurry on with the wreath, please, madam

VASAVADATTA

Give them here. (To herself) Here am I making the wreath, unlucky I!
(She discards some flowers, examines others) What herb is this?

THE MAID

It is called 'Ward-off-widowhood'

VASAVADATTA

To herself

This I shall use in plenty, both for myself and for Padmavati. (Aloud)
What herb is this?

THE MAID

It is called 'Crush thy rival'.

VASAVADATTA

This must not be used

THE MAID

Why not?

VASAVADATTA

His wife is dead Thus it is useless

ANOTHER MAID

Entering

Make haste, madam, make haste Here is the bridegroom being conducted by the matrons to the inner court.

VASAVADATTA

Oh, I say, take this.

THE MAID

Good. I'll go then, madam

Both [maids] retire

VASAVADATTA

She is gone Oh, what an outrage! Even my noble lord now belongs to another. Ah! I shall go to bed and dispel my sorrow—if I am able to get sleep.

Exit

ACT THE FOURTH

INTERLUDE

Enter the jester

THE JESTER

Gleefully

Oh fortunately have I seen this joyful occasion of the happy marriage of his honour the king of Vatsa¹ Oh who would have known that after being submerged in such a whirlpool of misfortune we should have come to the surface again? Now we live in palaces, bathe in the wells of the inner apartments and eat dainty delicious confections. I am enjoying thus a sojourn in Paradise, but for the company of celestial nymphs. There is just one great drawback. I cannot digest my food properly I get no sleep [even] on a bed furnished with luxurious coverlets. I notice [signs of] gout everywhere Oh there is no happiness [in life] devoid of good health and good cheer¹

Enter a maid

THE MAID

Where can the noble Vasantaka have gone? (She walks about) Oh here is the noble Vasantaka (She approaches him.) Noble Vasantaka I have been looking for thee ever such a long time

THE JESTER

Observing her

Why hast thou been looking for me, good girl?

THE MAID

Our queen asks whether the son in law has bathed

THE JESTER

Why does she want to know?

THE MAID

What else for but that flowers and unguent may be brought to him?

THE JESTER

His honour has bathed Thou mayest bring anything except foodstuffs

THE MAID

Why except foodstuffs?

THE JESTER

Unlucky that I am my inside is going round and round like the eyes of the cuckoo¹

THE MAID

Thus mayest thou be !

THE JESTER

Be gone, my lady. I for my part will join his honour.

Both retire

Enter Padmavati, accompanied by her retinue, and Vasavadatta

THE MAID

What brings the princess to the pleasure garden ?

PADMAVATI

I came to see whether the sephalika bushes have blossomed or not, my dear.

THE MAID

They have indeed blossomed, princess. They are laden with flowers that look like pendants of pearls interspersed with coral.

PADMAVATI

If that be so, my dear, why delay ?

THE MAID

Then let the princess sit down for a while on this stone bench, and I for my part shall gather flowers

PADMAVATI

Shall we sit here, madam ?

VASAVADATTA

So be it.

Both sit down

THE MAID

Having collected flowers

Behold, princess, behold My joined hands are filled with sephalika blossoms that shine like crystals of arsenic.

PADMAVATI

Observing them

Oh, what a variety of tints these flowers have ! Behold, madam, behold

VASAVADATTA

Oh, what lovely flowers !

THE MAID

Princess, should I gather more ?

PADMAVATI

No, my dear, gather not any more.

VASAVADATTA

Why dost thou stop her, my dear?

PADMAVATI

Because when my noble lord comes here and sees this abundant wealth of flowers, I shall be honoured.

VASAVADATTA

Dost thou love thy husband, my dear?

PADMAVATI

I know not, madam, but when he is away from my side I feel so lonely.

VASAVADATTA

To herself

Hard indeed is the lot I suffer when even she speaks thus!

THE MAID

In a dignified way the princess has said: "I love my husband"

PADMAVATI

There is one thing about which I feel some doubt.

VASAVADATTA

What is it? What is it?

PADMAVATI

Whether my noble lord was the same to madam Vasavadatta as to me.

VASAVADATTA

And yet more!

PADMAVATI

How dost thou know?

VASAVADATTA

To herself

Ah! Partiality to my noble lord has made me overstep the bounds of propriety. This is what I shall say now (Aloud) Had her love been less, she would not have forsaken her own people.

PADMAVATI

That is so

THE MAID

Princess, tell thy husband nicely that thou wouldst also learn to play the lute.

PADMAVATI

I did say that to my noble lord

Then what did he say?

PADMAVATI

He said nothing. He heaved a deep sigh and kept still.

VASAVADATTA

What dost thou surmise from that?

PADMAVATI

I surmise that he recalled the virtues of madam Vasavadatta, and only out of delicacy he restrained the tears in my presence.

VASAVADATTA

To herself

Blessed am I if that be true!

Enter the king and the jester

THE JESTER

Hi! Hi! How lovely the pleasure garden looks with the bandhujiva²¹ blossoms lying thinly scattered where they have fallen in the course of plucking! This way, your honour.

THE KING

Here I come, friend Vasantaka, here I come.

When I went to Ujjayini and saw the daughter of Avanti's king, I was thrown into an indescribable state of mind, and then did Kama discharge at me unchecked all his five arrows. The barbs of these still lodge in my heart. And here have I been struck again. When Kama has but arrows five, how could this sixth one be discharged?

1

THE JESTER

Where can her ladyship Padmavati have gone? Has she gone to the arbour of creepers; or to the stone bench called the 'Forehead-mark of the Hill' which being strewn with asana blossoms appears to be covered with a tiger's skin; or to the sapta-chhada²² grove of very pungent odour; or to the pavilion daru-parvataka adorned with frescoes of birds and beasts? (He gazes upward.) Hi! Hi! See that flight of cranes advancing steadily along the clear autumnal sky. Does it not look like the outstretched, beautiful arm of Baladeva?

THE KING

I see it, friend.

Now extended straight, now broken in parts; now rising aloft, now sinking low; in its revolutions it is twisted like the figure of the Great Bear,

Like a boundary line it divides in twain the sky which is spotless like the belly of a serpent in the act of shedding its skin

THE MAID

Look princess look. See this flight of cranes advancing steadily white and lovely like a garland of kôkanada lotuses Oh, here is my lord !

PADMAVATI

Humph ! My noble lord ! Madam for thy sake I shall avoid meeting my noble lord So let us enter this jasmin bower

VASAVADATTA

So be it.

They act accordingly

THE JESTER

Her ladyship Padmavati must have come here and gone away

THE KING

How does your honour know ?

THE JESTER

Your honour may witness these sephalika bushes from which the flowers have been plucked

THE KING

O Vasantaka, what a variety of tints these flowers have !

VASAVADATTA

To herself

The utterance of the name Vasantaka takes me back to Ujjayini once more.

THE KING

Vasantaka, let us sit down on this stone here and wait for Padmavati

THE JESTER

Oh, so be it. (He sits down and rises up again.) Hi ! Hi !

The heat of his autumn sun is unbearable ! Let us enter this jasmin bower

THE KING

Very well Lead the way

THE JESTER

So be it.

Both walk about

PADMAVATI

The noble Vasantaka is about to spoil everything What shall we do now ?

THE MAID

Princess, I can keep my lord away by shaking this pendent creeper in which the bees are lurking.

PADMAVATI

Do so then.

The maid acts accordingly

THE JESTER

Help, help! Keep back, your honour, keep back.

THE KING

Why?

THE JESTER

I am attacked by these bastard bees.

THE KING

Nay, say not so. We must refrain from frightening the bees. Look!
Our footsteps will annoy the melodiously humming bees intoxicated with honey and closely embraced by their passion-smitten mates, and like ourselves they too will be parted from their sweethearts. 3

Let us therefore seat ourselves just here.

THE JESTER

So be it.

Both sit down

PADMAVATI

Happily my noble lord has seated himself.

VASAVADATTA

To herself

Happily my noble lord is enjoying good health.

THE MAID

Princess, we have in truth been made prisoners—Princess, madam's eyes are filled with tears forsooth.

VASAVADATTA

The pollen of kasa³³ blossoms set wantonly flying by these bees has made my eyes water.

PADMAVATI

Even so

THE JESTER

Oh, this pleasure garden is deserted. I want to ask your honour something May I?

THE KING

At your pleasure

THE JESTER

Whom do you love her ladyship Vasavadatta of yore, or Padmavati of the present time?

THE KING

Why would you place me now in such an extremely awkward predicament?

PADMAVATI

O dear! My noble lord is in such predicament now!

VASAVADATTA

To herself

And I too, unlucky I!

THE JESTER

Tell me without reserve, without reserve One is dead, the other is nowhere near

THE KING

No my friend I shall not say You are talkative

PADMAVATI

That speaks volumes, my noble lord.

THE JESTER

Oh, I swear to you truthfully I shall never repeat it to anyone Here I bite my tongue

PADMAVATI²⁴

Ah, what importunity! That does not suffice to make him understand the sentiments of my noble lord!

THE KING²⁴

No friend, I dare not tell you

THE JESTER

You will not tell me? If you do not, you shall not stir a step from this stone bench I hold your honour prisoner

THE KING

What by force?

THE JESTER

Yes, by force.

THE KING

Well, then, we shall see.

THE JESTER

Forgive me, forgive me. In the name of our friendship I conjure thee to tell me the truth

THE KING

What is to be done? Listen.

Even though by reason of her beauty, virtue and sweetness I hold Padmavati in high regard, she has no hold on my heart, which is firmly attached to Vasavadatta.

4

VASAVADATTA

To herself

Well, well. That has given me the recompense for this suffering. Ah! Even this disguise has many merits!

THE MAID

Princess, really my lord lacks all courtesy.

PADMAVATI

Nay, not at all, my dear. Indeed my noble lord has shown great courtesy in remembering even now the merits of madam Vasavadatta

VASAVADATTA

Dear child, thy words are worthy of thy noble birth.

THE KING

I have spoken. It is now your honour's turn to say whom you like: Vasavadatta of yore, or Padmavati of the present time.

PADMAVATI

Now my noble lord is playing Vasantaka's part

THE JESTER

No use of idle talk. Both the ladies I hold in high esteem.

THE KING

Fool, after having thus forcibly heard me, dost thou refuse to speak now?

THE JESTER

What, me too, by force?

THE KING

Yes, by force

THE JESTER

Then you will never hear it

THE KING

Forgive me, O great Brahman forgive me Speak of your own sweet will
of your own sweet will

THE JESTER

Then listen your honour I held her ladyship Vasavadatta in great
regard But her ladyship Padmavati is young and beautiful without anger
and without conceit, affable and courteous She has this other great virtue
Delicacies in hand she comes forward saying Where can the noble
Vasantaka have gone ?

VASAVADATTA

To herself

Very well Vasantaka very well Now just remember this

THE KING

Very well Vasantaka very well I shall relate all this to queen Vasava-
datta

THE JESTER

Alas ! Vasavadatta ! Where is Vasavadatta ? Vasavadatta is long dead !

THE KING

Dejectedly

So it is ! Vasavadatta is no more !

*With that jest of yours didst thou baffle my mind and by force of
old habit did these words escape me*

PADMAVATI

Truly a charming romance has been spoiled by the wretch

VASAVADATTA

To herself

Well well I feel reassured Ah ! How sweet to hear unobserved such
words !

THE JESTER

Courage your honour courage ! Fate is inexorable It is just so !

THE KING

Friend you understand not my condition For—

*it is hard to forget a deep rooted passion memory constantly renews
one's sorrow It is the way of life that only after paying its tribute of tears
does the mind redeemed regain tranquillity*

VASAVADATTA

THE JESTER

[To himself]

His honour's face is wet with tears I'll fetch water for washing his face

Exit [Jester]

PADMAVATI

Madam, the face of my noble lord is hidden behind a screen of tears. Let us slip away meanwhile.

VASAVADATTA

So be it. Or rather, stay thou here. It would be wrong for thee to go away leaving thy husband in a wistful mood I shall go alone.

THE MAID

What madam says is right. Let the princess go herself

PADMAVATI

Should I really go?

VASAVADATTA

Yes, go, my dear.

Exit [Vasavadatta]

THE JESTER

Entering with a lotus leaf filled with water

Here is my lady Padmavati!

PADMAVATI

Vasantaka, what is this?

THE JESTER

This is—that! That is—this!

PADMAVATI

Speak, speak, sir Speak.

THE JESTER

My lady, the pollen of kasa²³ flowers wafted by the breeze got into the eyes of his honour, and his face is bathed in tears Take him this water for washing his face, my lady.

PADMAVATI

[To herself]

Ah, the chivalrous master has a chivalrous man! (She approaches the king) Victory to my noble lord! Here is water for washing the face

THE KING

Ah, Padmavati! (Aside) Vasantaka, what is this?

THE JESTER

Whispering in his ear

It is like this—

THE KING

Good, Vasantaka, good (Sipping water.) Padmavati, be seated.

PADMAVATI

As my noble lord commands (She sits down)

THE KING

Padmavati,—

O beauty, the pollen of kasa²³ flowers, white as the autumnal moon, tossed about by the winds, is the cause of the tears that cover my face. 7

To himself

This young girl is newly wedded. Should she learn the truth, she will be distressed. She is no doubt a courageous little soul; but a woman is by nature easily alarmed. 8

THE JESTER

Your honour, it behoves that this afternoon his honour the king of Magadha should receive his friends, giving you the place of honour. And courtesy reciprocated with courtesy engenders affection. So let your honour arise

THE KING

Exactly. A prime idea! (He rises)

It is easy to find among people those that possess great virtue and constantly show courtesy; but it is difficult to find such as appreciate these qualities duly. 9

Exeunt omnes

ACT THE FIFTH

INTERLUDE

Enter Padmunika

PADMINIKA

Madhukarika, Madhukarika! Come here quick.

MADHUKARIKA

Entering

Here I am, my dear. What may I do?

Dost thou not know, my dear, that princess Padmavati is suffering from headache?

Ah me !

Go quick, my dear, and call madam Avantika Tell her merely that the princess is suffering from headache, and she will come of her own accord

And what will she do, my dear ?

Why, by telling pretty stories, she relieves the headache of the princess

That is right Where has the bed of the princess been arranged ?

In the Ocean Pavilion her bed has been spread Go thou on I for my part shall look for the noble Vasantaka and through him send word to my lord

So be it.

Exit [Madhukanika]

Now where shall I find the noble Vasantaka ?

Enter the jester

In the heart of his honour the Vatsa king, distracted by separation from the queen, the fire of love, now fanned, as it were, by his marriage with Padmavati, burns brighter than ever to-day on the occasion of these extremely joyful nuptial celebrations (He beholds Padminika) Hallo Padminika ! What is the news, Padminika ?

Why, noble Vasantaka, dost thou not know that princess Padmavati is suffering from headache ?

No, really I knew it not, lady

PADMINIKA

Well, now inform my lord of it. I for my part will in the meantime hurry up with the ointment for her head

THE JESTER

Where has the bed of Padmavati been arranged ?

PADMINIKA

In the Ocean Pavilion her bed has been spread

THE JESTER

Go along then, lady. Meanwhile I for my part will inform his honour

Both retire

Enter the king

THE KING

As now again in course of time I take up the burden of wedded life, my thoughts revert to the virtuous [Vasavadatta], worthy daughter of Avanti's king whose tender frame was burnt in the flames at Lavanaka like a lotus creeper withered by frost

1

THE JESTER

Entering

Come quick, your honour, come quick.

THE KING

Why ?

THE JESTER

Her ladyship Padmavati is suffering from headache.

THE KING

Who told you so ?

THE JESTER

Padminika told me

THE KING

O alas !

My marriage with a wife endowed with virtues and beauty of form had softened somewhat my grief to day, though the former wound still rankles in my heart—Having tasted once the bitter cup of misery, I [am led to] anticipate a like fate for Padmavati also

2

Well, where is Padmavati ?

THE JESTER

In the Ocean Pavilion her bed has been spread.

THE KING

Then show me the way there

THE JESTER

Come come, your honour (Both walk about) This is the Ocean Pavilion Enter, your honour

THE KING

You go in first.

THE JESTER

Oh so be it (He enters) O help! Stand back, your honour, stand back

THE KING

Why?

THE JESTER

The light of the lamp reveals the form of this cobra here wriggling along the ground

THE KING

Enters and looks on smiling

Oh this is what a dolt believes to be a cobra

Fool, for a cobra didst thou mistake a tremulous wreath dropped from the entrance arch and lying outstretched on the ground below It is that which, suayed by the gentle evening breeze, but faintly makes the movements of a serpent

3

THE JESTER

Looking attentively

What your honour says is right This is indeed not a cobra (He enters and looks around himself) Her ladyship Padmavati must have come here and gone away

THE KING

Friend, she could not have come here.

THE JESTER

How does your honour know?

THE KING

What is there to know? Look

The bed is unruffled, even as when spread, undisturbed is the quilt, the pillow is not crushed nor stained with the cures against headache No adornments are placed to divert the patient's eye No person who goes to bed through sickness will leave it in a hurry of his own accord!

4

THE JESTER

Then let your honour sit down on this bed for a while and wait for her ladyship

THE KING

Very well (He sits down) Friend I am feeling sleepy Tell me a story,

THE JESTER

I'll tell you one. Let your honour respond with a hum! ²⁵

THE KING

Very well

THE JESTER

There is a city called Ujjayini In it there are some very charming bathing pools.

THE KING

What Ujjayini?

THE JESTER

You do not like this story I'll tell you another

THE KING

Not indeed that I do not like it Only—

it reminds me of the daughter of Atanli's king who at the time of starting as she thought of her people shed on my own breast copious tears of love that clung to the corner of her eyes! 5

Moreover

How often during the course of her lessons would her eyes be fixed on me and then her hand from which the plectrum had dropped would aimlessly swing in the air! 6

THE JESTER

Well I'll tell you another There is a city called Brahmadatta In it there ruled a king called Kampilya ⁷

THE KING

What what?

THE JESTER

Repeats what he has said

THE KING

Fool say rather king Brahmadatta and Kampilya city

THE JESTER

What the king Brahmadatta and the city Kampilya?

THE KING

Just so

THE JESTER

Then let your honour wait a moment while I commit that to memory.
—King Brahmadata, city Kampilya ! (He repeats what he has said to himself several times) Now listen, your honour Hallo, his honour has fallen asleep The hour is very cold I'll fetch my mantle ~

Exit [jester]

Enter Vasavadatta and a maid

THE MAID

Come madam, come The princess is suffering from a very severe headache.

VASAVADATTA

Alas ! Where has the bed of Padmavati been arranged ?

THE MAID

In the Ocean Pavilion her bed has been spread

VASAVADATTA

Then lead the way

Both walk about

THE MAID

This is the Ocean Pavilion Enter, madam Meanwhile I for my part will hurry up with the ointment for her head

Exit [maid]

VASAVADATTA

Oh, verily the gods are pitiless towards me ! Even this Padmavati, who used to comfort my noble lord in his bereavement, has fallen ill I'll go in (She enters and looks around her) Oh, the carelessness of servants ! Padmavati is lying ill, and they have left her here with just a lamp for her companion. There lies Padmavati asleep I'll sit down—But, if I sit aloof it will seem as though I am indifferent. So I'll seat myself on this bed (She sits down) Why is it, I wonder, that as I am sitting beside her to-day, my heart seems to throb with pleasure ? Happily her breathing is easy and regular Her disease must be on the wane. Occupying just a corner of the bed, she seems to invite an embrace. I'll lie down then (She acts lying down.)

THE KING

Talking in his sleep

O Vasavadatta !—

VASAVADATTA

Rising abruptly

Humph ! It is my noble lord and not Padmavati ! Have I been seen, I wonder ? The great vow²⁸ of the noble Yaugandharayana will by my being seen, have been made in vain

THE KING

O daughter of Avanti's king !

VASAVADATTA

Happily my noble lord is only talking in his sleep There is no one about I'll stay here awhile and gladden my eyes and heart.

THE KING

O darling ! O beloved pupil ! Answer me

VASAVADATTA

I am speaking, my lord I am speaking

THE KING

Art thou angry ?

VASAVADATTA

O no ! O no ! I am so unhappy

THE KING

If thou art not angry, why hast thou laid aside thy ornaments ?

VASAVADATTA

What could be better than this ?

THE KING

Are you thinking of Virachita ?²⁹

VASAVADATTA

Wrathfully

O fie ! Even here Virachita !

THE KING

Then I implore your ladyship's pardon for Virachita (He stretches out his hands.)

VASAVADATTA

I have stayed long enough. I may be seen I'll go. But I'll first replace the arm of my noble lord that is hanging over the edge of the couch.

She does so and retires

THE KING

Rising abruptly

Vasavadatta ! Stay stay ! Alas !

In hurrying out I run foul of a panel of the door. And now I know not for sure whether this vision is a reality! 7

THE JESTER

Entering

Ah, his honour is awake!

THE KING

Friend, I have good news to give you Vasavadatta is alive!

THE JESTER

Alas! Vasavadatta! Where is Vasavadatta? Vasavadatta is long dead!

THE KING

Nay, not so, friend.

After waking me, friend, as I was lying asleep on the couch, she has disappeared. Rumanvat was deceiving me when he said that she had perished in the flames. 8

THE JESTER

Alas! Such a thing is impossible. Maybe you saw her in a dream. Ever since I mentioned the bathing pools, you have been thinking of her ladyship

THE KING

If that be a dream, would that I had not been awakened. And if it be an illusion, may that illusion last for ever! 9

THE JESTER

Make not yourself ridiculous! But a fairy called the Belle of Avanti does frequent this palace. Maybe now it is she whom you saw,

THE KING

No, no!

On waking from sleep I saw those eyes without illyrium and that unbraided hair of her who is still guarding her virtue. 10

Moreover, look, friend, look!

This arm which was tightly clasped by that queen in her agitation has the hair still standing on end, though it came in contact with her but in sleep. 11

THE JESTER

Imagine not absurdities now. Come, your honour, come. Let us retire to the inner court.

THE CHAMBERLAIN

Entering

Victory unto my noble lord! Our great king Darsaka²⁰ sends the following message: "Here is your honour's minister Rumanvat arrived, with a

very large force for attacking Aruni, also elephants horses, chariots and foot soldiers—my own auxiliaries of victory—are ready equipped Let your honour therefore arise Furthermore

Thy enemies have been divided, and confidence restored among thy subjects, who are still faithful to thee Precautions have been taken for the guarding of the rear during thy march All that is possible to do for the demolition of the enemy has been accomplished by me Our forces have even crossed the river Ganges And the land of Valsa is in thy hands' 12

THE KING

Re-enter

THE DOOR KEEPER

Listen sir There was someone in the Eastern³⁴ Palace of my lord playing on the lute to-day On hearing it my lord said It seems to me I hear the sound of Ghoshavati³⁵

THE CHAMBERLAIN

Then? Then?

THE DOOR KEEPER

Then going up to him he asked the man whence that lute came there He replied I saw it lying in a thicket on the bank of the Narmada If my lord has use for it he is welcome to it Taking it to himself my lord placed it in his lap and swooned away Then on coming to himself with his face convulsed with tears my lord said I see you Ghoshavati But her I see not! That is how the hour is not suitable sir How can I announce you?

THE CHAMBERLAIN

Announce us lady This also has something to do with it

THE DOOR KEEPER

I'll announce you at once, sir Here comes my lord descending from the Eastern Palace So I shall inform him here

THE CHAMBERLAIN

So be it madam

Both retire

Enter the king and the jester

THE KING

O sweet toned [lute]! Thou didst once repose on the breasts and in the lap of the queen How didst thou support the terrible sojourn in the jungle where flights of birds scattered thy body with dirt? 1

And thou art unfeeling Ghoshavati How else couldst thou forget that the unfortunate queen—

hugged thy sides as she carried thee on her hip? [How couldst thou forget] the happy embraces between her breasts during moments of fatigue, and her plants for me when she was parted from me and her chatter and her smiles in the intervals of lute play? 2

THE JESTER

Enough now of this excessive sorrow your honour

THE KING

Nay not so friend

*My passion long dormant is re-awakened by the lute But I see not
that queen,²⁶ to whom Ghoshavati was so dear'* 3

Vasantaka, take Ghoshavati to an artisan, have her re-strung and bring her back speedily

THE JESTER

As your honour commands.

[Jester] retires with the lute

THE DOOR KEEPER

Entering

Victory to my lord! Here this chamberlain of the Raibhya clan, sent by Mahasena and Vasavadatta's nurse, the noble Vasundhara, sent by queen Angaravati are waiting at the door

THE KING

Then call Padmavati

THE DOOR KEEPER

As your lordship commands.

I sit [door keeper]

THE KING

How now! So soon has this news²⁷ reached the ears of Mahasena!

Enter Padmavati and the door keeper

THE DOOR KEEPER

Come, princess, come

PADMAVATI

Victory to my lord!

THE KING

Padmavati, didst thou hear that the chamberlain of the Raibhya clan sent by Mahasena, and Vasavadatta's nurse, the noble Vasundhara sent by her ladyship Angaravati, have arrived and are waiting at the door?

PADMAVATI

I shall be glad to hear the good tidings of my relatives, my noble lord

THE KING

It is befitting that my lady should look upon the family of Vasavadatta as her own family Be seated, Padmavati Why wilt thou not be seated?

PADMAVATI

Would my noble lord have me seated by his side when receiving these people?

THE KING

What harm is there?

PADMAVATI

It seems callous as I am the second spouse of my noble lord

THE KING

But it would be a grave fault to forbid such persons to see my wife as are entitled to do so Be seated therefore

PADMAVATI

As my noble lord commands (She sits down) I feel quite uneasy at the thought of what father or mother would have to say, my noble lord

THE KING

Just so Padmavati

My heart misgives me as to what he will say I carried away his daughter, and I have failed to guard her Fickle fortune has brought about the obliteration of the merit I had acquired Like a son that has roused the ire of his father, I feel afraid.

PADMAVATI

There is no way to help anything whose hour of doom has come

THE DOOR KEEPER

The chamberlain and the nurse are waiting at the door

THE KING

Conduct them here speedily

THE DOOR KEEPER

As your lordship commands

Exit [door keeper]

Enter the chamberlain the nurse and the door keeper

THE CHAMBERLAIN

Oh!

Great is my joy on coming to this allied kingdom, but when I recall the loss of the princess sorrow overtakes me O Fate could you not have been content to have robbed him of his kingdom by enemies and spared the life of the queen?

5

THE DOOR KEEPER

Here is my lord Sir approach him

THE CHAMBERLAIN

Approaching

Victory to my noble lord!

THE NURSE

Victory to my lord !

THE KING

Respectfully

Sir !

*He who on this earth has power to work the rise and fall of royal houses
—the king whose alliance I sought—is he well ?* 6

THE CHAMBERLAIN

Yes Mahasena is well He inquires if all be well here also

THE KING

Rising from his seat

What are the commands of Mahasena ?

THE CHAMBERLAIN

Thus is worthy of the son of Vaidehi But let your honour be seated
and hear the message of Mahasena

THE KING

As Mahasena commands (He sits down.)

THE CHAMBERLAIN

Glory to you for regaining the kingdom that had passed into the hands
of enemies ! For—

*the timid and the weak are incapable of enterprise and only the enter-
prising spirits enjoy as a rule kingly dignity* 7

THE KING

All that is the prowess of Mahasena, sir

*When I was vanquished of yore he fondled me along with his sons
Then not only did I run away with his daughter but I have failed to guard
her Now after hearing about her end he keeps for me still the same re-
gard Is it not then due to the king that I regain my proper Vatsaland ?* 8

THE CHAMBERLAIN

This is the message of Mahasena Thus lady here will communicate the
message of the queen

THE KING

Ah, mother !

*She who is senior among sixteen queens the holy goddess of the city
my mother who was afflicted by grief at our departure—is she well ?* 9

THE NURSE

My lady is well She inquires of my lord if all be well here.

THE KING

All is well ! Mother, well, in this way !

THE NURSE

Enough now of this excessive sorrow, my lord

THE CHAMBERLAIN

Courage, my noble lord ! Sorrowed after thus by my noble lord, Mahasena's daughter, though dead is yet not dead Surely,—

*who can arrest the hand of death when the victim's hour has come ?
Should the rope now break asunder, who can save the pitcher ? The same
law holds for men and trees . in season they perish, in season they spring* 10

THE KING

Nay, not so, sir

*Mahasena's daughter, my pupil and beloved queen—how can I fail to
remember her even in births to come ?* 11

THE NURSE

My lady sends this message "Vasavadatta is no more Thou, that art to me and to Mahasena as dear as our Gopalaka and Palaka hast been from the first the son in law we wished for"⁸⁸ And for that purpose we brought thee to Ujjayini Then on the pretext of the lute⁸⁹ we placed her in thy hands even without the fire witness With thy impetuosity thou didst elope without waiting for the nuptial celebrations So then we had the portraits of thyself and Vasavadatta painted on picture-boards, and we celebrated the nuptial rites. We send the picture boards to thee now May the sight make thee happy ! "

THE KING

Ah surpassing kind and happy are the words of her ladyship !

*These words are more precious than the gain of a hundred thrones !
Despite our offence the queen has not forgotten her love for us* 12

PADMAVATI

My noble lord I would see the portraits of the elders and pay my homage to them.

THE NURSE

Behold princess behold (She shows her a picture board)

PADMAVATI

To herself on seeing it

Humph ! Truly she bears a striking likeness to madam Avantika
(Aloud) My noble lord, is this a good likeness of her ladyship ?

THE KING

It is not a likeness It is her own self I imagine. O alas !

How has tho delicate complexion been cruelly destroyed and how this sweet face has been ravaged by the flames' 13

PADMAVATI

Could I see the portrait of my noble lord I should know whether the other is a good likeness of her ladyship or not

THE NURSE

Look, princess look.

PADMAVATI

On seeing it

The portrait of my noble lord shows a speaking likeness I infer from it that the other is a good likeness of her ladyship

THE KING

O queen, after seeing the portraits I noticed thou didst look first pleased and then uneasy How is that ?

PADMAVATI

My noble lord in this very palace there lives one who resembles this portrait closely

THE KING

What, of Vasavadatta ?

PADMAVATI

Yes

THE KING

Then bring her here speedily

PADMAVATI

My noble lord before my marriage a certain Brahman left her with me as a deposit, saying that she was his sister Her husband being away she shuns the sight of strangers

THE KING

[To himself]

If she be the sister of a Brahman evidently she is someone else One does come across persons that resemble each other closely 14

THE DOOR KEEPER

Entering

Victory to my lord ! Here is a Brahman from Ujjayini who says that he left his sister in the hands of my lady as a deposit, and is waiting at the door to claim her back.

THE KING

May he be that Brahman, Padmavati?

PADMAVATI

He must be.

THE KING

Bid the Brahman welcome, with the formalities proper to the inner apartments, and conduct him here speedily.

THE DOOR-KEEPER

As your lordship commands

Exit [door keeper]

THE KING

Padmavati, wilt thou also conduct her here?

PADMAVATI

As my noble lord commands

Exit [Padmavati]

Enter Yaugandharayana and the door-keeper

YAUGANDHARAYANA

Ho there!

To himself

I concealed the queen in the interest of the king 'Tis true the thought of his welfare alone inspired my act Though success has crowned my venture now, my heart misgives me as to what he will say.

15

THE DOOR KEEPER

Here is my lord Approach him, sir.

YAUGANDHARAYANA

Approaching

Victory to your honour, victory!

THE KING

It seems to me I have heard the voice before. O Brahman, did you leave your sister in the hands of Padmavati as a deposit?

YAUGANDHARAYANA

Why, yes

THE KING

[To the door keeper]

Then bring his sister before us with all speed, with all speed

THE DOOR-KEEPER

As your lordship commands.

Exit [door-keeper]

Enter Padmavati, accompanied by her retinue,
and Vāsavadatta⁴⁹

PADMAVATI

Come, madam, come. I have good news for thee.

VASAVADATTA

What is it? What is it?

PADMAVATI

Thy brother is back.

VASAVADATTA

Happily he remembers me still.

PADMAVATI

Approaching [the king]

Victory to my noble lord! Here is the deposit.

THE KING

Padmavati, render her back. A deposit should be returned in the presence of witnesses. His honour the noble Raibhya and her ladyship here will form the tribunal.

PADMAVATI

Sir, take the lady.

THE NURSE

Regarding Avantika closely

Ah, this is princess Vasavadatta!

THE KING

What, the daughter of Mahasena? O queen, go inside with Padmavati.

YAUGANDHARAYANA

No, no. She shall not go in. Assuredly she is my sister.

THE KING

What does your honour say? Assuredly she is the daughter of Mahasena.

YAUGANDHARAYANA

O king!

Thou art born in the race of the Bharatas. Thou art self-controlled, pure and enlightened. To stop her by force is unworthy of thee, who shouldst be the model of kingly duty.

THE KING

Well, let us see then the resemblance of form Draw the curtain aside

YAUGANDHARAYANA

Victory to my lord !

VASAVADATTA

Victory to my noble lord !

THE KING

Ah, this is Yaugandharayana, and this is the daughter of Mahasena !
Is it reality or-but a dream that I see her once again ? That last time too I saw her thus, and was none the less deceived ! 17

YAUGANDHARAYANA

I plead guilty to having taken away the queen, my lord Will my lord
 deign to forgive me ? (He throws himself at the feet of the king)

THE KING

Raising him

You are Yaugandharayana !

*Through feigned madness, through wars, through plans described in
 works on statecraft, all through your exertions have we been saved when we
 were plunged in distress deep !* 18

YAUGANDHARAYANA

I but follow the fortunes of my lord

PADMAVATI

Ah, this is that noble lady,—In treating your ladyship as a companion,
 I have overstepped the bounds of propriety I bow my head and beg to
 be forgiven [She throws herself at the feet of Vasavadatta]

VASAVADATTA

Raising Padmavati

Rise up, rise up O fortunate woman, rise up The suppliant herself
 is to blame 42

PADMAVATI

I am beholden to you

THE KING

What was thy intention friend Yaugandharayana, in taking the queen
 away ?

YAUGANDHARAYANA

The saving of Kausambi⁴³ solely

THE KING

Why didst thou leave her as a deposit in the hands of Padmavati ?

YAUGANDHARAYANA

The soothsayers Pushpabhadra and others had predicted that she would be the consort of your lordship

THE KING

Did Rumanvat know this also ?

YAUGANDHARAYANA

My lord, everyone knew it.

THE KING

Oh, what a villain Rumanvat is, to be sure !⁴⁴

YAUGANDHARAYANA

My lord, let his honour Raibhya and her ladyship return this very day to announce the safety of the queen

THE KING

No, no We will all go, along with queen Padmavati

EPILOGUE

May our lion like king rule over this sea girt earth, adorned with the ear chains of Himalaya and Vindhya and enjoying the distinction of the Solitary [imperial] umbrella !⁴⁵

19

Exeunt omnes

THE END

EXPLANATORY NOTES

¹ This stanza combines a benediction with a word play on the names of the four principal *dramatis personæ* Udayana Vasavadatta, Padmavati, and Vasan-taka. Its meaning is obscure, but is immaterial to the context.

² Magadha corresponds roughly to the southern part of the modern province of Bihar. Its capital Rajagriha has been identified with the modern Rajgir.

³ 'These things,' i.e., the paraphernalia of royalty.

⁴ In another version of the story, Padmavati is called the *daughter* of the king of Magadha. See Appendix, page 91.

⁵ In speaking of his majesty the chamberlain should refer to him as 'Maha-*raja*'. Feeling that, in this instance, it is necessary to specify him by his personal name, the chamberlain, in all humility, avails himself of a circumlocution.

⁶ See note 2.

⁷ This justifies the sudden change of attitude of Yaugandharayana towards Padmavati. See verse 3.

⁸ Ujjayini was the capital of the kingdom of Avanti, the home of Vasava-datta.

⁹ 'Ours,' because Padmavati would then become the sister in law of Vasava-datta.

¹⁰ Padmavati unwittingly repeats the words already spoken by Vasavadatta. This is intended to show a spontaneous reciprocity of feeling between them.

¹¹ The minister is now solely answerable for the safety and the honour of the queen, hence his concern.

¹² This person is the chamberlain.

¹³ Vatsa was the name of the kingdom of Udayana. Its capital was Kau-sambi, the modern Kosam, near Allahabad.

¹⁴ Chakravaka. According to a poetic convention the male and female chakravaka keep together during the day, at night, however, they are always separated, as, in consequence of a curse, they are destined to pass the night apart. They are frequently mentioned in Indian literature as patterns of marital constancy. See another allusion to the chakravaka at the beginning of the third act.

¹⁵ The original contains a pun depending upon the double meaning of the Sanskrit word *rāga* ('redness' and 'love'), which it is difficult, if not quite im-possible, to reproduce in English. The idea is this. The hands of Padmavati being extremely red, they show that they are tired with the long game. Conse-quently Padmavati cannot control their movements now as well as she did at the beginning of the game. The poet expresses this idea fancifully by suggesting that the hands, being inspired with love (*rāga*), are behaving as though they would have nothing to do with Padmavati, they just follow their own inclinations and disregard completely the wishes and directions of Padmavati.

¹⁶ Here is another pun. The hidden meaning is "I fancy I see the faces of thy suitors on every side."

¹⁷ Mahasena literally means 'one who has a large army.'

¹⁸ The refusal might have been construed as a gratuitous affront especially as the king of Vatsa was then supposed to be a young widower, without issue.

¹⁹ See note 14

²⁰ Kama is the Indian Cupid

²¹ Bandhujiva *Pentapetes Phyzicia*

²² Sapta dhada *Alstonia scholaris*

²³ Kasa *Saccharum spontaneum*

²⁴ In the original these words of Padmāvatī and the king change places

²⁵ The indisposition of Padmavati makes the king fear that he might lose her as he had lost Vasavadattā

²⁶ The response hum¹ from the listener is indicative of continued attention

²⁷ Kampilya is the name of a town in the land of the Panchala in the north of India

²⁸ The vow of Yaugandharayana was made at the time when plans were laid for the restoration of the dethroned king. A similar vow forms the theme of another play belonging to this group of dramas.

²⁹ Virachita is the name of a former mistress of Udayana. See Appendix page 90

³⁰ Darsaka was the king of Magadha and brother of Padmavati

³¹ Arunī was the upstart who had ousted Udayana and usurped the throne of Vatsa

³² The speaker himself is the chamberlain despatched by Mahasena

³³ Angaravati is the mother of Vasavadatta

³⁴ The name of the palace is uncertain the reading being doubtful

³⁵ Ghosavati is the magic lute of Udayana. See Appendix, page 86

³⁶ The queen is Vasavadatta

³⁷ 'This news' refers to his recent marriage with Padmavati

³⁸ She implies that the death of Vasavadatta makes no difference to their sentiments towards him

³⁹ For an explanation of 'the pretext of the lute, see Appendix page 87f

⁴⁰ It is to be supposed that Vasavadatta enters and stands apart, concealed behind a curtain and unseen by most of the persons present

⁴¹ These incidents in the life of the minister form the theme of another play belonging to the group. See Appendix, page 88f

⁴² The reading as it stands is not fully intelligible, an emendation appears necessary

⁴³ Kausambi was the capital of the kingdom of Vatsa

⁴⁴ See verse 14 of the first act

⁴⁵ The umbrella from the shelter it affords has been chosen as one of the insignia of Indian royalty. The 'solitary umbrella' denotes universal sovereignty

APPENDIX

THE LEGEND OF UDAYANA AND VASAVADATTA

*(Abridged, with slight alterations, from C H Tawney's translation of the
Kathā-sarit sāgara*)*

There is a land famous under the name of Vatsa. In the centre of it is a great city named Kausambi. In it dwelt a king named Satanika, sprung from the Pandava family. He had a son born to him called Sahasranika, who married Mrigavati, daughter of a king of Ayodhya. In course of time Mrigavati promised to bear a child to king Sahasranika. And then she asked the king to gratify her longing by filling a tank full of blood for her to bathe in. Accordingly the king in order to gratify her desire had a tank filled with the juice of lac and other red extracts so that it seemed to be full of blood. And while she was bathing in that lake, a bird of the race of Garuda suddenly pounced upon her and carried her off thinking she was raw flesh, but on discovering that she was alive, it abandoned her and, as fate would have it, left her on the mountain Udayachala. The girl tardy with the weight of her womb, desiring to hurl herself down from a precipice, and thinking upon that lord of hers, wept aloud, and a hermit's son, hearing that, came up and found her looking like the incarnation of sorrow. And he, after questioning the queen about her adventures, led her off to the hermitage of Jamadagni. Some days after, the blameless one gave birth to a charmingly beautiful son. At that moment a voice was heard from heaven. "An august king of great renown has been born, Udayana by name, and his son shall be the monarch of all Vidyadharas!" Gradually that boy grew up to size and strength in that grove of asceticism. Out of love for him Mrigavati drew off from her own wrist, and placed on his, a bracelet marked with the name of Sahasranika. Then that Udayana, roaming about once upon a time in pursuit of deer, beheld in the forest a snake captured by a Sabara. The generous Udayana gave that Sabara the bracelet which his mother had bestowed on him, and persuaded him to set the snake at liberty. The snake, being pleased with Udayana, bowed before him and said, "I am the eldest brother of Vasuki called Vasunemi. Receive from me, whom thou hast preserved this lute sweet in the sounding of its strings, divided according to the division of the quarter tones, and betel leaf, together with the art of weaving unfading garlands, and adorning the forehead with marks that never become indistinct." Udayana furnished with all these, and dismissed by the snake, returned to the hermitage of Jamadagni. Meanwhile the Sabara was caught attempting to sell the ornament marked with the king's name and brought up in court before the king. Learning from the Sabara the whereabouts of Mrigavati and Udayana the king made the Sabara show him the way, and set out with his army for that hermitage on the Udayachala. In a few days he reached that peaceful hermitage of Jamadagni. The hermit handed over to him that queen Mrigavati with her son. Bidding adieu to Jamadagni the king set out for his own city. Soon after his return the king appointed his son Udayana crown prince, and assigned to him as advisers the sons of his own ministers, Vasantaka, Rumanvat

* *The Kathā Sarit Sāgara or Ocean of the Streams of Story* translated from the original Sanskrit by C. H. TAWNEY, Calcutta 1880

and Yaugandharayana In due course that king Sahasranika established in his throne his excellent son Udayana and accompanied by his ministers and his beloved wife ascended the Himalaya to prepare for the last great journey

Then Udayana took the kingdom of Vatsa which his father had bequeathed to him and establishing himself in Kausambi ruled his subjects well But gradually he began to devolve the cares of his empire upon his ministers Yaugandharayana and others, and gave himself up entirely to pleasures. He was continually engaged in the chase and night and day he played on the melodious lute which Vasuki gave him long ago, and he subdued evermore infuriated wild elephants, overpowered by the fascinating spell of its strings dulcet sound, and, taming them brought them home Only one anxiety he had to bear He kept thinking No where is a wife found equal to me in birth and personal appearance The maid named Vasavadatta alone has a liking for me but how is she to be obtained?

Mahasena also in Ujjayini thought There is no suitable husband to be found for my daughter in the world except one Udayana by name and he has ever been my enemy Then how can I make him my son in law and my submissive ally? There is only one device which can effect it He wanders about alone in the forest capturing elephants. I will make use of this failing of his to entrap him and bring him here by a stratagem And as he is acquainted with music I will make this daughter of mine his pupil and his eye will without doubt be charmed with her and he will certainly become my son in law and my obedient ally In spite of this decision he resolved to try negotiation first Accordingly he gave this order to an ambassador Go and give the king of Vatsa this message from me My daughter desires to be thy pupil in music. If thou love us come here and teach her The resolute king of Vatsa sent in return an ambassador to Mahasena with the following reply "If thy daughter desires to be come my pupil then send her here When he had sent that reply that king of Vatsa said to his ministers I will march and bring Mahasena here in chains. When he heard that the chief minister Yaugandharayana said This is not a fitting thing to do my king nor is it in thy power to do it For Mahasena is a mighty monarch, and not to be subdued by thee And in proof of this he related how king Mahasena had performed a terrible penance and received from goddess Durga a sword by means of whose magic power he was invincible to all his enemies. He further narrated how Mahasena had married a Daitya maiden and two sons were born to him Gopalaka and Palaka how Mahasena had held a feast in honour of Indra on their account and how Indra being pleased said to the king in a dream By my favour thou shalt obtain a matchless daughter then how in course of time a graceful daughter was born to that king whom the king had given the name Vasavadatta The minister concluded by saying that that king could not be conquered by Udayana firstly because he was so powerful and then also because his realm was situated in a difficult country

In the meanwhile the ambassador sent by the king of Vatsa in answer to Mahasena's embassy went and told that monarch his master's reply Mahasena for his part, on hearing it, began to reflect It is certain that that proud king of Vatsa will not come here and I cannot send my daughter to his court So I must capture him by some stratagem and bring him here as a prisoner Having thus reflected, the king had made a large artificial elephant like his own and after filling it with concealed warriors he placed it in the Vindhya forest There the scouts of the king of Vatsa discerned it from a distance and returning to their master informed him in these words O king we have seen a single elephant roaming in the Vindhya forest such that nowhere in this wide world his equal is

to be found. The king spent that night in thinking. If I obtain that mighty elephant, a fit match for Nadagiri the elephant of Mahasena, then will that Mahasena be certainly in my power and he will of his own accord give me his daughter Vasavadatta. So in the morning he started for the Vindhya forest disregarding the advice of his ministers nor did he pay any attention to the fact that the astrologers said that the position of the heavenly bodies at the moment of his departure portended the acquisition of a maiden together with imprisonment. When the king reached the Vindhya forest he made his troops halt at a distance and accompanied by scouts only holding in his hands his melodious lute, he entered the great forest. The king saw on the southern slope of the Vindhya range that elephant looking like a real one pointed out to him by his scouts from a distance. He slowly approached it alone playing on his lute thinking how he should bind it and singing in melodious tones. As his mind was fixed on his music, and the shades of evening were setting in that king did not perceive that the supposed wild elephant was an artificial one. Then suddenly issuing from that artificial elephant a body of soldiers in full armour surrounded that king of Vatsa. The king in a rage drew his hunting knife but while he was fighting with those in front of him, he was seized by others coming up behind. And those warriors with the help of others carried that king of Vatsa into the presence of Mahasena. Mahasena for his part came out to meet him with the utmost respect, and entered with him the city of Ujjayini. Shortly after their return the king of Avanti made over his daughter Vasavadatta to Udayana and said to him. Prince, teach this lady music in this way you will obtain a happy issue to your adventure. Do not despond. When he beheld that fair lady the mind of the king of Vatsa was so steeped in love that he put out of sight his anger. So the king of Vatsa dwelt in the concert room of Mahasena's palace teaching Vasavadatta to sing with his eyes ever fixed on her.

In the meanwhile the men who had accompanied the king returned to Kausambi. The calm and resolute Yaugandharayana seeing that the country was loyal said to Rumanvat and others. All of you must remain here ever on the alert. You must guard this country. I will go accompanied by Vasantaka only and will without fail accomplish the deliverance of the king and bring him home. Having said this and entrusted to Rumanvat the care of the subjects Yaugandharayana set out for Kausambi with Vasantaka. On his way Yaugandharayana by means of a charm suddenly altered his own shape. That charm made him deformed hunch backed and old and besides gave him the appearance of a madman. In the same way Yaugandharayana by means of that very charm gave Vasantaka a body full of outstanding veins with a large stomach and an ugly mouth with projecting teeth. Having entered Ujjayini singing and dancing, beheld with curiosity by all he made his way to the king's palace. There he excited by that behaviour the curiosity of the king's wives and was at last heard by Vasavadatta. She quickly sent a maid and had him brought to the concert room. Thereupon he made a sign to the king of Vatsa who quickly recognized him. Udayana sent Vasavadatta out of the room on some pretext and then he had a long and undisturbed talk with his minister. Yaugandharayana communicated to the king according to the prescribed form spells for breaking chains, and at the same time he furnished him with other charms for winning the heart of Vasavadatta. Having done so Yaugandharayana went out. When Vasavadatta returned, the king induced her to summon Vasantaka, who was waiting at the door of the palace. Vasantaka amused the princess by telling her stories and secured her favour.

As time went on Vasavadatta began to feel a great affection for the king of

Vatsa, and to take part with him against her father. Then Yaugandharayana came in again to see the king of Vatsa, making himself invisible to all others who were there. And he gave him the following information in private in the presence of Vasantaka only. King, you were made captive by Mahasena by means of an artifice. And he now wishes to give you his daughter, and set you at liberty, treating you with all honour. So let us carry off his daughter and escape, for in this way we shall have revenged ourselves upon the haughty monarch. Now the king has given Vasavadatta a female elephant called Bhadravati. And no other elephant but Nadagiri is swift enough to catch her up. The driver of this elephant is a man here called Asadhaka, and him I have won over to our side by giving him much wealth. So you must mount that elephant with Vasavadatta, fully armed, and start from this place secretly by night. The king of Vatsa stored up all the instructions of Yaugandharayana in his heart, and when Vasavadatta came told her what Yaugandharayana had said to him. She consented to the proposal, and made up her mind to start. They made good their escape from Ujjayini, and having successfully overcome the obstacles which befell them on the way arrived safely in Kausambi. Not long after came Gopalaka the brother of Vasavadatta, bringing with him the good wishes of Mahasena and his queen. Then the king of Vatsa, having celebrated the great festival of his marriage, considered all his wishes gratified now that he was linked to Vasavadatta. But in course of time he became faithless, and secretly loved an attendant of the harem named Virachita, with whom he had previously had an intrigue. One day he made a mistake and addressed the queen by her name, thereupon he had to conciliate her by clinging to her feet.

Once again the king of Vatsa devolved the cares of his empire upon his ministers Yaugandharayana and others, and gave himself up entirely to pleasures. Seeing this the minister Yaugandharayana reflected that the ministers themselves must take such steps as that he shall obtain the empire of the whole earth, which was his hereditary right. He called the ministers together and said to them. "Let us do our king a good turn, let us gain for him the empire of the earth. In this undertaking our only adversary is Pradyota the king of Magadha, for he is a foe in the rear that is always attacking us behind. So we must ask for our sovereign that pearl of princesses his daughter named Padmavati. And by our cleverness we will conceal Vasavadatta somewhere and setting fire to her house, we will give out everywhere that the queen is burnt. In no other case will the king of Magadha give his daughter to our sovereign, for when I requested him to do so on a former occasion he answered, 'I will not give my daughter, whom I love more than myself, to the king of Vatsa, for he is passionately attached to his wife Vasavadatta.' Moreover, as long as the queen is alive, the king of Vatsa will not marry anyone else, but if a report is once spread that the queen is burnt, all will succeed." The other ministers were at first sceptical about the success of the scheme but the resourceful Yaugandharayana, who had reflected on every possibility and had a ready answer to all objections, was in the end successful in removing the doubts of his colleagues, and securing their co-operation. Then the ministers won over to their side Vasavadatta's brother Gopalaka. Then Yaugandharayana, Gopalaka, and Rumanvat deliberated as follows. Let us adopt the artifice of going to Lavanaka with the king and queen, for that district is a border district near the kingdom of Magadha. And because it contains admirable hunting grounds, it will tempt the king to absent himself from the palace, so we can set the women's apartments there on fire and carry out the plan on which we have determined. And by an artifice we will take the queen and leave her in the palace of Padmavati, in order

that Padmavati herself may be a witness to the queen's virtuous behaviour in a state of concealment

Thus Yaugandharayana and the other ministers managed to conduct the king of Vatsa with his beloved to Lavanaka. One day the king having gone to hunt the wise Yaugandharayana accompanied by Gopalaka having arranged what was to be done and taking with him also Rumanvat and Vasantaka went secretly to the queen Vasavadatta. There he used various representations to persuade her to assist in furthering the king's interest. And she agreed to the proposal though it inflicted on her the pain of separation. Thereupon the skilful Yaugandharayana made her assume the appearance of a Brahman woman. And he made Vasantaka like a Brahman boy and he himself assumed the appearance of an old Brahman. Then he took the queen and accompanied by Vasantaka set out leisurely for the town of Magadha. *Then Rumanvat burnt her pavilion with fire and exclaimed aloud 'Alas! alas! The queen and Vasantaka are burnt.'* Then Yaugandharayana with Vasantaka and Vasavadatta reached the city of the king of Magadha and seeing the princess Padmavati in the garden he went up to her with these two though the guards tried to prevent him. And Padmavati when she saw the queen Vasavadatta in the dress of a Brahman woman fell in love with her at first sight. The princess ordered the guards to desist from their opposition and had Yaugandharayana conducted into her presence. Under the pretext that her husband had deserted her Yaugandharayana left Vasavadatta whom he introduced as his daughter in the care of Padmavati and returned to Lavanaka. Then Padmavati took with her Vasavadatta who was passing under the name of Avantika and Vasantaka who accompanied her in the form of a one-eyed boy and entered her splendidly adorned palace. Padmavati soon perceived that Vasavadatta was a person of very high rank and suspecting that she was some distinguished person remaining there under concealment entertained her to luxurious comfort to her heart's content.

When the king of Vatsa returned to Lavanaka and saw the women's apartments reduced to ashes by fire and heard from the ministers that the queen was burnt with Vasantaka he fell on the ground and was robbed of his senses by unconsciousness. Then the king judging from the behaviour of Yaugandharayana and Gopalaka and from sundry predictions suspected that the queen might possibly be alive and lived in the hope of being some day re-united with her.

The spies of the king of Magadha who were at Lavanaka went off to him and told him all. When he heard this the king was once more anxious to give to the king of Vatsa his daughter Padmavati. By the advice of Yaugandharayana the king of Vatsa accepted that proposal. And not long after the marriage of the king of Vatsa and Padmavati was celebrated with due pomp and ceremony. And Yaugandharayana calling the fire to witness on that occasion made the king of Magadha undertake never to injure his master. In the meanwhile Vasavadatta remained unobserved hoping for the glory of her husband. But Yaugandharayana being afraid that the king of Vatsa would see Vasavadatta and that so the whole secret would be divulged prevailed upon him to set out from that place soon after the celebration of the marriage, escorting his bride Padmavati. And Vasavadatta went secretly in the rear of the army making the transformed Vasantaka precede her. At last the king of Vatsa reached Lavanaka and entered his own house, together with his bride but thought all the time only of the queen Vasavadatta. The queen also arrived and entered the house of Gopalaka at night. There she saw her brother Gopalaka and embraced his neck weeping. And at that moment arrived Yaugandharayana together with Rumanvat. And while he was engaged in

dispelling the queen's grief caused by the great effort she had made, the chamberlains that were waiting round the house of Gopalaka repaired to Padmavati and said, 'Queen, Avantika has arrived, but she has in a strange way dismissed us and gone to the house of prince Gopalaka' When Padmavati heard that, she was alarmed and in the presence of the king of Vatsa answered them "Go and say to Avantika, 'The queen says, you are a deposit in my hands. So what business have you where you are?' Come where I am' When they had departed with the message the king asked Padmavati in private who made for her the unfading garlands and forehead streaks which he had observed on her person. Then she said "It is all the product of the great artistic skill of the lady named Avantika who was deposited in my hands by a certain Brahman" No sooner did the king hear that than he went off to the house of Gopalaka thinking that surely Vasavadatta would be there. And he entered the house within which were the queen, Gopalaka, the two ministers and Vasantaka. There he saw Vasavadatta returned from banishment. And that couple afflicted with grief, lamented so that even the face of Yaugandharayana was washed with tears. And Padmavati who gradually found out the truth with respect to the king and Vasavadatta, was reduced to the same state. And Vasavadatta frequently exclaimed with tears, 'What profit is there in my life that causes only sorrow to my husband?' Then the calm Yaugandharayana said to the king of Vatsa 'King, I have done all this in order to make you universal emperor, by marrying you to the daughter of the sovereign of Magadha, and the queen is not in the slightest degree to blame, moreover, this, her rival wife, is witness to her good behaviour during her absence from you' Thereupon Padmavati whose mind was free from jealousy, said 'I am ready to enter the fire on the spot to prove her innocence.' And Vasavadatta, having firmly resolved said, 'I must enter the fire to clear from suspicion the mind of the king' Then the wise Yaugandharayana rinsed his mouth and spoke a blameless speech. 'If I have been a benefactor to this king and if the queen is free from stain speak ye guardians of the world, if it is not so I will part from my body' Thus he spoke and ceased, and this heavenly utterance was heard. 'Happy art thou, O king, that hast for minister Yaugandharayana, and for wife Vasavadatta who in a former birth was a goddess, not the slightest blame attaches to her. Then the king of Vatsa and Gopalaka praised that proceeding of Yaugandharayana's, and the former already considered that the whole earth was subject to him. Then the king possessing these two wives, whose affection was every day increasing by living with him was in a state of supreme felicity.

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Dr V S SUKTHANKAR MA PHD
General Editor of the Critical Edition of the Mahabharata
4th May 1887] [21st January 1943

(Through the Courtesy of Prof D D Asatani)

VISHNU SITARAM SUKTHANKAR

AND

HIS CONTRIBUTION TO INDOLOGY*

Very little is on record regarding the life of Vishnu Sitaram SUKTHANKAR. The present essay perhaps anticipates a little the detailed and critical literary biography promised to us by the Sukthankar Memorial Edition Committee along with a complete reissue of all his published writings,¹ but in this labour of love the writer has to depend almost entirely on the published work of SUKTHANKAR and some of the unpublished material which he had the good fortune of being shown both by SUKTHANKAR and his heirs later.²

Any visitor to the Mahābhārata Department of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute in Poona will be as much impressed by the two handsome bound volumes containing all the published reviews in English, French, German and Italian, and a number of Indian languages as well, of SUKTHANKAR'S great work on the critical edition, as by the silent but efficient work of the department which SUKTHANKAR organised during the very first year when he assumed charge of the General Editorship of this colossal undertaking. But these reviews and notices touch only one side of his deep and extensive scholarship—the final phase, as it were, of a continuous life of scholarship and active research. This final phase of more than seventeen years of single-minded devotion and whole-hearted dedication to the cause of the Great Epic was a fitting conclusion to a full life given over entirely to Indological research.

We must be thankful to an old custom in the German Universities for a brief account of SUKTHANKAR'S early life. This custom requires every candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy to append to his thesis his *Lebenslauf*, a short account of himself up to the period of submitting his dissertation. According to his own statement contained in his *Lebenslauf*,³ SUKTHANKAR was born on 4th May 1887 in Bombay as son of Engineer Sitaram Vishnu SUKTHANKAR and his wife Dhaklibai; he studied up to

* [Vide p. xi of Preface for including this essay in the present volume.—Ed.]

¹ Cf. the Appeal issued by this Committee.

² The writer would like to express here his thanks to Mrs. Mahinbai SUKTHANKAR and the two sons of Dr. SUKTHANKAR for the facilities given to him to examine SUKTHANKAR'S *Nachlasse*. He is also indebted to Professors P. K. GODE and D. D. KOSAMBI for the help they have given him in supplying their own copies of SUKTHANKAR'S inscribed reprints, for reference.

³ *Die Grammatik Sākaśayana's* p. 91.

high school standard in Bombay and proceeded to the University of Cambridge where he took up the study of Mathematics and in 1906 obtained the B A degree of this University. In the summer of 1911 he went to Berlin and applied himself principally to the study of Indian Philology. Here he attended the lectures of Professors BECKH ERDMANN IMMELMANN ED LEHMANN LOESCHKE LUDERS MARQUART MITTWOCH RIEHL E SCHMIDT W SCHULZE THOMAS v WILAMOWITZ MOELLENDORF and WOLFFLIN. For his main subject, Indian Philology, he was under the guidance of Professor LUDERS and under him he prepared a critical edition of Śakaṭayana's Grammar (Adhyaya 1 pada 1) with the commentary of Yakṣavarman entitled *Cintaman* accompanied by German translation and notes and submitted on 18th June 1914. The dissertation was however printed in 1921 and published on 21st May 1921.

Some further details are available from a *Synopsis of Career* which SUKTHANKAR himself prepared and printed in August 1924. Under personal details he says that he was the grandson of the late Mr Shantaram Narayan Government Pleader and that he belonged to the Gauḍa Sarasvat Brahmin caste. The family of SUKTHANKAR appears to have settled down in Bombay for several generations with land interests. He studied at St Xavier's College, Bombay during 1902-3 at St John's College, Cambridge during 1903-7 at Edinburgh University in 1909 and finally at Berlin University during 1910-14. He secured the MA degree of Cambridge in 1912 with the Mathematical Tripos (in 1906) and the Ph D of Berlin in 1914 in Philology and Philosophy. During the next two years he was a Government Research Scholar in the Archaeological Survey Department of the Government of India and was serving as Assistant Superintendent Archaeological Survey of India Western Circle for four years (1915-19). In addition he was the joint Editor to the *Annals* of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute during the first two years of its life (1919-20) a Lecturer at the Annual Convention of the American Oriental Society 1920 Travelling Lecturer at different University centres in the United States of America 1920-21 a Member of Gray's Inn London and of the American Oriental Society⁴. When the new series of the *Journal* of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society was inaugurated SUKTHANKAR took charge of it as its Chief Editor and to him is due the beautiful appearance of the journal and the uniformly high standard that it has maintained during all this time. This in brief is all that we can know of SUKTHANKAR from his public activities up to 1924.

It was about this time that the Mahabharata Department of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute in Poona needed reorganisation and

⁴ SUKTHANKAR was elected an Honorary Member of this Society in 1938 in recognition of his great work on the Mahabharata and became the first Indian scholar after Sri Ramkrishna Gopal BHANDARKAR to receive this honour.

competent General Editor to take charge of the work in all its aspects. The preliminary work which resulted in the publication of the Tentative Edition of the *Virāṭaparvan* by Mr N B UGHIKAR had been circulated among competent scholars and elicited a number of concrete suggestions which necessitated the reorganisation of the department as a whole. It is at this juncture that SUKTHANKAR first comes into the scheme, although in various other capacities during his earlier stay in Poona he had been actively connected with this Institute and its research activities. He took charge of his office as General Editor on 4th August 1925, and for the next seventeen years devoted himself entirely to the cause of the Great Epic which he made his own. Thereafter his contributions to other aspects of Indic studies are overshadowed by his *magnum opus*, the Critical Edition of the Great Epic and the Prolegomena with Epic Studies.

The first paper which SUKTHANKAR contributed seriously to Indology was during his Berlin days entitled 'Miscellaneous Notes on Mammaṭa's *Kāvya-prakāśa*'. This paper, published in 1912 already bears the stamp of scholarship which marked all his characteristic contributions at a later date. The style, the directness of approach and the economy of words in expressing himself, are all there. The first part of this paper discusses in detail the problem of the double authorship of *Kāvya-prakāśa*. By a comparison of the *Kāvyalamkāra* with, on the one hand the part of *KP* attributed to Mammaṭa and on the other, that attributed to Allāṭa he sets the matter beyond the pale of doubt. It is demonstrated that while the author of the latter end of *KP* depends for his whole material practically on *AL* and does not hesitate to borrow phrases and expressions *verbatim* from the latter, Mammaṭa himself makes use reservedly of the new ideas brought into *Alamkāraśāstra* by Rudraṭa and looks for his authorities amongst writers older than Rudraṭa. In the second part¹ SUKTHANKAR points out that a portion of the *Vṛtti* to the definition of the *Alamkāra* Samuccaya in *KP*, does not originate from either Mammaṭa or Allāṭa and that it must be regarded as a later interpolation. A third section² deals with the practice of quoting names merely *honoris causa* as common among the grammarians such as Jainendra and Śakātāyana paralleled by the facts which centre round the verse no 860 in the *Kāvya-prakāśa*. It is pointed out that the mention of the names Udbhaṭa and Bhamaha by the commentators on this verse is merely *pūjārtham*.

The scientific training which SUKTHANKAR received at Cambridge while preparing himself for the Mathematical Tripos stood him in good stead during his Berlin days. Although he took up Indian Philology and Philosophy as his main branch of study, this Mathematical training prepared him

¹ *ZDMG* (1912) 66 477-90 533-43

² *Ibid* 533-41

³ *Ibid* 541-43

of the eleventh century to about the middle of the fourteenth century A.D. SUKTHANKAR had projected a separate study of this interesting period on the basis of these records for the Director-General's *Annual of Archaeology*, but other and more important work must have prevented the fulfilment of this project. This exploration covered the sites at Or with a Vishnu and Jain temples; Girvar where a Śiva Liṅga and pedestal had been unearthed; Datānī believed to be the scene of the battle fought in v.s. 1640 between Mahārāo Surtān of Sirohī and Emperor Akbar, in which the former was victorious; Makāval with a pillar inscription of the Paramāra Dhārāvaraṣa, dated v.s. 1276, Śrāvaṇa sudī 3 Monday; Nitorā with, among other temples, a shrine of Śūrya and a temple of Pārśvanātha; and a number of other interesting places.

The second Report for 1917-18 mostly deals with Epigraphy and Numismatics. The chief interest lies around the Hindu and Buddhist Inscriptions, including the two sets of copper-plates of the Kadambā Kings Ravivarman and Krishnavarman; two Caulukya Plates referring to the reign of the Caulukya Karna, dated respectively Śaka 996 and Vikrama 1131; two Valabhi Plates dated Samvat 210 and issued by order of the Mahāsāmanta Mahārāja Dhruvasena I, the Maitraka King of Valabhi. One of the most interesting of epigraphs dealt with at this time are the inscriptions at Dhar known as Sarpabandha, engraved on the pillars of an old grammar school called the Bhoja Śālā at Dhar. One of the inscriptions is a chart of the Sanskrit alphabet and other of verbal terminations. This latter is taken from a chapter of the Kātantra. These epigraphs are dated *ca* 1150 A.D. on the strength of the names, Paramāra Naravarman and Udayāditya of Malva. Another important discovery was the Sanchi inscription of the time of Svāmi Jivadāman which provides a date and location for Svāmi-Jivadāman, the father of the founder of the third Dynasty of Satraps in Surāṣṭra who was up till then known only through the coins of his son Svāmi-Rudrasinha II.

strongly to the conclusion that the Samāṅgaḍ grant is spurious and that the first employment of the Nagari is to be found in the Kanheri inscriptions in direct opposition to the earlier view expressed by BÜHLER¹ who was inclined to suppose that the Northern Nagari was in use at least since the beginning of the eighth century. The evidence used by BÜHLER consisted of the Samāṅgaḍ grant of the Rāṣṭrakaṣa Dantidurga bearing a date corresponding to A.D. 754 from Western India the Dighva Dubauli plate of Mahendrapala I and the Bengal Asiatic Society's Plate of Vinayakapala (of the Imperial Pratihara dynasty) believed by BÜHLER to be dated in the years corresponding to A.D. 761 and 794-5 respectively. A detailed consideration however points out that these two records are to be expunged from their place at the end of Plate IV of BÜHLER'S Tables and with this the entire block of evidence in support of the supposition for the use of Nagari forms for epigraphs since the beginning of the eighth century disappears. By proving the other plank of this theory the Samāṅgaḍ grant to be spurious SUKTHANKAR established that the epoch for the use of Nagari in epigraphic documents should be taken forward by at least a hundred years. Incidentally he corrected also BÜHLER'S mislection of the date of the Vinayakapala plate to A.D. 931. In this way the difficulty created by BÜHLER'S assumption for the use of the Nagari as epigraphic alphabet since the eighth century A.D. leaving the whole of the ninth century as bereft to any epigraphs in this script is corrected.

SUKTHANKAR as a critical reviewer appears for the first time in two reviews published in the *Indian Antiquary* for 1917. The first review is on Prof. K. B. Pathak's edition of Kalidasa's *Meghaduta* (as embodied in the *Parsvabhhyudaya*)¹² with the commentary of Mallinatha etc. in its revised form published in 1916. It was characteristic of SUKTHANKAR to be almost punctilious about the typography and general get up of a book even in these early days and it is no wonder to one acquainted with his insistence on the proper appearance of a printed book that the second paragraph of this review deals at length with the bad printing of this volume. His criticism of Prof. PATHAK'S arguments regarding the date of Kalidasa's is couched in a language which is almost a precursor to the style which he adopted in the famous *Prolegomena* published 16 years later. One remark is significant for it must be remembered that even the author of the *Parsvabhhyudaya* is separated by at least two centuries from the time of Kalidasa—a period which is long enough in India to engender interpolations. Each work represents the version locally current at the particular epoch to which the commentator belongs. And neither in one case the seclusion of the Kāśmīr Valley nor in the other the proximity to the poet by—admitting Prof. PATHAK'S estimation to be correct—three centuries is a sufficient guarantee to the entire purity of the

¹² *Indische Palæographie* p. 51¹³ *IA* 46 79 80

graph lies in the site of the inscribed rock fixing definitely a point south of the Krishna to which the sway of the Śatavahanas extended. The other published as No. 4 for 1919 in *EI* is the Porumamilla Tank Inscription of Bhaskara Bhavadhura^{17 18} (Śaka 1291 the exact tithi being on Monday the 15th October 1369 A.D.) is a long record of 127 lines inscribed on two slabs set up in front of the ruined Bhairava temple. This inscription is interesting on account of many obscure technical terms which still need elucidation.

The beginning of a new interest is proved by SUKTHANKAR'S notice of Bhasa's *Carudatta* edited by R. Ganapati SASTRI of Trivandrum. This notice published in *QJMS* for 1919 is the precursor of a long series of papers by SUKTHANKAR during the following five years. This short notice illustrates very clearly his special leanings towards textual criticism as an acute philologist with mathematical training. This particular training is clear in the use of the words assumption argument proof etc. and according to his findings *Carudatta* is a fragmentary play.

The year 1920 is one of the most fruitful in SUKTHANKAR'S career as an Indologist. There are altogether seven papers published during this year two of which are contributed to the first volume of the newly founded *Annals* of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute in Poona. The first of these two papers¹⁹ entitled 'On the Home of the so-called Andhra Kings' is a result of his study of the Myakadoni inscription of Śiri Pulumavi referred to above. As a result of unscientific speculation the comparison of epigraphic and numismatic data with those recorded in the Purāṇas (the critical editing of which texts is still a desideratum) the Śatavahanas were connected with the Andhra dynasty and placed before the public as an authentic account of the fortunes of the family. SUKTHANKAR penetrates skilfully through this morass of facts and points out that at the bottom of this fiction there is only constructive historical imagination which has been misled by the Purāṇic account and that this account itself is of such a mixed character with its *varia lectiones* that it would be futile to arrive at a reliable and in every way a satisfactory text. Considering the find places of the inscriptions of this dynasty it is found that the following distribution is noticed: Nanaghat Nasik Bhelsa Kanheri Karle Myakadoni Amaravati Cina (Krishna Dist.) and Kodavolu. The earliest inscriptions are all from Western India and it is not until the time of Vasisthiputra Śiri Pulumavi that we meet with an inscription of any king of this dynasty from the Andhradesa. Moreover the expression *Salvahanikara*—which reminds one of the expression *Salahanu-rajjha* of the Hira Hadagalli copper plate grant—appears to indicate that the tribe to which this line of kings belonged must be regarded as autochthons of the inland province so named which has not yet been identified with certainty but which lay probably considerably to the west of the Andhra country. A consideration

^{17 18} *Ibid* 14 97 109

¹⁹ *Annals BORI* 121 142.

of the dates of the inscriptions and their sites indicates that the Satavahanas had first made themselves masters of the northern portion of the western Ghats and even subdued some part of Malava before turning their attention to the conquest of the *Āndhradesa*. This epigraphic evidence is remarkably borne out by numismatic evidence and the earliest coins are found in Western India. SUKTHANKAR'S discussion of the views of RAPSON and Vincent SMITH is masterly and trenchant. All the evidence marshalled points to the south western parts of the Deccan plateau as the possible home of this interesting dynasty.

The second paper contributed to the *Annals* is on the Besnagar Inscription of Heliodoros²⁰. Discovered providentially by Sir John MARSHALL, this little Prakrit record has engaged the attention of a number of distinguished scholars in Indian history and a scholarly edition of the inscription by J. P. H. VOGEL was published in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India* for 1908-09. But in all these studies the historical interest centring round the name of the Græco Indian king Antialcidas and the conversion of a Greek Ambassador in India to the cult of Viśvadeva preponderates over every other interest so that the language and textual criticism of the inscription has become the chief theme of investigation by SUKTHANKAR in this paper. One important point is clearly established by SUKTHANKAR that the writer of the inscription must have been a Greek who rendered word for word the original Greek model into the corresponding Prakrit and that this Greek might conceivably be Heliodoros. The anomalies of Prakrit construction become clear when Greek syntax is invoked to our aid. This is particularly important both for Old and Middle Indo-Aryan syntax for an analysis on this line of doubtful constructions might ultimately lead us to the unravelling of the substrata which have affected the growth of Indo Aryan in its long history.

The short note on an Assyrian tablet²¹ found in Bombay is in reality an announcement of a unique discovery in Bombay with the readings and English rendering by Dr C. E. KEISER. Similarly the short review of LÜDERS *Bruchstücke Buddhistischer Dramen*²² is a timely notice bringing out the importance of this work for several branches of Indian philology and in particular to Indian palæography and Middle Indian dialectology as also to the theory of Indian dramaturgy.

Curiosities of Hindu Epigraphy is the title of one of the least known of SUKTHANKAR'S papers. It appeared in the *Asian Review* for October-December 1920²³ the only English monthly journal published in Japan. It is a popular paper which brings out the characteristics peculiar to Indian epigraphs. In his wide survey he includes the famous Piprahā Relic Inscription

²⁰ *Ibid* I 596.

²¹ *Modern Review* July 1920 p. 3.

²² *JAS* 40 142-4.

²³ Pp. 725-7 877-81.

the Besnagar Inscription of Heliodoros the Armenian Memorial Stone epitaph near the city of Madras (ca 1663 A.D. corresponding to the year 1112 of the Armenian patriarch Moses) in the Armenian language and script, a Syrian inscription in a small church at Travancore besides Pahlavi records. Similarly he refers to discoveries including the fragment of an Aramaic inscription exhumed on the site of the ancient city of Taxila from the debris of a house of the 1st century B.C. No reference to epigraphic curiosities could be complete without a mention of the monumental slabs from Central India on which lengthy poems and dramas were engraved by royal patrons of literature and the fine arts. In the brief compass of a short general article SUKTHANKAR has touched upon the many sided nature of Indian epigraphs, and includes reference to the rare inscription, perhaps the only one of its kind in the world, written in characters of the seventh century, engraved on a massive block, consisting of the text of notes of seven typical modes of Hindu Music arranged for the Indian lute.

The interest which SUKTHANKAR had evinced a little earlier in noticing the edition of Bhāsa's *Carudatta*, bears fruit now, in the year 1920 and initiates his series of STUDIES IN BHĀSA of which altogether seven were published. The Introduction to this series²⁴ is remarkable for the breadth of vision and the catholicity of approach which SUKTHANKAR exhibits and which becomes hereafter the hall mark of everything that he writes. The first series deals with certain archaisms in the Prakrit of the dramas ascribed to Bhāsa and published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. These archaisms are tabulated as under: 1 *amhām* (< Sk *asmākam*) in opposition to later *amhānam*, the form *amhā(k)am* being reminiscent of Pali *amhākam* and Aśvaghoṣa's *tum(h) āk(am)*, 2 The root *arh* in the forms *arhā* and *arhadī* are reminiscent of Aśvaghoṣa's *arhesī*, 3 *ahaka* (< Sk *aham*), 4 *āma*, 5 *karia* (< Sk *kṛtvā*) as compared with Sauraseni *koḍua*, 6 *kissa*, *kissa* (< Sk. *kasya*), 7 *khu* (< Sk. *khalu*), 8 *tava* (Sk. *tava*), 9 *tuvaṃ* (< Sk. *tvam*), 10 *dissa dīssa* (Sk. *dīṣya*) and 11 *vaanī* (< Sk. *vayam*). A consideration of these eleven archaisms which are found side by side, in some cases with later or more modern forms, shows its affinities to Aśvaghoṣa's Prakrit and goes to prove that below the accretion of ignorant mistakes and unauthorised corrections for which successive generations of scribes and diaskeuasts should be held responsible, there lies in these dramas a solid bedrock of archaic Prakrit, which is much older than any we know from the dramas of the so-called classical period of Sanskrit literature.

In the following year the second series of Studies in Bhāsa was published dealing with the versification of the metrical portions of these dramas²⁵. In this study he has intensively pursued certain characteristics of the versifica-

tion of the metrical portions which seemingly distinguish them from those of the works of the classical period and which, moreover, appear to suggest points of contact with the epic literature. It also embraces a study of metrical solecisms of Sanskrit passages, with the intention of ascertaining their exact number and of discussing their nature. The analysis of the metres shows the employment of the Śloka Vasantatilaka Upajati, Śardulavikṛīḍita Malinī, Puṣpitaḡra Vamsastha Śālinī, Śikhariṇī Praharṣiṇī, Āryā, Sragdharā, Harinī Vaisvadevī, Suvādāna Upagīta Daṇḍaka and abbreviated Daṇḍaka, Dṛutavilambita, Prthvī, Bhujāḡaprayāta, Vātaliya, the last seven of which occur but once, the order given is according to the descending order of their frequency totals in the entire group of plays. A comparison of these with STENZLER's tables²⁶ shows that with the exception of the so-called abbreviated Daṇḍaka of twenty four syllables and an undetermined Prakrit metre, the metres of these dramas are those of the classical poesy. The frequency table for the first four metres enumerated above gives 436 for the Śloka 179 for the Vasantatilaka 121 for the Upajāti and 92 for the Śārdulavikṛīḍita in a grand total of 1092 verses. This fact shows the general preponderance of the Śloka to all the rest to the extent of more than thirty nine or very nearly forty per cent. of the total. It is found that Bhavabhūti is the only classical dramatist who employs the Śloka frequently with the percentage represented by 129/385 for *Mahāvīracarita* and 89/253 for the *Uttararamacarita* and 14/224 in the *Malatīmādhava*. A comparison of these results with those determined for other classical dramatists makes abundantly clear that the preference for Ślokas is a feature of the metrical technique of these plays in which they differ from the dramas of the classical age. The list of solecisms so far as the Sanskrit metre is concerned includes two cases of irregular sandhi, twelve of change of voice, two of change of conjugation one each of irregular feminine participle and of irregular absolute two of simplex for the causative three of irregular compounds, one of an irregular syntactical combination and several anomalous formations. All these investigations tend to prove that the Sanskrit of the verses included in the Bhāsa dramas differ in certain minute particulars from the Sanskrit of the classical drama and reflects a stage of literary development preceding the classical drama which culminates in the works of Kalidāsa and Bhavabhūti. This conclusion is parallel to the one already arrived at by consideration of the Prakrit archaisms contained in the plays.

During 1921 SUTTHANKAR also published Three Kṣātrapa Inscriptions in collaboration with R. D. BANERJĪ as No. 17 in the *Epigraphia Indica* (vol. XVI)²⁷. These inscriptions are exhibited in the Watson Museum of Antiquities at Rajkot, and though they had been published before the joint editors re-edited them in order to have them properly illustrated and to

render them more easily accessible. The first is the Gunda Inscription of the time of Kṣatrapa Rudrasīmha (the year 103) ca 181 A D , the object of the inscription is to record the digging and constructing at the village of Rasopadra of a well by the senāpati Rudrabhuti son of the Senāpati Bapaka the Abhīra. The second is the Gadhā (Jasdan) Inscription of the time of the Maha Kṣatrapa Rudrasena (the year 127 126), ca 204 05 A D. The third is the Junāgadh Inscription of the time of the grandson of the Kṣatrapa Jayadaman. One word is extremely interesting in the second of these three inscriptions *Satra* on which some comment has been offered by the editors in a footnote, but no satisfactory explanation could be arrived at although the meaning assigned by BÄNERJI is to our mind the nearest approach to the true state of affairs.

No 19 in the same volume of *Epigraphia Indica* is an edition of two Kadamba Grants²⁸ from Sīrsī by SUKTHANKAR. The first copper plate grant is that of Ravivarman (the [3] 5th year) and the second of Kṛṣṇavarman II (the 19th year). The chief claim to our attention lies in the regnal years in which they are dated.

Before we turn to SUKTHANKAR'S dissertation published in this year there is a short review of E R HAVELL'S *Handbook of Indian Art* which must draw our attention.²⁹ While he is in general agreement with the main thesis of Mr HAVELL there are many matters of detail and of interpretation where he would differ from him. The following lines are suggestive.

To Mr HAVELL and the critics of his school all Indian art is the product of some sort of subjective emanation informed with spirituality and religiosity. When Mr HAVELL says, for instance that the pleasure-gardens of the Mohammedan dynasties had the religious character which runs through all Indian art he over shoots the mark. Forgetting that he has considered only the religious aspect of Hindu art he comes to the erroneous conclusion that all Indian art bears a religious character. As a matter of fact Hindu architecture is not any more spiritual than is Greek or Gothic architecture. Nor is it true to say that the Hindu art is the product of a yogic hypersensitive consciousness, any more than the best specimens of mediæval Christian art are that.³⁰ The truth of the matter is that when due allowance is made for superficial differences in schools and epochs there is an essential identity of artistic inspiration between East and West.

The above view is typical of SUKTHANKAR'S scientific approach to problems wading through the *minutiae* or *differentiae* in their space time context and arriving at the central theme which shows an essential identity or uniformity throughout. This is clearly borne out later in his great Mahābhārata work.

The most important publication of this year is naturally SUKTHANKAR'S dissertation which had been completed just prior to the beginning of the first World War in 1914. The title of the dissertation is *Die Grammatik Śakaṭāyana's (Ādhyaya 1 Pada 1) nebst Yakṣavarman's Kommentar*.

²⁸ *Ibid* 16.264-72

²⁹ *The Freeman* 7 December 1921 pp 308-10

mit Uebersetzung der Sutras und Erläuterungen versehen. It gives a specimen of the grammatical sutras of Śak based upon three Manuscripts B P and H. Although these three Mss do not differ from each other in major questions they appear to be independent of each other in their minor variations. The constitution of the text is principally based on B the text occupies the first 33 pages (13 45) the *variae lectiones* cover pages 46-51 the second part, consisting of the translation into German with explanations of the text covers the rest of the 90 pages. As remarked in the *Bombay Chronicle* for February 1915 this dissertation is at the same time a contribution to the history of Sanskrit Grammar. Evidence for its being so is to be found¹ in the critical review of BELVALKAR'S *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*²⁰ and the rejoinder of Prof PATHAK on the authorship of the Amoghavṛtti subsequently²¹ SUKTHANKAR himself considered that this dissertation was to him only a means of training in the modern scientific investigation so successfully applied by Western Orientalists and Indologists of the greatness of LUDERS and that the work by itself was not of any great merit. But this was at a time when all his energies were absorbed in the great work of editing the Mahabharata it was therefore a matter of considerable surprise to him that there are a number of important references to this early work of his in RENOUS *Grammaire Sanscrite*.

Two inscriptions were edited by SUKTHANKAR during 1922. The first one is the Vākāṭaka Inscription from Ganj²² and like the Kuthara inscription discovered by CUNNINGHAM (commonly known as the Nāchane-kī talai inscription) is one of the oldest records of the Vākāṭaka dynasty and is practically identical with it. SUKTHANKAR'S freedom from bias is witnessed in this editorial work.

BÜHLER assigns the copper plates of the Vākāṭaka Pravaraśeṇa II the grandson of Pṛthivīśeṇa I to the fifth or sixth century A.D. it is not known to me on what grounds. I have examined the inscriptions of the Vākāṭaka dynasty and compared them with the allied inscriptions engraved during the time of the Guptas of the kings of Śarabhapura of Tvara of Kosala and of the early Kadamba kings, without being able to arrive at any definite conclusion regarding the age of the Vākāṭaka inscriptions. BÜHLER'S date however appears to me to be far too early.

When he is not certain of his results SUKTHANKAR never makes any overstatement or shoots over the mark. The caution of the scholar trained in mathematical thinking is in evidence in every statement that he makes.

The second group consists of two new grants of Dhruvasena (I) from Palitana²³. The first grant is edited from the plates of Dhruvasena I (Valabhu) Samvat 207 and SUKTHANKAR'S discussion of the controversial expression *prapīya* or *prateśya* is very interesting. The date of the inscrip-

²⁰ See fn 14 *supra*

²² *El* 17 12-14

²¹ *Annals BORI* I 7 12

²³ *Ibid* 17 105-110.

tion corresponds to AD 527. The second grant contains only the opening portion of a land grant of the Maithaka king Dhruvasena I. This is concluded with a Postscript wherein another plate issued by the same king in the year 206 (corresponding to AD 525) is edited.

The year's work is concluded with the third paper in the series *Studies in Bhasa* dealing with the relationship between the *Carudatta* and the celebrated *Mṛcchakatika*.³⁴ According to SUKTHANKAR the close correspondence between the anonymous fragment *Carudatta* and the celebrated *Mṛcchakatika* attributed to King Śudraka inevitably necessitates the assumption of a genetic relationship and indisputably excludes the possibility of independent origin. The problem is attacked by noting the textual differences between the two versions and these variations are classified here under four headings: 1. Technique, 2. Prakrit, 3. Versification, and 4. Dramatic incident. By a dispassionate consideration of technical variations it is found that this evidence is inconclusive regarding priority of the one or the other. The Prakrit archaisms of *Carudatta* are by themselves no criterion for the general priority of *Carudatta* to *Mṛcchakatika*; on the other hand the versification of *Mṛcch* is better than that of *Caru* and the change of readings between the parallel versions appears to be consistently worse for the *Caru*. We could not reasonably hold the copyists guilty of introducing systematically such strange blunders and inexcusable distortions. If the Prakrit and Versification facts are combined and if the priority of *Caru* is assumed we are asked to believe that while the compiler of the *Caru* had carefully copied from older manuscripts all the Prakrit archaisms he had systematically mutilated the Sanskrit verses which is a *reductio ad absurdum*. The fourth point adds considerably to the opposite assumption of the priority of *Caru* to *Mṛcch*. Adding all this evidence SUKTHANKAR comes to the conclusion that it is not unreasonable to assume the priority of the *Carudatta* fragment to the *Mṛcchakatika*.

While engaged on such wider research SUKTHANKAR did not neglect his aesthetic taste as a critical Sanskrit scholar. We find him publishing during 1922 in the Calcutta journal *Shama* a³⁵ his first English rendering of the *Svapnavasavadatta* between April and October. It is an excellent English version of this immortal love-play republished with great improvement by the Oxford University Press in 1923 as *Vasavadatta*. Being a translation of an anonymous Sanskrit drama *Svapnavasavadatta* attributed to Bhasa.³⁶ Within its 94 pages of beautiful print it is packed with interest and excitement. According to a searching critic in the *Voice of India*³⁷ SUKTHANKAR'S rendering mirrors the truth, lucidity and vigour of the original. A very

³⁴ JAOS 42: 59-74

³⁵ April and July 1922 pp 137-69 October 1922 pp 25-45

³⁶ Pp V + 94

³⁷ For 31st Oct, 1923

pellucid preface which hides extensive reading shows that the burden of the story is the triumph of steadfast undying love, for which no sacrifice is too costly. Another critic in the *Modern Review*³⁵ agrees that Dr SUKTHANKAR is one of that rare group of Indologists who have combined with a passion for occidental method a mastery of the indigenous technique of Sanskrit grammar. Hence his translation of Bhāsa's masterpiece is at once transparent and suggestive useful for the general reader and illuminating from the point of view of textual elucidation.

Studies in Bhāsa IV deals with a very detailed concordance of the dramas³⁶. The introductory paragraph of this paper, with the words italicised by us indicates the scope and method of approach which has been SUKTHANKAR'S special characteristic.

Ganapati SASTRI and other scholars after him who uphold the theory of the authorship of Bhāsa have sought to justify their ascription to the entire group of thirteen dramas to one common author on the strength of some stray similarities of expression and analogies of thought to which they have drawn attention in their writings. The evidence that has hitherto been adduced must however be said to be inadequate to prove the claim in its entirety. The recurrent and parallel passages collected by them although they show in a general way that this group of thirteen anonymous plays contains a number of ideas and expressions in common do not suffice to establish the common authorship. It has not been realized by these scholars that *the ascription of common authorship has to be justified and proved rigorously in the case of each drama separately*. Only intensive study of the diction and idiosyncracies of the dramas taken individually, will enable us to pronounce an authoritative opinion on the question.

The scope of the paper has been restricted to the presentation of material which falls within the following six categories: (a) Entire stanzas, (b) Entire padas of verses, (c) Longer prose passages, (d) Short passages, (e) Set phrases and rare words and (f) Echoes of thought. Altogether these six categories cover 127 cases.

The fifth of this series entitled 'A bibliographical note'³⁷ is an attempt to present, in as complete a form as possible all the material available up to 1923 on the vexed problem of Bhāsa arranged systematically under different heads. The total number of entries comes to 111 and is distributed over three main heads: Individual Plays (Nos. 1-54), General Criticism of the Plays (Nos. 55-95) and Incidental References (Nos. 96-111). A study of this scattered material mostly at first hand was the basis for the observations contained in SUKTHANKAR'S papers on the subject of Bhāsa. This little study is really an index to the genius of SUKTHANKAR for it shows that he was not satisfied with a mere surface acquaintance with the critical literature on the particular subject of his own investigation and dived deep not only into the original material but also into the critical studies of others.

³⁵ For Jan. 1924.

³⁶ JBBRAS 26: 230-49.

³⁷ *Annals BORI* 4: 16-18.

'An Excursion on the Periphery of Indological Research' is the text of a discourse delivered by SUKTHANKAR on 20th August 1923, at a gathering of the Cama Institute, on the 14th Anniversary of the late Mr. K. R. CAMA, and published in the third volume of that Institute's journal during 1924.⁴¹ In his peripheral excursion the lecturer takes us round Greater India, Iran (and discovery of Hittite and Mitani tablets) the countries of Buddhist expansion in Central Asia wherein Sir Aurel STEIN, Dr. VON LE COQ and others had discovered a large amount of literary remains. This lecture summarises the important research as well as the results of the exploration carried out by European scholars and exhorts Indian scholars to do likewise. These problems which lie at the fringe of Indological research and should not be neglected require as much attention by Indian scholars as the central problems with which the previous generation of Indian scholars concerned themselves. It is an appeal to us to widen our scholarly outlook and understand the problems which our forbears have created in conquering intellectually or spiritually dominions lying on the periphery of India.

The year 1925 is the most important in the career of SUKTHANKAR. It was on the 4th August of this year that he assumed charge of the General Editorship of the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata and thereafter devoted himself almost exclusively to this great work. But 'the accumulated studies which he had completed during the preceding period were still pending with several journals. Thus we find the second translation from German which SUKTHANKAR made for publication: Zarathustra: His Life and Doctrine, being the Akademische Rede delivered by Prof. Chr. BATHOLOMAE at Heidelberg on 22nd November 1918'.⁴²

A short note on the Sātavāhanas appears simultaneously in the *JBB-RAS*⁴³ and the *QJMS*,⁴⁴ replying to the criticism of Mr. T. N. SUBRAMANIAN of Kumbakonam regarding SUKTHANKAR's paper on the Home of the so-called Andhras. The following sentences mirror SUKTHANKAR's critical as well as introspective attitude quite well:

I must frankly admit, however, that the wording of the last paragraph of my article in question is rather abstruse and apt to confuse and mislead a casual reader. I welcome therefore this opportunity to restate my old views more lucidly as follows. I hold: (1) that no cogent reason having been shown for connecting the early Sātavāhana kings with the Andhradeśa, their activity should be regarded as restricted to the western and south western portion of the Deccan plateau; only later kings of this dynasty extended their sway eastwards, so that subsequently even the Andhradeśa was included in the Sātavāhana dominions; the Sātavāhana migration was from the west to the east; (2) that the Sātavāhanas are different from, and should not be confused with, the Andhras mentioned in Greek and Chinese chroni-

⁴¹ Pp 93-104.

⁴² Reprinted from the *Sanjana Memorial Volume*, pp 1-15.

⁴³ New Series, 1, 160-61.

⁴⁴ July 1923, Vol. XIII, No. 4, pp 776-7.

cles, (3) that the home (or early habitat) of the Sātavahana is to be looked for on the western side of the peninsula and is perhaps to be located in the province then known as *Satavahana hāra*—a province of which the situation is unknown or uncertain

The whole object of research is to arrive at the truth so far as that is possible, and if one has committed an error of judgment or has not expressed oneself clearly, the confessing to that fact and the re attempt to correct oneself in that light is the true character of a great scholar. SUKTHANKAR comes out triumphant each time this test is applied to his writings, for to him, knowledge without character was a barren thing incapable of touching the finest emotions of a cultured being

The sixth of the series, *Studies in Bhasa*, is one of SUKTHANKAR'S great contributions to critical reviewing.⁴³ In this paper he gives a belated review of the thesis *Bhāsa's Prakrit* by Dr Wilhelm PRINZ accepted by the University of Frankfurt as 'Habilitationsschrift' in 1919, and published two years later. The work itself is one of the most important contributions to the study of the Prakrits in Sanskrit plays and in particular to the study of the Prakrit of the thirteen plays attributed to Bhāsa. The text-critical training which SUKTHANKAR had received at the hands of LUDERS is clearly visible when he remarks

'His methodology seems to imply that the Trivandrum texts have been handed down in an almost unalloyed condition since the time of the supposed author Bhāsa. PRINZ deals with the Prakrit of these plays in the same confident way in which Prof LUDERS has dealt with the Prakrit of the Turfan fragments of Buddhist dramas. In doing so PRINZ has failed to take into account the essential difference of character between the two sets of manuscripts, not to speak of the manner in which they have been edited, he appears not to appreciate the elementary fact that Prakrit texts are liable to serious mutilation and corruption in the course of transmission through centuries and that they need most careful editing. PRINZ'S method of arguing is most unscientific

It may be mentioned here that the whole of this detailed review article is a corrective to PRINZ'S thesis and that his work will be practically useless for critical studies without SUKTHANKAR'S notes on it. The chief fault of PRINZ is the classification of the Prakrit dialects and his citations for Magadhī and Ardha-māgadhī are all but useless. secondly his overlooking the southern graphy and obvious Dravidianisms of the Prakrit passages has led him to wrong conclusions. An important result of examining PRINZ'S thesis by SUKTHANKAR is to prove that the Prakrit argument is inconclusive and cannot by itself be safely made the basis of chronology

We now come to the last of the studies on Bhāsa which SUKTHANKAR published.⁴⁴ It is entitled 'The Bhāsa Riddle: A Proposed Solution'

⁴³ JBBRS (NS) 1103-17

⁴⁴ *Ibid* 1126-43. See now A. D. PUSALKAR *Bhāsa a Study* 1940 and *Bhāsa* (Bharatiya Vidya Studies No. 1) 1943

Although it is not numbered as the seventh in the series called *STUDIES IN BHĀSA* of which six had already been published, it is a fitting conclusion to these previous studies. The conclusions arrived at may be given in the author's own words :

My view of this group of plays may then be briefly summarized as follows : Our *Svapnavāsavadattā* is a Malayalam recension of Bhāsa's drama of that name ; the *Pratijñāyugandharāyana* may be by the same author ; but the authorship of the rest of the dramas must be said to be still quite uncertain. It may be added that Bhāsa's authorship of some particular drama or dramas of this group is a question wholly independent of the homogeneity or heterogeneity of the group as a whole. Indeed the only factor which unites these plays into a group is that they form part of the repertoire of a class of hereditary actors. The *Cārudatta* is the original of the *Mṛcchakaśikā*. The five one-act Mahābhārata pieces form a closely related, homogeneous group ; they appear in fact to be single acts detached from a lengthy dramatized version of the complete MBh saga,—a version which may yet come to light, if a search be made for it. The *Urubhanga* is no tragedy in one act, but a detached intermediate act of some drama. The present prologues and epilogues of our plays are all unauthentic and comparatively modern.

The year closes with reviews of the *Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society* for December 1923, vol III, Part 1, MACDONELL'S *Practical Sanskrit Dictionary* (corrected reissue, 1924) and Sir FLINDER PETRIE'S *Religious Life in Ancient India*⁴⁷ All these reviews attest to that independence of judgment and that sureness of approach which one learns to associate with SUKTHANKAR.

During 1926 SUKTHANKAR revised GHATE'S *Lectures on the Rig Veda* and contributed a Preface. He also contributed an illuminating Foreword to the Marathi rendering of the *Svapnavāsavadattā* by Prof. URDHWARESH.

Since 1925 SUKTHANKAR became the Chief Editor of the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (New Series) and gave a new impetus to the declining condition of the research work published by the Society. There is a reference to this in the *Bombay Chronicle* for May 10, 1925, which may be reproduced here :

The reproach that the local Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society has been the rose garden of senility seems to be in a fair way to be wiped out. The first number of the new series of its journal may now well stand in line with similar periodicals in other parts of the world and certainly in India. The Joint Editors are Dr. V. S. SUKTHANKAR, M.A., PH.D. (Berlin) and Professor SHAIKH Abdul Kadar, M.A., I.E.S. The former especially seems to have thrown himself with energy into his new task. Learned Bombay expects that he will sustain the ardour evinced in the first issue of the journal and fulfil the promise of his first performance.

Prof. WINTERNITZ, while reviewing the same journal in the *Vienna Oriental Journal*, remarks⁴⁸

"We heartily congratulate the Bombay Society on this first number of the New Series of its *Journal*, which not only contains much valuable matter, but is

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* 1.167-73.

⁴⁸ *WZKM*, 32.286-71.

also got up in excellent style and well printed on good paper. It is to be hoped that a large increase of subscribers to the journal both in India and Europe will make it possible for the Society to keep up this high standard.

Since 1925 SUKTHANKAR was delivering postgraduate Lectures on Comparative Philology at the University of Bombay. Among his papers are still to be found manuscript and type written notes of these lectures particularly in connection with the comparative grammars of Indo European and Indo Aryan. A cursory glance has convinced the writer of the extreme care with which SUKTHANKAR compiled his notes and with what details he worked out his general lectures. Like R. L. STEVENSON he polished his work over and over again until all the dross was removed leaving pure shining gold behind. If one works through all the *Nachlasse* of SUKTHANKAR one is struck by the patience, the meticulous accuracy, the eye to detail and withal a power to see the whole through a few details only with which he took up any problem.

SUKTHANKAR commenced his new but last phase of scholarship as the General Editor of the Great Epic on the 4th of August 1925. He had naturally before him the experience of his predecessor UTGIKAR with a batch of assistants and an editorial committee but that experience showed him the necessity of re-organizing the entire department, from the manner of collating the manuscripts up to the final selection of readings for the constituted text and the laborious critical apparatus. The classification of the Mahabharata manuscripts broadly into two recensions Northern and Southern had already been achieved before the turn of the century. In the tentative edition of UTGIKAR also this was accepted as an axiom but he did not attempt a full classification of the Mss and arrive at their pedigree. His main object was to test the authenticity of a certain group of Mss utilized for the tentative edition and clear the ground for future editorial work on the critical Edition. Now that the final responsibility of critically editing the Epic rested entirely with SUKTHANKAR he had not only to select his Mss. for the critical apparatus by means of tests devised so far and assure himself of the authenticity of the manuscript tradition represented by various exemplars obtainable for collation but also to arrange for their proper collation and subsequent classification. It took four years to produce the tentative edition of the Virāṭaparvan based on 16 Mss. 11 Devanagari 1 each of Bengali, Telugu and Grantha and two Malayalam Mss. The best commentary on this edition is to be found in the Introduction to the Critical Edition of the Virataparvan.⁴⁹

Last of all there is the Tentative Edition of the Virāṭaparvan prepared by the late Mr N. B. UTGIKAR M.A. and published by this Institute in 1923. It was based on eleven Devanagari Mss (our D_{1,3,7,8,10} Dn₁ n the others having been rejected by me as of little critical value) one Bengali (our B₁) one Telugu one Grantha and two Malayalam Mss (our M_{1,2}). Out of these 16 Mss. Mr UTGIKAR

⁴⁹ p. xi

nagari transcript 1 for the Maithili Version* 4 for the Bengali Version 2 for the Devanagari Version of Arjunamīśra, 3 for the Devanagari Version of Nīlakantha 4 for the Dev. Version of Ratnagarbha and 14 for the Dev Mixed Versions constituting the Northern Recension 2 for the Telugu Version 7 for the Grantha Version and 4 for the Malayalam Version constituting the Southern Recension. In addition 2 Mss. containing the text of Devabodha's commentary without the epic text were also collated.

With the aid of this critical apparatus SUKTHANKAR constituted his critical text of the first two adhyayas of the Adiparvan within less than two years establishing an unprecedented record for critical editing. For he had to classify the Mss. material and an important advance made in this was the separation of the archetype K (which represents the Devanagari transcripts of the Kaṁuri or North-western version) from other so-called Devanagari versions.¹¹ The archetype K represents a comparatively pure form of the MBh textual tradition and together with the Śarada forms the *textus complicior*. The Maithili version stands nearest to the Bengali version, as SUKTHANKAR found and this latter itself is slightly superior to the Vulgate. Closely connected with the Bengali is the version of Arjunamīśra. Nīlakantha presents a smooth version generally accepted as the Vulgate and next to this comes the mixed Devanagari group. In this manner SUKTHANKAR began to discover the genetic pattern existing between the different classes of Mss. irrespective of their individual idiosyncracies. This is a very important distinction when dealing with such texts of a complicated tradition as the Great Epic. For if we get enmeshed within the individual idiosyncracies first it is impossible to arrive at a fundamental principle in the reconstruction of the oldest text. For evaluating the particular codex it is essential for the editor to make an intensive study of it and note down its peculiarities but when we have hundreds of Mss. to choose from, we have to give importance to types of Mss. rather than to number. SUKTHANKAR had therefore 50 Mss. of the Adī for collation from out of approximately 235 known through catalogues etc. and of which 107 were in Devanagari script 32 in Bengali 31 in Grantha 28 in Telugu 26 in Malayalam, 5 in Nepali 3 in Śarada 1 each in Maithili Kannada and Nandinagari. Of these about 70 were fully or partly examined and collated for this edition of these again 60 were actually utilized in preparing the text and the critical apparatus of the first two adhyayas gives the collations of 50 Manuscripts.

The very classification of manuscripts which SUKTHANKAR gives on p. iii of his Foreword to the first fasciculus of the Adiparvan under the date January 1927 shows that the pedigree of Mss. had been fully worked out. The separation of the K version from the so-called D version establishes the archetype γ comprising Ś and K. Similarly the archetype ε is presumed by

¹¹ Foreword to Fasciculus I p. iv [—SME 1.5]

the intimate relationship existing between Maithili and Bengali Mss in opposition to the so-called D group of Mss with which they form a minor group leading to the sub recension γ which may be termed the Central Sub Recension. In a similar manner the archetype σ comprising T and G Mss is established. By what tedious process of classification and reclassification of the Mss this pedigree of Ādiparvan versions was arrived at can only be imagined by those who have actually worked with such complex material or have gone through in detail the apparatus criticus given by SUKTHANKAR with his constituted text. We have some means of following the thought process of SUKTHANKAR in the scribbled notes and jottings which he used to make at this time. We reproduce below the short text of some notes made on 14th October 1925, regarding the Principles of Mbh Text Criticism and Text Reconstruction.

(1) The chief principle of text criticism is to take as a basis the oldest Ms of the family of Mss which is recognised as the best, and with all possible consistency to make this authoritative in the edition. But it should be clearly recognised that Mss of even the best family are not entirely free from errors, corruptions, emendations and innovations. Nevertheless before one rejects a reading of the basic Mss it ought to be shown that the supposed superior reading must inevitably have stood in the Ur Northern Recension.

(2) Give preference to a reading found in both the Grantha and Malayalam Mss when confirmed by the Bengali Mss, even though they stand in conflict with the Basic Mss. In other words, a reading found in Grantha Malayalam and Bengali is *prima facie* superior to a variant found only in the basic Mss.

(3) As a general rule, no complete verse should be adopted as genuine unless it is found in both the Northern and the Southern Recensions. Exceptions may be considered. When a one-recension verse for cogent reasons is adopted it should be printed in small type.

(4) There being two distinct recensions, only one can be printed at a time. When the N and S readings are of equal value, choose, for the sake of convenience, uniformly the N so as to avoid as far as possible a *samkara* of the recensions. (We give preference to the Northern as the more reliable recension, it being nearer the source of the original. But this is external criticism and a *priori* conclusion.)

(5) In the absence of other criteria, the consistency of any one class of Mss should be the guiding factor in the choice of a reading.

(6) Compare commentaries and note down their *pāṭhāntaras* in the footnotes, in among the v 1.

(7) When there is a change of speaker the name of the interlocutor should be invariably and consistently printed in the text. When it is not found in the old Mss or in any of the Mss at all then it should be enclosed in square brackets.

(8) No emendation should be made which is not self evident or inevitable, and which is open to the slightest doubt.

The rough draft of a *Stemma Codicum* reproduced here, on the opposite page, is dated 24th September 1925. It shows the process by which SUKTHANKAR struggled through to that simple but great discovery of the genetic relationship between the recensions and versions and sub versions of the

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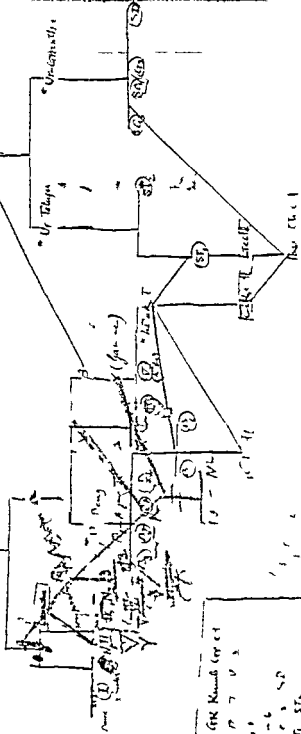
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Mahabharata critical apparatus⁵ The above principles may be compared with those derived by SUKTHANKAR in critically editing the first two adhyayas of the Adiparvan⁵²

The Southern recension agrees with the archetype K more closely than with any other Northern version Since I have not been able to discover traces of secondary interrelationship between archetypes and K and S I consider the agreement between these two archetypes as primitive *This concord is a factor of supreme importance for the reconstruction of the text* In preparing the constituted text of the first two adhyayas I have endeavoured to balance the eclecticism advocated in certain matters with rigid conservatism insisted on in others. I have been most averse to reject or correct the readings of good manuscripts. Interpretation has throughout been given precedence over emendation As a general rule preference is given to a reading which best suggests how other readings might have arisen When such a reading was not available the choice fell upon one which is common to (what *prima facie* appeared to be) more or less independent versions and which is supported by intrinsic probability if we leave out of account documentary evidence, no convincing proof can in general be brought forward to establish either the originality or the spuriousness of the lines.

It will be clear from the above that a great deal of advance had been made over the early scribbled notes In the first place the principles of textual criticism to be applied to the peculiar conditions of manuscripts connected with the Great Epic had been definitely worked out by the time the constitution of these first two adhyayas became possible in the second place we observe that even in this Foreword the same cautious use of language is made as in the Prolegomena published seven years later the confidence the meticulous accuracy, the mastery of the whole epic material is evidenced by the very ring of the sentences which SUKTHANKAR composes in expressing his views. Although the material included in the first fascicule is small compared to the extent of the whole of the Adiparvan the amount of work needed to elucidate the principles, to select the Mss. for the critical apparatus and to constitute the text after classifying them, is something of which India can be reasonably proud For in the annals of critical editing in the Oriental world nothing similar had been done before no text-critic in Europe had experience enough to deal with the problems which the wildness of text tradition witnessed in the Great Epic presented only a prolonged and patient study by a master mind could penetrate into this wilderness and clear the paths of textual reconstruction That SUKTHANKAR standing as he did at the apex of previous attempts could achieve this distinction within such a short time as less than two years is a factor which many have not thought about Only those like WINTERITZ and LÜTERS who could measure a genius of this type because they themselves possessed the gift for

⁵¹ An intermediate stage is seen in Epic Studies III *Annals BORI* 11 270 [= SWE 1240]

⁵² *Foreword* p. viii [= SWE 17-8]

this work in a similar degree, realized the greatness of the achievement⁵⁴

It is interesting to note from the Postscript to this Foreword that after the manuscript of the first fascicule had been sent to the press the Editor was able to secure collations of Śāraḍa and Nepālī manuscripts and the collations received by him wholly supported the constituted text especially regarding the interpolated stanzas thereby proving the correctness of the method adopted in settling the text

The first fascicule ends with 1 23 233 During 1928 the second fascicule bringing the constituted text up to 1 21 17 *ab* was published In this fascicule five additional Mss have been used and particularly the Newarī Mss \tilde{N}_{1-3} A perusal of the editorial note shows that SUKTHANKAR had finally decided about the position of this \tilde{N} version, for while \tilde{N}_2 agrees as a rule with V_1 B group \tilde{N}_{1-3} strangely enough show frequently features which they share with K and S throwing doubts about the true Newarī characteristics of these two

The third fascicule containing the constituted text up to 1 53 36 was published in 1929 In the history of Mahābhārata studies for the first time this fascicule presents the collations of a Śāraḍa Ms of the Great Epic Similarly the new Ms K_1 added to the apparatus is another unique manuscript being a Devanāgarī transcript of a Śāraḍa original very closely allied to \tilde{S}_1 A very important result of the collation and utilization of these two codices belonging to the Kasmīrī version of the Mahābhārata is to show independently the correctness of the constituted text of the Parvasamgraha (missing in \tilde{S}_1) figure for the extent of the Ādi as constituted by SUKTHANKAR on the basis of the other Mss The truth of this constituted text is unexpectedly proved by the stanza repeated at the end of the Ādiparvan in \tilde{S}_1 , though this codex has a lacuna for the first 25 adhyāyas and its collation begins only with 26 10 This corresponds almost *verbatim* with the constituted text of 1 2 96 The death knell of the Parvasamgraha argument is tolled when SUKTHANKAR remarks.⁵⁵

In passing I may point out that even the variations mentioned above show if indeed the critical apparatus has not done so in sufficiency that it would be a grave mistake to regard the Parvasamgraha as the one immutable factor in the chequered history of the Mahābhārata text. There can I think, be no doubt that the text of this adhyāya also has been tampered with and designedly altered from time to time in various ways, in order to make it harmonize with the inflated versions of a later epoch.

A passing reference should be made here to a *Descriptive Catalogue of the Bījapur Museum of Archaeology* published by the Government Central Press, Bombay in 1928 Evidently the text of this must have been prepared

⁵⁴ This appreciation will be clear from their reviews and letters which are still on the Institute's files.

⁵⁵ Editorial Note.

own choice of *sañikṣepam* may be purely a subjective one, but it is clear that the other two readings are not compellingly superior to replace it, even if the critical text were to be revised.

The fourth fascicule of the *Ādiparvan*, bringing the constituted text up to 19024 was published in 1930, and it is interesting from the viewpoint of a textual critic, firstly because of the far reaching divergence, met with for the first time, between N and S as regards the sequence of *adhyāyas* or *adhyāya* groups, and secondly because of the stupendous addition found in S in the well known *Śakuntalā* episode. Now when there is discrepancy between N and S it is difficult, as a rule, to give strict proof of the originality of either recension. In such cases the more generally reliable recension must be considered as the original on the basis of general trustworthiness. This is precisely what SUKTHANKAR does in accepting the credence in the Ś K group as a stop gap arrangement. Although N is relatively speaking less liable to interpolations than S it likewise contains some flagrant additions and alterations. It thus follows that only that portion of the text which is documented by both recensions may be considered as wholly certain and authentic, the rest is doubtful in varying degrees.⁵⁷

Epic Studies III is one of the most virile papers from the pen of SUKTHANKAR⁵⁸ for it is a slashing answer to the criticism levelled against the first three fascicules and to the problems raised by Dr RUBEN on the Critical Edition of the *Mahābhārata* itself. It is a challenge to the methods which he had developed and his deep feeling is expressed in the very opening sentence 'I am bound to form and express an opinion on the issues raised in the article *Schwierigkeiten der Textkritik des Mahābhārata* published in the current issue of the *Acta Orientalia* (vo 8 pp 240-256), in which the author, Dr Walter REUBEN has reviewed Fascicules 13 of my edition of the *Ādiparvan* criticizing at considerable length and in great detail the principles underlying the preparation of the edition and the constitution of the text'. This paper is interesting because it gives him the opportunity of re-examining searchingly these principles and coming out triumphant, and once for all establishing the unquestionable soundness of his methods of reconstruction and classification. A few selected sentences from this vigorous defence of his method will make the subject very clear.⁵⁹

Tested on the touchstone (of the canon of the *caturvarga* of the classical philologist) the critical edition of the Mbh is found wanting in no less than three items namely Heuristics, Emendatio and Higher Textual Criticism the last two of which have been wholly left untouched according to RUBEN. Even the first has by a long way not been done justice to by the hapless editor. As for Emendatio I must plead guilty to having perpetrated so far perhaps somewhat unnecessarily

⁵⁷ See Editorial Note to this fascicule

⁵⁸ Dr REUBEN and the critical Edition of the *Mahābhārata* *Annals BORI* 11259-83.

⁵⁹ *Ibid* pp 259-66

minor emendations in 13 instances in about 3800 stanzas. Most scholars will I fancy, sincerely be grateful that I have been so moderate and that I have declared it as my policy to give preference to interpretation over emendation. In speaking at all of Higher Criticism in this connection RUBEN seems to show a lamentable lack of understanding of this objective edition, having mistaken entirely the beginning for the end of the critical work on the Mahabharata. Higher criticism can begin only after Lower Criticism has done its work, not till then. But I imagine REUBEN does not want to say anything special at all when he mentions his 'Höhere Kritik'. The item is probably introduced here merely *pro forma* as the fourth and last stage of the *arjya magga*.

And how would it be possible to apply to the Mahabharata the canons of the Classical Philology *in toto*? Where has the Classical Philology I should like to know, the necessary experience in dealing with a text with about a dozen recensions whose extreme types differ in extent by something like 13 000 stanzas (or 26 000 lines), a work which for centuries has been growing not only upwards and downwards but also laterally like the Nyagrodha tree growing on all sides, a codex which has been written in seven or eight different scripts, assiduously and lovingly copied through a long vista of centuries by a legion of devout — and perhaps mostly ignorant and indifferent — copyists speaking different tongues, a traditional book of inspiration which in various shapes and sizes, has been the cherished heritage of one people continuously for several millennia and which to the present day is interwoven with the thoughts and beliefs and moral ideas of a nation numbering over two hundred million? No, the Classical Philology has no experience in dealing with a text of this description, a work of such colossal dimensions and complex character with such a long and intricate history behind. That is why I have said that the problem of the Mahabharata textual criticism is a problem *sui generis*.

If this were all that SUKTHANKAR had said it would have made him only an impassioned defence counsel with reference to the charges brought against the first three fascicules of the Ādiparvan and the methods of textual criticism advocated therein, but like a true scholar whose main strength lies both in his character and his complete mastery of details, he pursues the arguments by a fundamental grasp of the essentials which are necessary for a firm hold on the recalcitrant material to bring them into shape. In the second section of the paper he lays bare REUBEN'S exaggerations and generalisations unwarranted by the facts which he uses as his basis for them. The next major item of discussion the four types of constellations (complete agreement between N and S, non-agreement, cross-agreement and partial agreement) are discussed with great force and brilliance. This is followed by a provisional *stemma codicum* representing the types of versions utilized for the critical edition. The concluding part is as interesting as the beginning and one sees SUKTHANKAR at his best as a warrior unapproachable but without destroying, only showing up the weaknesses of the opponent's best moves by a thrust here or a thrust there, or at times parrying. His is not a capricious nature which hides behind heavy weight authority when such criticism is levelled against him and finds shelter in saying that the arguments of the opponent are not significant or are totally inadequate, his true character

comes out in every statement he makes, it is a desire to be understood properly and he does not brook incompetence or ignorance, wherever he meets with them it is his duty to dispel them and he does so without hurting but with such a complete control and mastery that all opposition must either give way or look utterly foolish

The small paper on Arjunamīśra⁶⁰ however, does not require a detailed notice as most of the facts here gathered are utilized later in his Notes on the Mahābhārata Commentators

In 1931 appeared the fifth fascicule of the Ādiparvan bringing down the constituted text to 1149.20. The notable omissions from the critical text are the story of the birth of Duhśālā the unsuccessful attempts made by Duryodhana to kill Bhīma an inflated account of the defeat and capture of Drupada and the notorious Kanikaniti etc. These omissions give rise to a difficult text critical problem since they have been rejected *mainly* on the evidence of the Kāśmīri version are they to be considered to be omissions in the lacking versions or additions in the others which contain them? The intrinsic evidence is in SUKTHANKAR'S opinion strongly, against their originality. He says⁶¹

Here therefore we are confronted by a very difficult case where the evidence *pro et contra* of documentary and intrinsic probability is equally or almost equally balanced. Now it would not do to form some *a priori* hypothesis as to the interrelationship of the versions and fix the text in terms of some preconceived notion about it. The study of the documents themselves must teach us what their interrelationship is. And they unmistakably indicate that this interrelationship is of a very complex character. In fact I am now fully persuaded that with the epic text as preserved in the extant Mahābhārata Mss we stand at the wrong end of a long chain of successive synthesis of divergent texts carried out in a haphazard fashion through centuries of diaskeuastic activities and that with the possible exception of the Kāśmīri version all other versions are indiscriminately conflated.

The present statement sums up the importance of SUKTHANKAR'S approach to Mbh textual criticism. In the face of these conflated Mss the genetic method cannot be applied strictly and it is extremely difficult to disentangle completely by means of purely objective criteria their intricate mutual interrelationships. The results arrived at from a consideration of documentary probability must be further tested in the light of intrinsic probability. No part of the text can be considered really exempt from intrinsic probability when we are dealing with a carelessly guarded fluid text like the one presented by the Mbh. These are some of the findings which emerge from this fascicule.

In the following year the sixth fascicule appeared covering the constituted text to the end (1.225.19). There is no preface or editorial note with this issue but SUKTHANKAR must have breathed a sigh of relief in releasing

⁶⁰ *Sir J. J. Modi Commemoration Volume* 565.8

⁶¹ See Editorial Note p. 111

it to the public. For it was now seven years since his assuming the charge of its editorship and in his own opinion he was behind his time-table. But those who knew the pioneer work he was doing in the Mbh wilderness realized with amazement the rapid progress he was making and the new history in Indian scholarly achievement that he was building up. Notwithstanding the principles that he established for the first time for critically editing the Mbh, it took other Parvan Editors even more time to complete their own assignments. Even taking advantage of his ripe experience the Parvan Editors could scarcely make the progress that SUKTHANKAR achieved single-handed and with all the pioneer's new ground to break.

The year 1933 must rank in the annals of Oriental Scholarship as the zenith and peak of achievement so far as Mahabharata studies are concerned. For during this year the final fascicule of the *Ādiparvan* containing the Appendices Notes Addenda etc. and that immortal contribution of SUKTHANKAR entitled the *Prolegomena* was published. No words of praise can describe the magnitude of SUKTHANKAR'S achievement in this essay. For its classic style it stands supreme in the whole field of Indic Research not only that no other Introduction or Prolegomena can stand comparison with it in its fundamental grasp in its objective scientific approach and in the majesty of its survey. Once for all the question of editing texts of the type of the Great Epic was settled in all its fundamental aspects and fresh experience gained in dealing with complicated texts of this nature for which the experience of the western Classical Philology was totally inadequate. By a synthesis of the processes adopted by Classical Philology with the luxuriant overgrowth of the oriental *épouvée* SUKTHANKAR arrived at a number of principles and an objective method of approach where the fundamental grasp of foundational doctrines was necessary and sufficient.

All the great discoveries had already been made and assured by the time the *Prolegomena* came to be written. The three Epic Studies and the various Editorial Notes to the previous fascicules had seen to that. The greatness of the *Prolegomena* lies however in the fact, that here, at one place all the great problems were taken up and systematically reduced to order by a kind of mathematical logic which is the *sine qua non* of the objective scientific approach. All criticisms which had appeared in the various reviews were answered with an unswerving logic which has silenced the criticism once for all. However great the critic, he could not be the equal of SUKTHANKAR in the critical handling of the Epic material. The suggestions which some of the continental scholars of eminence had thrown out with regard to the presentation of the text perhaps not from a sense of authority but certainly through lack of experience in editing such texts—were squarely faced and exposed with a master's touch.

What is it that the *Prolegomena* does for the Mbh.? In the first place

it explains in great detail the fundamental principles of textual criticism which should be applied to texts in India, for the textual tradition in India is vastly different from that of Europe as SUKTHANKAR has so convincingly shown in *Epic Studies III*. In the second place he has shown despite the continuous syntheses interpolations and conflation the mutual relationship existing between the different versions of the Mbh as versions. In the third place he has shown the ideal method for critically editing Indian texts, and the *Prolegomena* is nothing if it does not teach a scholar how to edit texts scientifically.

In this work lasting for seven to eight years (the *Prolegomena* dated August 1933) SUKTHANKAR'S scientific achievement reached the height of its glory. Witness, for example, the scientific use of the *sigla* attached to the critical apparatus of Mss used, to the writer's knowledge, this is the only instance when the *sigla* were really made significant, representing in this case the script characterising the Mss and the subscript numbers showing the order of their importance in that particular series. Similarly while presenting the variant readings in the *apparatus criticus*, it will be noticed by observant scholars that an invariable rule was followed, and this rule, or rather set of rules has a direct bearing on the pedigree of Mss utilized for the apparatus. Everything SUKTHANKAR did had a method and an object, and even those who do not know anything of his earlier mathematical training can discover in such matters of small detail his fundamental training as a scientist. He is a scientist first and last and secondarily only an Orientalist or Indologist.

One of the earliest opinions expressed by Prof LUDERS on SUKTHANKAR'S work has been printed on the cover pages of several fascicules of the *Adi parvan* and is worth quoting, for LUDERS like SUKTHANKAR was sparing of words and any praise that he would bestow on a particular work was not a formal affair, but something absolutely personal and deserving. 'I have been greatly impressed by the arrangements that have been made at the Institute for the collation of the Mahabharata Mss. The arrangements are such as will ensure great accuracy and perfect clearness in the registration of various readings. Your work seems to me to merit the highest possible praise both as regards the constituting of the text and the clarity and succinctness with which the Mss evidence has been recorded. In my reading of the text I came across no passage of any importance where I had occasion to differ from you as to the choice of the right reading.' This is the highest praise that can possibly be bestowed on the work of SUKTHANKAR for there was no scholar in Europe or America better fitted than LUDERS to edit the Great Epic on the lines on which SUKTHANKAR worked, his training, keen critical acumen, his wonderful all round acquaintance with almost every branch of Indic philology and his own contributions which have

been considered on all hands as the last word on the particular subjects give that authority to his words.

There is now a gap of two years before SUKTHANKAR publishes any paper. But it does not signify that he has been resting. The work of the critical edition was progressing on the *Virāṭa* by RAGHU VIRA and on the *Udyoga* by Sushil Kumar DE, under the personal supervision of the General Editor who had probably to work as much as the individual Parvan Editors on those sections assigned to them. Moreover he was also preparing for his editorial work of the *Aranyakaparvan*. In 1934 WINTERNITZ published a very detailed review of the *Ādiparvan* and in the opening paragraph remarked ⁶⁰

I have no hesitation in saying that this is the most important event in the history of Sanskrit philology since the publication of Max MULLER's edition of the *Rgveda* with Sāyana's commentary.

This review gives in brief the main principles which SUKTHANKAR established with great detail in the *Prolegomena*. WINTERNITZ further remarks that our full approval of the general principles followed by the Editor, does not imply that we agree with him in every detail of the constituted text. Both I myself and other critics have already referred to passages where we should prefer other readings'. Accordingly he cites 24 instances which he came across in reading parts of the critical edition with his pupils in his Indological Seminar from time to time, where he differs from SUKTHANKAR. These do not touch the general principles adopted by the Editor, but WINTERNITZ takes exception to carrying too far the principle of choosing a reading 'which best explains how the other readings may have arisen'. In his *Epic Studies IV* 'More Text Critical Notes' ⁶¹ SUKTHANKAR attempts to meet the main objections raised by WINTERNITZ in the above review. Altogether nineteen out of the above 24 instances are taken up for discussion. SUKTHANKAR'S absence of conceit and readiness to understand the other man's point of view are exemplified in this paper. Before actually presenting to us his view of these cases setting forth the reasons which have guided him in the choice of the readings adopted by him in the critical text he makes the following generous statement: 'When there are hundreds or thousands of readings to be considered and weighed it is natural that all the selections would not satisfy all readers, and there are bound to be small slips in so enormous and difficult a work as this. But the reader has the advantage of having the full critical apparatus before him, prepared with all possible care and presented in a convenient manner. The reader may easily substitute in the text any reading that appeals to him better'. This is just what WINTERNITZ has done and as it is incumbent upon himself to explain his reasons for the choice of the particular readings objected to, SUKTHANKAR has once again

⁶⁰ *Annals BORI* 18.317

⁶¹ *Ibid* 16 90-133

shown that mastery of detail as well as of principles which we expect from him as a result of his previous studies and publications

As in Mathematics here too SUKTHANKAR recognizes two types of conditions the necessary condition and the sufficient condition. He has assumed that the agreement between K and S is a sufficient condition though not a necessary condition for the originality of the concordant reading. In the reading adopted by him at 1360 *gira ta śahsam* WINTERNITZ prefers the omission of *ta* according to the principle that agreement between K and S warrants the better text for K, S omit it and besides it disturbs the metre and the sense. To this SUKTHANKAR replies there is no agreement here between K and S. K₀ it is true represents the version K in a comparatively pure form but K₀ is not K. K₁ is on the whole a decidedly better representative of the Kāśmiri version than K₀. In the case under discussion we have K₀ agreeing with S and K₁ with N a case of cross agreement which has been overlooked by WINTERNITZ. As for the agreement of N with S it had already been pointed out by SUKTHANKAR that even the Mss of distant Nepal are not wholly free from contamination from some Southern source or sources. It is thus proved that the documental probability in favour of the reading preferred by WINTERNITZ is not at all strong and it is then proved to be further weakened by intrinsic probability. To the criticism of WINTERNITZ that too much reliance on the principle adopt the reading which best explains how the other readings have or may have arisen SUKTHANKAR replies by showing documentally how the reading *masalam* adopted by him at 13145 could never be proved to have arisen from an original *nyavasalam* preferred by WINTERNITZ. There are many priceless teachings in this paper one of the classical instances is in connection with 19222 *Gaṅga Śrīr vā rūpī*. WINTERNITZ had remarked: Here SUKTHANKAR adopts the readings of Ś₁ K against the reading of all other N Mss. The same Mss Ś₁ K₁ have in c *Sayanat* for *salilat* of all other Mss which is rejected. Why should Ś₁ K in the first line be of greater authority than in the second line? This is a very pertinent question for a novice in textual criticism but it is surprising that so acknowledged an authority on the subject like WINTERNITZ should have raised it. Nevertheless SUKTHANKAR considered it his duty to reply to this question and he remarks: The configuration of the Mss as well as the intrinsic merit of the readings are different in the two lines. That is how Ś K₁ appear to be of greater authority in the first line than in the second. The *salilat* of the text is found in all Mss except Ś₁ K₁ (S only transposing the word) and is therefore for one thing obviously far better documented than *Sayanat* of Ś₁ K₁ only. In the second line, therefore we have practically only two readings *Sayanat* of S K₁ against *salilat* of the rest therefore the reading of Ś₁ K₁ has been rightly rejected. Such is not the case in the first line. Here we have three nearly independent readings (S K *Gaṅga Śrīr vā rūpī*: Vulgate G *śrīrūpadharī* S *lobham*

śalamākṛtīḥ which latter is our fourth pāda) Here while the two Northern readings are somewhat allied to each other, the Southern reading is entirely different, having very little connection with the Northern. None of the readings can be mechanically derived from the other and intrinsically they are all more or less of the same value. Such being the case the Northern tradition was, as usual followed. Leaving aside other issues this reply and the query raised by WINTERITZ show the difference of approach between the two. While SUKTHANKAR considers each case from fundamental principles independently of other considerations such as a general theory of genetic relationship etc., WINTERITZ and other critics in spite of their deep study of the Epic material are misled by general principles. If the Mbh textual criticism is a problem *sui generis* then the general principles are only guiding steps or corner stones each case has to be seen from the configuration of Mss used as evidence and the general reliability of any set of Mss is no guarantee that it contains the original or the more ancient reading. The above arguments have been reproduced here only to illustrate the mastery with which SUKTHANKAR worked with his material and his superiority in this line to every other scholar, which WINTERITZ himself conceded to him.

deals with the version of Devabodha SUKTHANKAR was struck by disparity between the text of the Mbh (C B or K) and the commentary, not only does this commentary contain words or expressions which do not occur at all in the Vulgate but it also cites, at times verses or stanzas which read differently in the Vulgate. Similarly one finds passages and adhyāya of the Vulgate which are wholly uncommented by Devabodha. By a close inspection of Devabodha's text it is found that it agrees remarkably closely with ŚK sub-recension particularly on the compelling evidence of the supplementary and entirely superfluous adhyāya at the end of the Ādi being a repetition of the episode of Śvetakī's sacrifice occurring earlier, with the curious variant Śvetaketu for Śvetakī. That the version of Devabodha also contained this adhyāya is proved by his remark, *Śvetakī ca Śvetaketur itī nama*. This conclusion is also borne out by many other minor and major agreements which are enumerated in the paper.

The same year another paper, and this time a very important one was published as the sixth in the series of Epic Studies under the special title The Bhṛguś and the Bhārata. A text historical Study⁶⁰. The modest aim of this paper as SUKTHANKAR expresses himself is to collect and collate the Bhārgava references in the Mahābhārata and to give a succinct account of all that the Great Epic has to say about these Bhṛguś. For the sake of convenience SUKTHANKAR studies these legends as they appear in their natural sequence in the Mbh. The results of this important text critical study may be summarised in the author's own words.

From the legends preserved in our epic the Bhārgavas appear to be a Brahmin clan more intimately associated with the ancient Kṣatriyas than most of the other Brahmin clans connected with mostly by ties of marriage. In their conflicts with Kṣatriyas they appear to the epic bards as irascible sages, domineering, arrogant unbending and revengeful but at the same time omnipotent supermen. The epic contains a number of episodes or *upakhyānas* and two independent sub-parvans of the epic the entire Pauloma and a large section of the Pauśya besides a number of discussions and discourses. There is frequent repetition of these legends on different occasions in the course of the epic. It is also to be noted that the Bhārgavas spring into prominence all of a sudden in the Mbh and there is no basis for this eminence in the earlier literature. Taking a collective view of all these legends and references we cannot avoid the conclusion that the Bhārgava heroes occupy a surprisingly large portion of the canvas, filling up much of the available space in the background. Their figures are painted with a thick brush and in vivid colours. Their myths are uniformly distributed over the entire extent of the Great Epic, and throughout represented as *the people*.

The place occupied by these Bhārgava legends unmistakably shows the gradual bhṛgusation of older legends, which occur in the epic itself in two forms one with and the other without some important Bhārgava element. In the process of converting the popular epic of the Bharatas into the *Encyclopædia Brahmanica* the special predilection to the Bhārgava element is highly significant. Intrinsically there can be no question that this element is entirely foreign to the plan of the

⁶⁰ *Ibid* 18.176

original saga of the Bharatas, as it occurs entirely in the episodic material. According to tradition contained within the epic itself Vyasa could not have been the author of these surreptitious additions and embellishments nor could his disciple Vaiṣampāyana be credited with this particular work. But the next recorded recitation of the Mbh. is by Ugrasravas in the presence of Bhārgava Saunaka during the latter's twelve-year sacrifice. This lends colour to the hypothesis that the momentous alterations which have occurred in the Great Epic from Vyāsa's 24 000 to the later *śatasahasī samhita* is due to the gradual 'bhārguising' of the epic material. The influence of the Bhārgavas in the narrative portion of Mbh. is very evident and can hardly be disputed. Their special connection with Dharma and Niti is also established by Sukra and Bhṛgu.

The infiltration of masses of Bhārgava material in the shape of Bhārgava myths and legends, the manner of its treatment, and even that strange admixture of the Epic with the Dharma and Niti elements, which latter especially has so long puzzled many inquirers into the genesis of the Mbh., thus appear to find a simple and straightforward explanation of an important unitary diastasis of the epic under very strong and direct Bhārgava influence. The process of expansion thus begun must have continued subsequently, first by the Bhārgavas themselves and later under their supervision and it is likely that the remodelled Bhārata like the Vedas, now elevated to the rank of the Fifth Veda, must have remained for some time in the exclusive possession of the Bhārgavas as their close literary preserve. This fact would explain the apparent homogeneous character of this heterogeneous mass. It all came from different hands, from out of the same mould. The colossal success of this Bhārgava recension of the ancient Epic of the Bharatas—a success which in one sense was richly deserved—was the cause of the neglect and subsequent disappearance of the original heroic poem which must have still existed at the time of composition of the Aśvalayana Gṛhya Sutra.

It will thus be noticed that this text-critical study has lifted a corner of the veil which covers the hoary history of the text of the Great Epic. SUKTHANKAR thereby established a possible ground for explaining all the contradictory facts connected with the growth and development of the Mbh. The response to this theory was immediate and has led to further investigations which have added to the expectations raised by SUKTHANKAR when he closed this paper with the words: 'The further we pursue the study of the traces of Bhārgava influence the clearer, it seems to me, will become the history of our Mahābhārata the Great Epic of Bhāratavarṣa.'

The only recorded paper by SUKTHANKAR for 1937 is the In Memoriam Professor Moritz Winternitz (1863-1937).⁴⁷ It is really a brief *résumé* of the Mahābhārata work that WINTERITZ did for nearly half a century and is altogether one of the best obituary notices on the lamented Professor.

It is, therefore a matter of great regret that WINTERITZ passed away before a discovery of capital importance for Mahābhārata studies was accidentally made by Manjivara Gururaj HEMARAJ Panditjiu the distinguished Director of Public Instruction of Nepal of a new Nepālī Ms. of the *Adi parva*. The manner of its discovery and its importance is described in Epic

⁴⁷ Ibid.

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⁶⁶ *Ibid* 18.1.76

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⁶⁷ *Ibid*

Studies VII The Oldest Extant Ms of the Ādīparvan⁶⁸ The Rajaguru sent complete collations and specimen photos for the use of the Institute. The Ms. is on palm leaf written in a uniform hand in old faded ink and contains only the first parvan of the Mbh. The average length of the folio is $21 \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ and each folio contains uniformly 7 lines of writing. Although the Ms. is not dated its old appearance and the script which comes closest to the script of Tafel VI No XI (Cambridge Ms No 1891 2 of AD 1179) authenticate the high antiquity claimed for it. This is also supported by internal evidence the best proof is that it is almost entirely free from those modern accretions which are given in Appendix I of the Adīparvan Volume as also in great part from those other smaller insertions which are listed in the foot notes. More astonishing still is the fact that out of the textual emendations hazarded by SUKTHANKAR fifty per cent are actually documented by this Ms. As SUKTHANKAR remarks⁶⁹

It is therefore no exaggeration to say that this remarkable Ms. opportunely affords welcome support to the Critical Edition in most crucial matters. Moreover many of the variant readings of the new Ms. are difficult and obscure marking out its text as distinctly archaic. Finally in many of its readings it agrees fairly closely with a certain other Ms. from Nepal which is symbolized as N_3 in the critical apparatus of the Ād. and which is again the oldest dated Ms. of the Ādīparvan. The tradition is therefore fairly complete and well attested.

The greatest value of this Ms. lies in its corroborations of the constituted text of the Critical Edition. Indirectly it attests and justifies, as an independent witness, the principles according to which reconstruction of the epic text is achieved thus placing the constituted text on still surer foundations.

One phase of SUKTHANKAR'S triumph consisted in converting his erst while critics into staunch supporters and followers of the methods and principles evolved by him. The discovery of this important Ms. is the second phase and the culminating point for the full vindication of the Critical Edition of SUKTHANKAR. This fortunate discovery has set the final seal of approval on his editorial work.

Although this Ms. is practically free from the long and short insertions of the Vulgate, it is not entirely devoid of small infiltrations as SUKTHANKAR demonstrates such as App I Nos. 12 33 and 58 and over 87 single line insertions. All these are uniformly found in the majority of N Mss. It also throws an interesting side light on the indirect way in which the text gets gradually inflated. Its superiority over N_3 is proved by its lacking about ninety per cent of the insertions of N_3 . The unique readings of this Ms. bear out nearly half the emendations made by SUKTHANKAR in his constituted text. Out of the total 36 emendations made 18 are corroborated by this Ms. Of these 13 are cases of hiatus. It was precisely on this point that A. B. KEITH differed from SUKTHANKAR when he said "We need not

⁶⁸ Ibid 19 201-62

⁶⁹ Ibid 19

March 1 1943

I have just received the news of the death of Dr V S SUKTHANKAR. It is not only a very grave personal loss to me. I counted him one of my best friends and had come to feel a very deep respect and even affection for him as a man.

But the loss to scholarship is immeasurable and naturally far more important. *I am appalled at the thought that it will now be necessary to entrust the Mahabharata edition to others.* Few persons now living are as well gifted by nature as he was with the peculiar combination of intellectual qualities needed for this work. And literally not one has had the experience which he had and which is second in importance only to that native ability. He had arrived at a point where so many things had become almost automatic to him like second nature, things which even those of us who have helped in the edition cannot control as he did, though we may have painfully struggled towards an approximation of a few of them. Now just when he could have exploited to the full this unique combination of knowledge and experience—*gnanam savignanam*—he is cut off in the midst of it.

No higher tribute can be paid to a genius who was unique in his field and unrivalled for his courtesy to those who differed from him.

The paper referred to above was published during 1938. In 1939 he contributed a paper on the Nala episode and the Ramayana⁷³ in which he conclusively shows that the Sudeva soliloquy in the Nalopakhyana of the Mbh. must necessarily have been borrowed by one of the redactors of the Great Epic from the Ramayana since the passage in question is a misfit in the Mbh. context. It is shown that this Nala passage is not the only passage for which a parallel exists in the Ramayana and in the parvan survey. SUKTHANKAR refers to the Ramopakhyana occurring in the Vana—or Aranyaka parvan. This topic is however taken up for a separate study as the last of the Epic studies published during 1940⁷⁴. Here SUKTHANKAR'S researches confirm JACOBI'S assumption that the Ramopakhyana is indeed an epitome of the work commonly known as Valmiki's Rāmāyaṇa.

Just as SUKTHANKAR'S studies in Bhasa were based both on first hand acquaintance with original as well as critical material, the latter of which he included in a special bibliography, so also in the case of his epic studies he had started compiling a card index of all articles, notes, pamphlets, monographs and books dealing critically with epic questions. The index so prepared by SUKTHANKAR is still lying at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute and has incidentally paved the way for PUSALKER'S survey of Epic and Puranic Studies published in the *Progress of Indic Studies*. This bibliography, though probably not quite complete, is yet indispensable to critical scholars dealing with the Great Epic.

In spite of his preoccupation with all this great work SUKTHANKAR never limited his interests. During 1933-34 he delivered a series of lectures under the auspices of the University of Bombay as the Wilson Philological

⁷³ *A Volume of Eastern and Indian Studies* presented to Prof. F. W. THOMAS.

⁷⁴ *P. V. Kane Festschrift*.

Lecturer under the title 'Life and Growth of Languages' Under the new arrangements for postgraduate instruction in Poona he continued to guide M.A. students in Ancient Indian Culture, delivering weekly lectures in the Institute. He was several times Sectional President at the All India Oriental Conference. During the last of these occasions, in 1940, he allowed his address to be published in the *Bhāratiya Vidyā*,¹⁵ and any one reading it is struck at once by his lively spirit and freshness of approach which always kept him alive to new ideas and impressions.

Two short papers were contributed by SUKTHANKAR under the general title EPIC QUESTIONS. The first of these is the opening article in the first volume of the *Bulletin* of this Institute and is connected with the reading *Hasyarūpena Śaṅkaraḥ* as opposed to *hamsarūpena cesvaraḥ* of the Vulgate.¹⁶ The paper itself has the sub-title Does Indra assume the form of a swan? The paper conclusively proves that the *hamsa* incarnation of Indra is nothing but a canard. The second of the series is, unfortunately, the last paper to be published by SUKTHANKAR, and deals once again with the Parvasamgraha figures.¹⁷ It is an interesting contribution and deserves careful reading by a critical scholar who would like to deal with Mbh. textual criticism.

The short introduction to the *Āranyakaparvan* is very interesting and instructive. Dated in August 1942 it contains however his experience of the past seventeen years of work on the Critical Edition. As a result the language clearly expresses the fundamental principles which may be quoted here just to show the way in which he was making himself approachable to a larger group of scholars who are not specialists.¹⁸

When the Śāradā K version (which is the best Northern version) and the Southern recension are placed *vis à vis* we can in general reconstruct the original with confidence, barring a certain number of minor verbal fluctuations in the shape of synonymous phrasings which remain indeterminate without affecting the construction or obscuring the sense. The concord between Śāradā K version and the Southern recension in point of general content is striking and forms a sure basis for constituting a single text. Contamination between the K version and the S recension cannot be proved but contamination between the B-D version and the S recension is not impossible. The agreements between the B-D and S recension have nevertheless been as a rule utilized to arrive at a tentative stop-gap based on the indications of documental evidence. But it should be noted that the K-S agreements have far greater documental authority and probative value than the B-D-S agreements.

Let me put the matter in a slightly different way. The highest documental probability we can demand and expect is when all Mss. of our critical apparatus—which is the same as saying all our different versions—agree on a reading or a

¹⁵ BV 3. It is reprinted again in the *Proc and Trans of the All-Indi Or Conf* Tirupati pp 593-609

¹⁶ *Bull DCRI* 1 17

¹⁷ *Silver Jubilee Volume of Annals DORI* 23

¹⁸ Introduction, p xviii.

sea ure We must accept this as the original *at least we do not wish to question it at present* In the absence of such complete concord the next best combination is the agreement between the Sarada version and the Southern recension (against B-D) Third in importance is in my opinion the concord between the Southern recension and the Bengali-cum Devanagari version (against the Saradā) Fourth in order stands the agreement between only Northern versions or only Southern versions *inter se* which I consider in general as of equal value With the proviso that a passage, or a stanza or even a little line which is not necessary to the context may be rejected, if it is actually omitted entirely in even one of the important versions since as experience has shown the chances of conflation are always very much greater than those of accidental or intentional omission

The italicised words will indicate a new phase that was gradually coming over SUKTHANKAR While still interested in the Critical Edition of the Great Epic to which he had devoted the best part of his life he was slowly being drawn towards the content of the Mbh not as it was in the constituted text only but in the entire Mss tradition. There was a double approach to this problem or to be more precise a threefold approach in the first place the mass of accretion interpolation conflation etc was symptomatic of a certain phase in the life of the nation where the original text grew into these gigantic proportions Then again there was a central theme which was pervading the whole of the epic and around which it moved And finally there was the question of higher criticism which could come in only after lower criticism had done its work properly

When SUKTHANKAR says *at least we do not wish to question it, at present* he indicates thereby the possibility of going behind this constituted text—although a distant possibility—and of arriving at the original But then whether an objective method could be devised for such a restoration depended entirely on certain other studies which were being attempted at this time What is the genesis of the significant variant readings in the Mbh textual tradition? Could they be fixed in their space-time context and thereby explain the local divergences in their temporal evolution? And if this were possible could we get behind the constituted text especially when it was less than certain and arrive at a more certain text? By mere objective criteria could we devise methods which would enable us to analyse the elements which were welded into that great synthesis which is the Mahabharata?

Great things were in the offing when SUKTHANKAR penned these paragraphs His lectures on the three-dimensional view of the Great Epic¹⁹ were assuming their final shape at this time a good deal of work was being done

¹⁹ Two of these lectures were actually delivered before the University of Bombay on 8th and 15th January 1943 The third was due on 22nd January and the audience was actually waiting for him when the news of his death reached Bombay on that day

Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute

P. O. Deccan Gymkhana

Poona 4 (India)

Jan 20
1943

My dear Ketkar
I find I have to attend
a meeting of the Committee of
the Warden Coll. to
be leaving early today.
Please come tomorrow instead
of today, as arranged.

Yours truly
C. H. K. K. K.

in the statistical analysis of the significant Mbh variants⁸⁰ What the results of all these combined studies would have been it is too premature to say But that tragic death which cut short his life when he was at the very height of his powers and on the verge of discovering new domains in the critical study of the Epic has dealt an irreparable blow to further research in these directions

On the 21st of January 1943 just two weeks after the Silver Jubilee function of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute had been celebrated he laid down his mortal coil in the service of the Great Epic of the Bharatas

In writing this epilogue to a full life of research where the highest reaches of knowledge possible for a human being were attained by SUKTHANKAR one is poignantly reminded of the concluding part of the Introduction which reads like a farewell⁸¹ But SUKTHANKAR'S voice will continue to draw the best scholars to a study of the Great Epic which has now become the great epic of SUKTHANKAR'S own life This paper can only be concluded fittingly in his last public utterance, at Poona the inspiring words of which still continue to ring in the ears of those who listened to him on that unforgettable 5th January 1943⁸²

'There is a danger that in our pseudo-scientific mood we may be tempted to discard this great book thinking that we have outgrown it. That would be capital blunder That would in fact mean nothing but an indication of our will to commit suicide national suicide, the signal of our national extinction. For never was truer word spoken than when the late German Indologist Herman OLDENBERG said that in "the Mahabharata breathe the united soul of India and the individual souls of her people. And why is that? Because the Mahabharata is the national *saga* of India. It is in other words the content of our collective unconscious And just for that reason it refuses to be discarded We must therefore grasp this great book with both hands and face it squarely Then we shall recognize that it is our past which has prolonged itself into the present *We are it!* I mean the real WE! Shall we be guilty of strangling our own soul? NEVER

December 1943

S M KATRE.

⁸⁰ A discuss on of these problems was to take place on 21st January 1943 between the writer and Dr SUKTHANKAR, and the last note which he wrote on 20th January 1943 was to fix the appointment from the 20th to the 21st January as the facsimile of this note reproduced here indicates.

⁸¹ Many scholars have expressed this view in their letters to the Honorary Secretary of the SUKTHANKAR Memorial Edition Committee.

⁸² *Annals BORI* 24.

TABULA GRATULATORIA

Sir C P Ramaswami Aiyar	K. C. Varadachari
Bhawanrao Pant Pratinidhi Rajasaheb of Aundh	M P Wali
N K Bhagwat	University of Mysore
Rajasaheb of Bobbili	University of Allahabad
Hon ble Raja Sir Annamalai Chettiar	Public Library, Allahabad
Rev G Dandoy	Archaeological Department Jodhpur
Sir C D Deshmukh	Provincial Museum Lucknow
D R Gadgil	Benares Hindu University
D K Gondhalekar	Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan Bombay
Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Iyer	Oriental Book Agency Poona
M R Jayakar	Meherchand Lachmandas Lahore
K M Jhaveri	University of Ceylon
S A Joglekar	University of Bombay
Hon ble Sir Manohar Lal	University Library Bombay
Rajasaheb of Munagal	School of Oriental and African Studies London
Hon ble Maharaja of Parbhani	Fergusson College (Wadia Library) Poona
R. P. Patwardhan	Rajaram College Kolhapur
Harī Narayan Purohit	Government of Bombay
Maharaj Kumar Raghubir Singh	Anup Sanskrit Library Bikaner
S r C. R. Reddy	Kannad Research Institute Dharwar
~ K Thakore	